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The Hindustan Review deserves attention from British readers as showing the trend of thought—philosophical, literary and political—among the educated classes of India.—“Truth” (London).
 The Hindustan Review is of especial value as lifting the brain cap of India and letting us see the thoughts that are moving in her educated mind.—The late Mr. W. T. Stead in the “Review of Reviews,” (London).
 The Hindustan Review is representative of the higher intellectual life of India and enables us to learn the thoughts that are agitating her cultivated circles. Its articles are of especial value from a political and philosophical point of view and it occupies among Indian periodicals a position analogous to that of the “Nineteenth Century” or the “Fortnightly Review.”—“United Empire.” (Monthly Organ of the Royal Empire Society, London.)

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Sachchidananda Sinha

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PRAHLADA

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

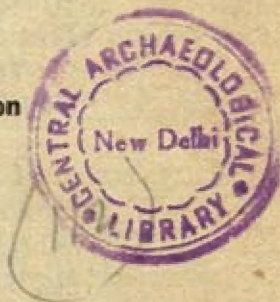
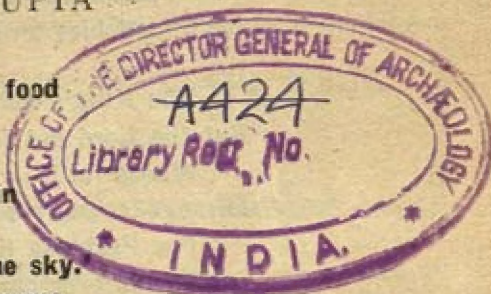
For long years Hiranyakasipu, the giant,
 Performed penance and abstained from food
 Till the god Brahma appeared before him
 And offered him a boon: ‘Grant me,’
 Prayed the devotee, ‘that I may not be slain
 ‘By man, beast, god, giant or serpent,
 ‘Nor by weapon, nor on earth, nor in the sky.’
 The boon was granted and Hiranyakasipu became
 A mighty king, fierce and terrible, and gods and men
 Trembled at his name.

The king had a son

Named Prahlada, a gentle child and lovable;
 Unlike the father the son was humble and devout,
 And had faith in the goodness of the Lord.
 He found no pleasure in games, but he sang
 And danced and praised the Lord Vishnu.

The King called Prahlada and drew him to his knees.
 ‘My child,’ he said, ‘tell me what is good to thy mind.’
 ‘Father,’ said Prahlada, ‘I think it is good to dwell
 ‘In the forest and pray to Hari, the Lord of all.’

The King disliked the name of the Lord and he sent
 For the young prince’s tutor and charged him
 To teach the boy the virtues of wealth and power
 And enjoyment, and make him forget the odious name of Hari.



The teacher instructed Pahlada and coaxed him,
 But the boy was obdurate and the tutor threatened
 To chastise him. After a time the King sent
 For his son and caressed and petted him.

'My beloved child,' he said, 'thou hast been taught
 The truth; now tell me what is good to thy mind.'
 'My father,' answered Pahlada, 'there is nothing better
 Or nobler than to hear, remember and recite
 The praise of Hari, the Lord of all.'

In dire wrath rose the King and cast
 Pahlada from his arms. 'Ho! men,' he shouted,
 'Drive this ingrate from my sight and let him
 Die the death; tear him to pieces; let him
 Be trampled to death by a furious elephant;
 Throw him over a cliff; let a serpent
 Fasten his deadly fangs in his limb;
 Feed him on poison that deals swift death.'

The King's minions did all this and more,
 But the Lord put forth his hand and saved the child
 Whose faith in His mercy was fixed as a star.
 Hiranyakasipu, the King, was sore perplexed,
 For Pahlada lived and death passed him by.
 To his presence he summoned the boy again.
 'What is thy strength?' he thundered, 'thou weakling,
 That thou dardest to defy my all-subduing will?'
 'The Lord is my strength,' answered Pahlada,
 'He is also the strength of the strong as he is thine.'

'I am the Lord of all,' cried the King
 'There is no God greater than me,
 Where is this God of whom thou pratest?'
 'He is everywhere, he pervadeth the universe,'
 Meekly answered Pahlada with folded hands.
 'Doth he dwell in yon pillar?' blasphemed the King.
 'Ay, he is there as everywhere,' said Pahlada with bowed head.

The king spurned Pahlada, and, rising in his wrath,
 Clenched his fist and struck the pillar a mighty blow.
 On the instant there was a roaring like the trumpet of doom
 And there was a rending of the tall pillar,
 And forth issued a being of fearful shape,
 Neither man nor beast, god, giant nor serpent.

Man-lion he was, with the head of a lion
 And the body of a man, and he roared till the earth quaked.
 Undaunted the King struck him with his heavy mace
 But the man-lion brushed it aside like a feather
 And seized him with his paw, as the great Garuda
 Seizeth a large serpent in his mighty talon.
 The King had defied the thunderbolt of Indra,
 But now he squirmed like a rat in the jaws of a snake.

 On his own knees the man-lion placed the King
 And tore him with his terrible claws—Hiranyakasipu
 Had his boon, for no weapon touched him
 And he was neither on earth nor in the sky.
 Vishnu, the man-lion, slew him while all the world
 Was amazed. The tyrant perished and the world had peace.

GOVERNMENT AND THE PRESS IN INDIA : A GRAVE ISSUE

By MR. SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA

"This matter is of real public importance and goes far beyond the personal interests of a newspaper and of the members of a Government. For it is certain that this particular issue will arise with increasing frequency as the press develops in strength, which it must as Government in India becomes more popular and more democratic. Clearly the right of the public to know what a Government is doing can be wholly defeated, if an official can prevent the publication by scrawling 'confidential' across its face. A press which finds the basis of its existence in giving its public news can accept no such prohibition. It must exercise its own judgment."
 —Extracts from an editorial in the *Statesman* (a leading Anglo-Indian daily of Calcutta).

FOR months past a very large section of the press in this country—both Indian and Anglo-Indian, English and Vernacular—has been considerably exercised over the orders passed by the Government of Behar and Orissa against the *Searchlight* (a thrice-weekly Indo-English nationalist journal, issued at Patna, the capital of the Province) which published in May last the full texts of two official documents, which had been treated as confidential by the Government and were not, therefore, communicated to

the press for publication. The result of their publication was that the Chief Secretary to the Government wrote to the editor of the paper that "certain official documents of a confidential character which the press has not been authorized to publish" having "appeared in the *Searchlight*" and the "reproduction" not being "by any mistake," and "the impropriety being deliberate on both occasions, Government have accordingly decided to withdraw such advantages as have hitherto been conceded to the journal." The advantages said to have been "conceded," according to the Government, which were to be withdrawn from the offending journal were categorically enumerated in the letter in question as follows:—"Government reports, gazettes and communiques will no longer be supplied, and notices and advertisements, from the executive side of the Government, will no longer be placed with the *Searchlight* for publication." The editor in acknowledging the Chief Secretary's letter,

entered a well-reasoned and spirited but dignified protest against the action of the Government. His main contention was that the documents in question not having been at all communicated to him by the Government, but obtained through journalistic enterprise, he (as the editor of the journal) was fully within his legal and moral rights in giving publicity to any official documents so obtained, albeit treated by Government as confidential, if he felt satisfied that their publication would be in public interest, of which the editor himself and not the Government was to be the sole judge. He followed it up with scathing comments in a long editorial, characterizing the conduct of the Government as setting up a terrorism in its dealings with such Indian journals as were independent of and not subservient to the will of the bureaucracy and officialdom.

II

The publication in the *Searchlight* of the Chief Secretary's letter to the editor, his reply thereto and the subsequent editorial comments of that paper (which were highly condemnatory of Government's action) roused a storm of protest in the Indian press against the Government's orders, and the agitation was joined in even by the *Pioneer* of Allahabad, one of the leading and most influential Anglo-Indian journals. The reason for such a ferment was obvious to those familiar with the political history of modern India. To find a parallel to the present incident one has to go back to the highly reactionary regime of Lord Curzon, about a quarter of a century back. Then that mighty administrator had come into conflict with Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe, the renowned editor of the *Statesman* of Calcutta, a well-known Anglo-Indian daily (but especially noted at that time for its highly sympathetic attitude towards Indian aspirations) for its supposed offence of having published a Viceregal note on a file, containing the delicious Curzonian dictum that 'departmentalism' might be defined as 'an intellectual hiatus'! The punishment in that case, however, did not extend to the stoppage of Government advertisements but only of the privileges of the 'editor's table.' The withdrawal of the advertisements in the present instance, is, therefore, naturally regarded by the

Indian press as hitting below the belt and it has, on that account, roused even greater indignation than in the case of the *Statesman*. Although, however, the punishment sought to be imposed on the *Statesman* by Lord Curzon was ever so mild compared with that inflicted on the *Searchlight*, all the then other Anglo-Indian journals had joined their forces on behalf of the *Statesman*, while the entire Indian press also had given it their ungrudging support. The result of such a strong journalistic combination was that even Lord Curzon quailed before it, and the order was tactfully withdrawn on terms which the Viceroy evidently regarded as those of 'peace with honour,' but which the press and the public justly regarded as but a pyrrhic victory. Later, the *Bengalee*, then edited by the redoubtable Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee published the full text of that strictly confidential document, the late Sir Henry Cotton's memorandum on the Partition of Bengal, the day after Lord Curzon's Government had refused to place it on the table, in response to the request of the late Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee, then a member of the Imperial Legislative Council. But the Viceroy's experience in the matter of the *Statesman* had been so unhappy and depressing, that he refrained from taking any action against the *Bengalee*, much as he must have disliked the publication of Sir Henry Cotton's minute. It has to be recorded with a sense of extreme regret that in the matter of the *Searchlight* no Anglo-Indian journal (except the *Pioneer* throughout the controversy, and the *Statesman* at the last stage only) has cared to express its disapproval of the action of the Behar and Orissa Government. It seems to me a great pity that even in a matter of such grave importance to the press of the country as a whole, the Anglo-Indian section of it—except the *Pioneer* and the *Statesman*—should have stood out and withheld their support from their Indian brethren in the profession.

Replying on behalf of the Government, in the course of a debate on the subject, initiated by a non-official elected member of the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council, on 5th September last, the Hon'ble Mr. Whitty, the Political Member said: "I am glad that" the mover "has given me this opportunity of replying to the criticisms of the action of the Government. These criticisms were voiced, as he said, by several

papers like *Liberty* of Calcutta, the *Leader* of Lucknow and the *Pioneer* of Allahabad. Government did not think there was any substance in those criticisms, but as the hon'ble members of the Council have raised the point, they (the Government) are glad to have an opportunity of replying." Now, surprising as it may sound, it is none the less true that in the whole of the mover's speech on the resolution (at pp. 221-25 of the authorized report of the proceedings) there is no reference whatsoever to the comments of the three papers specially mentioned by M. Whitty, as having been appealed to or quoted from by the mover, nor could he have possibly said it, for he could not have referred to "the *Leader* of Lucknow," that well-known paper, edited by Mr. C. Y. Chintamani (an Ex-Minister of Agra and Oudh) being much too closely identified, ever since its birth at Allahabad in 1909, with the place where it first appeared, to be correctly described by any educated Indian as 'of Lucknow.' The fact thus seems to be that the official spokesman was too much obsessed with the scathing criticisms which had appeared in the entire Indian press to be able to rid his mind of them, although it was not referred to specifically by the mover. Hence his consciously, or unconsciously, putting the fact of the criticism in the three leading papers mentioned by him into the mouth of the mover, while saying in the same breath that "Government did not think that there was any substance in those criticisms." Clearly it was a case of the lady protesting too much. The fact of the matter seems to have been that Mr. Whitty (who, as the Political Member was probably more responsible for the order than any other member of Government) was evidently stung to the quick by the emphatic condemnation of it by the entire Indian press; hence his own reference to them (without any such on the part of the mover) coupled with his lofty and pompous declaration that in spite of the criticisms his withers were unprung!

III

As the result of the debate in the Legislative Council, and particularly Mr. Whitty's own speech, has formed the subject of much adverse criticism, not only in the Indian press but also (as stated above) in

two of the leading Anglo-Indian dailies—the *Pioneer* and the *Statesman*—it is not quite necessary to quote extensively from the press comments which appeared earlier, at the time of the promulgation of the order in June last. But the fact is of outstanding importance that the said order was severely animadverted upon by the entire Indian press, while a responsible body like the Indian Journalists' Association of Calcutta placed on record a strongly-worded resolution (moved, seconded and supported by eminent Indian publicists) condemning the "mean and petti-fogging exercise of arbitrary power calculated to undermine the influence of independent journalism" as "unworthy of the Government" and "against the interest of the public" and calling upon Government "to withdraw the order which has caused so much indignation and resentment in the public mind." But as it might be said that such condemnation emanated from Calcutta and not from anywhere in the province of Bihar and Orissa itself (except in the *Searchlight*), it is worth while examining the attitude on the subject of the press of Bihar and Orissa.

Now more than once in recent years the Bihar and Orissa Government, in their Reports, have declared that the organ of the landlords in the province is a journal of 'moderate' views, the only pity being that (according to the Government's own statement) it enjoys a rather limited circulation. Yet this is what this officially acknowledged 'moderate' journal had to say on the Government's order: "We have never been in love with our contemporary (the *Searchlight*). But the local Government in acting in the manner it has done, has proclaimed itself as a foeman unworthy of its steel. The documents whose publication it takes exception to were not entrusted to the *Searchlight* in confidence, which it has either abused or betrayed. Then where lies its offence? It is the privilege of every journalist, in every land, to unearth documents of public interest and importance and broadcast their contents. Is the Bihar Government going to impose upon us a new code of journalistic etiquette? And why is it afraid of leakage? Has so much demoralisation come over it that it cannot stand by its opinion and is unnerved by the light of publicity that now beats upon it?" Such is the stinging criticism of the *Express*, the spokesman

in the provincial press of the landlord community in the province. Let us now see what the *Behar Herald*, the organ of the domiciled Bengalee community in the province, has to say on the subject. Concluding a long article, highly condemnatory of the Government's action, this is how it sums up its view of the matter: "To seek to cripple a hostile newspaper, by withdrawing advertisements from it, is an act unworthy of a race of men who have made the game of cricket famous all over the world." The opinion of Orissa was voiced by the *Adventurer* of Balasore in the following terms: "The *Searchlight* of all the papers in the province has the largest circulation and it is no wonder that the Behar Government would under some pretext or other, like to avoid wide publicity in it regarding any of their concerns. We congratulate the *Searchlight* on its bold stand against the frown of the Behar bureaucracy which stands stark naked at present." It would thus be seen that all the principal organs in the provincial press, representative of various races or classes, expressed their strong disapprobation of the action of the Government in this matter.

IV

Similarly, the order of the Bihar Government was strongly denounced by the leading organs of public opinion in Bengal, notably by the then Indian dailies, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, the *Basumati* and *Liberty*. But as officialdom usually discounts the opinion of the Bengal press, on the alleged ground of its being 'extremist,' I shall not quote from the comments which appeared in these papers. The case of the press of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh stands, however, on a different footing. The *Leader* of Allahabad justly enjoys the reputation of being the most prominent organ of the Liberal party in the country, while the *Pioneer* is admittedly one of the great and influential Anglo-Indian journals. It is thus worth while quoting what these two leading dailies had to say on the subject. This is what the *Leader* wrote in the course of a long editorial, in noticing the promulgation of the order: "The British bureaucrats with all their faults, due mainly to their narrow administrative training, have been generally free from a spite of petty vindictiveness, but of late there have been

instances which indicate the development of a new and dangerous spirit of persecution and intolerance. The action of the Behar Government is perhaps the most glaring of these. It may not be aware that in trying thus to injure the *Searchlight* for the performance of its public duty, it has dealt a heavy blow to its own prestige and good name. It is simply amazing that in this age of publicity, a reformed provincial government should behave in this scandalous fashion. Are Government reports, gazettes and communiques supplied to newspapers as a matter of favour? Why should the Government issue any communique if its contents are not to be brought to the knowledge of the public through important newspapers? The official reports are published at the expense of the tax-payer. The newspapers to which they are supplied help the administration by their criticisms and give publicity to their salient features. Who will suffer if the principal organ of public opinion in a province is placed on the black list? The Behar Government has cut its own nose to spite the *Searchlight's* face. Then as regards notices and advertisements, we would like to know if they are published in newspapers on business principles, or of political considerations? Are they to be used as an instrument for subsidising the press, strangling its freedom and undermining its independence? Very serious issues are raised by the petty-minded action of the Behar and Orissa Government, and it is necessary that the authority to which it is subordinate emphatically told it that such antediluvian and ridiculous methods of Government will not do." Strong as was this condemnation in the leading Liberal organ, an even more so appeared at the time in an editorial in the *Pioneer*, under the expressively significant heading of "A Foolish Government," in which it characterized the Behar Government's action as 'amazing and astonishing.'

This is how the *Pioneer* summed up its views on the subject: 'The *Searchlight* came into possession of these documents in the course of ordinary journalistic enterprise, and it was perfectly entitled, and was absolutely within its rights, as a public journal, in giving publication to these so-called confidential papers. If the matter contained in such documents affects the public interest then a newspaper is only discharging its duty to the public in

exercising the right of publication. The action of the Government is childish and, if there was the slightest real element of popular control, the people responsible for the letter, which is signed by the Chief Secretary to Government, would be immediately dismissed from office. The suspicion which is engendered by the Government's action, is that the Government cannot withstand legitimate criticism but it has some guilty secret to hide, and that in order to hide it, it is capable of stooping to a depth of meanness, which it would be hard to parallel. Because a newspaper refuses to be bullied, advertisements are to be withdrawn, and the priceless benefit of receiving Government gazettes is to be discontinued. Government has no case and the sooner it withdraws from the ridiculous position it has taken up, the quicker it will rehabilitate itself in the eyes of all sensible men. To punish a paper for printing documents, which will sooner or later be published in the evidence of the Simon Commission, is one of the most fatuous things of which we have ever heard." Never, perhaps, since the *Pioneer* saw the light in 1865, was it called upon in the discharge of its duty, to condemn the action of a provincial government in such highly scathing language.

V

Nor did the press of other provinces lag behind in expressing its disapprobation of the Behar Government's action. The *Hindustan Times*, the leading Indian daily of Delhi, concluded its protest with the remark that "if the Behar Government's theory of the function of journalism is to be accepted, journalists may as well shut their offices and look out for other work to do. It is to be hoped that Behar officialdom will make suitable amends to the *Searchlight* when it has got over its chagrin at its reactionary and secret reports being held up to public ridicule." The *Tribune* of Lahore, the leading organ of the Punjab public opinion, recorded its views as follows: "Having given the most careful consideration, we have no hesitation in saying that the Government has put itself hopelessly in the wrong in this matter, as such drastic action for journalistic enterprise is unthinkable in any democratic country. We would warn the Behar Government that this

revival of the old practice of black-listing newspapers is bound to do incalculable harm to itself." The press of the Bombay presidency was equally emphatic in its condemnation. The leading nationalist daily, the *Bombay Chronicle*, opined that "the conduct of the Government betrays its folly and high-handedness. That Government seem to have strange notions of journalistic propriety. None can deny that the documents in question deserved publicity, though one can understand Government's anxiety to keep them confidential and their chagrin at their unexpected publicity." The *Mahratta* of Poona, stated its conviction that "the step the Behar Government has taken is not only unjustifiable but ridiculous and discreditable. It has acted in a disgracefully childish and narrow-minded manner." Lastly, from amongst the many other papers in the province of Bombay, we may quote from the *Servant of India*, of Poona, the organ of the famous society of the same name, founded by the late lamented Mr. G. K. Gokhale: It wrote: "Are these advertisements and notices sent to that journal as a sort of bribe for keeping back from the public important confidential documents of vital public importance which might fall into its hands? And is it because it has not kept to this tacit understanding that it is sought to punish it in this manner? If so, no self-respecting newspaper would care for such patronage. The memoranda submitted by the Madras and U.P. Governments to the Simon Commission (which were presumably confidential) have appeared in extenso in prominent journals published in those provinces without their having made themselves liable to this kind of treatment from their respective Governments. The Behar Government is apparently too thin-skinned and too petty-minded as well. They would have done well to follow the example of the other two provincial Governments referred to above and to have connived at the matter."

Of the Madras press comments it would be sufficient to quote from its foremost representative, the *Hindu*, which is rightly acknowledged one of the most influential and representative Indian journals. This is what it said: "The Behar Government could not have been guilty of a more self-stultifying act than that which they have taken against the *Searchlight*. The correspondence shows that they consider the

issue of advertisements as a sort of patronage to the press and a means of controlling if not, indeed, corrupting it. All genuine friends of the Government of Behar would wish that they had followed the commendable example of silent acquiescence which other Provincial Governments adopted in similar circumstances." I trust that this short analysis of the contents of the leading organs of Indian public opinion, throughout the country, will satisfy all impartial readers of the intensity of public feeling on this important question, relating to the rights and privileges of journalists in India, as also of the great force in the contention that the Government had grievously erred in passing their order. And yet declared the Hon'ble Mr. Whitty that "Government did not think there was any substance in those criticisms!"

VI

I shall now notice the debate on the Behar Government's order in the Legislative Council of the province. I need not recapitulate the arguments of either the mover of the resolution or his supporters, for the ground they covered was practically the same as that traversed by the journals whose views I have quoted above. I shall, therefore, confine myself to the two speeches of the Hon'ble Mr. Whitty on behalf of the Government, of which he was the spokesman. The points he tried to make may be stated, in his own words as follows: (a) "A newspaper is not barred from publishing any document merely because it is marked confidential by a Government of whose policy it disapproves. The newspaper can legitimately say that it is entitled to use the document to discredit Government. I do not dispute this as a general proposition." If so, the case of the *Searchlight* was even stronger, for the documents it published were not at all sent to it by Government, whether marked 'confidential' or otherwise. It obtained them through its own enterprise and was fully justified in using them, "legitimately to discredit Government," "of whose policy it disapproves," to utilize (with humble apologies) the very words of the Hon'ble Mr. Whitty himself. It is difficult to appreciate his position justifying the ban on the *Searchlight* in the face of his own clear admission quoted above.

(b) "The Hon'ble mover has pointed out the policy followed by newspapers of repute in other countries which take a pride in bringing off a journalistic coup, even though on the face of it, it might have involved dishonesty or a breach of confidence at some stage. My answer to this is that I see no reason why a journalist should have a lower standard of honesty than other people. If the method of procuring any item of news involves dishonesty or a breach of confidence, an honest man must disapprove of it and he must show his disapproval." So spoke the Hon'ble Mr. Whitty, exhibiting a righteous indignation and a moral fervour which would have done credit to Martin Luther himself when tearing up and burning the papal bulls. But carefully looked into it, it would seem that this declamation is nothing but "a histrionic pose, like that of a consummate actress on the stage, caught redhanded by the injured husband" as Thackeray put it.

This defence by Mr. Whitty has naturally evoked protests and retorts characterizing it as 'puerile' not only in that section of the press, which may be said to be generally 'agin' the Government, but even from its staunch supporters, the most notable in the latter class being the *Bengalee* (Calcutta daily) whose editor is at present a Government nominee in the Indian Legislative Assembly. Yet this is what his paper has felt compelled to say in defence of the press, against the unjustifiable attack hurled against it by Mr. Whitty, in an editorial headed "Ethics of Journalism": "Neither journalism nor journalists are likely to suffer by a comparison of the method by which they get the news they want, with the methods by which Governments throughout the world get the information they want. The newspaper reporter is any day a more honorable specimen of humanity than the spy and the secret-service-man and his method can bear the scrutiny that the latter's cannot. But apart from recrimination a coup does not necessarily involve any dishonesty. When a newspaper gets some news or document in the ordinary course of its business, or even by special effort, the newspaper alone is entitled to decide whether in the public interest, it should be published or not. It matters little to the newspaper that the owner of the document or the original custodians

of the news would like to keep them secret. If the public interest demands, the news or document will have to be published, however uncomfortable that may be to those who are interested in withholding publication. Premature publicity is one of the most effective weapons in the armoury of journalists to scotch brewing mischief and it will be a bad day for journalism when this privilege is surrendered in pursuance of a comfortable ethics of journalism codified for the benefit of newspapers by others. To penalise journalistic enterprise as a means of maintaining the honesty of Government servants is a process of reversed reasoning, very difficult for us to follow."

VII

Clearly Mr. Whitty was labouring a lost cause in taking up the line of defence he did, in the face of the well-known facts relating to the press in his own country. As pointed out by the *Pioneer*, certain powerful sections of the British press lately published the substance of an alleged Anglo-French naval agreement, which, coming on top of Mr. Baldwin's Government's half-hearted support of the Kellogg pact, caused considerable embarrassment to the French and British executives. The document was a secret one, a confidential expression of policy exchanged by major departments of the Governments concerned, and was not intended to see the light of day. The newspapers, which published this agreement, were universally praised for their enterprise and public spirit, and even Government spokesmen, however bitterly they may have felt the publication, did not venture for one moment to criticize the propriety attached to publication, but had to restrict themselves to an attempt to explain away the bad impression that was given to the world, through this all-important document seeing the light of day when it did. "If the British Government," says the *Pioneer* "had attempted to withdraw Government advertisements from the papers concerned or had refused to supply the newspapers concerned with reports, gazettes or communiques, it is perfectly certain that the Government would have been immediately defeated in the House of Commons and there would have been a first class illuminating row." Mr. Whitty, I believe, must have heard of the publication of the Zinovieff letter by a Tory

paper, which seriously affected the election prospects of the Labour Party. The genuineness of that letter was questioned, but no moralist made it the occasion for reading a sermon on the dishonesty of journalistic coups. But here in the case of the *Searchlight* the genuineness of the document published has not been questioned by the Government, which had made (according to that paper) some most reactionary proposals in their memorandum to the Simon Commission. The Government would not publish the memorandum. Mr. Whitty claimed that they did not publish it in the "public interest," the *Searchlight*, on the other hand, maintained that it had published the document in public interest. Why should its view of the matter be disregarded by the public? Which party did really serve public interest—the Government by withholding the publication of it or the *Searchlight* by publishing it? "We wish Mr. Whitty had not spoken of 'public interest' in this connection," says the *Patrika*—"as surely even official barefacedness should have a limit! The *Patrika* has published in its columns many confidential documents of Government, for which it had incurred the severe displeasure of the Government. But no Government spokesman had presumed to give sanctimonious airs on such occasions or indulged in such pettifoggery as the withdrawal of Government notices and advertisements."

(c) Said the Hon'ble Mr. Whitty: "Government are responsible for the documents and papers in their charge" and "they must be the judges as to which of these are suitable for publication in public interest and which are to be kept confidential." This is the substance of his third point, though in expatiating upon it, he repeated himself at length. He then went on: "Papers which Government decide to treat as confidential can in the ordinary course only be procured for publication by dishonesty, or the breach of confidence of Government servants, through whose hands they pass. Government feel very strongly that they must protect their less reliable servants from being offered inducements to dishonesty and their honest servants from the unjust suspicion which would fall on them by marking their strong disapproval of the publication of such documents." Now all this sounds highly Pecksniffian and I wonder if the

Political Member of the Bihar Government had been studying the previous night the immortal wisdom of Mr. Seth Pecksniff, as faithfully chronicled by Charles Dickens. This is how this point of the Government Member is successfully combated by the *Hindu*, one of the greatest organs of Indian public opinion and renowned for its sagacity, sanity and moderation: "Government tried to justify this arbitrary fiat on the moral ground that a newspaper should not be allowed a lower standard of conduct than other people. This is perfectly true, but what he overlooked was the fact that if the newspaper in question had obtained the documents by legitimate enterprise—and there is nothing on the face of it to show that this was not so—not even the subtlest casuistry can convict it of a breach of morality. It would be ridiculous to claim (as the *Statesman* in an editorial discussing the subject points out) that the word 'confidential' marked on a Government document should act as a talisman and tie the hands of editors, whose primary duty is to the public interest. The mere fact that the bureaucracy, particularly in India, has a passion for secrecy and would, if it could, hide the most trivial things from the public gaze would not justify newspapers joining in this silly game. So long as Governments look on independent newspapers as their natural enemies, so long they must expect the latter to use all manner of legitimate means to get at, and make public government secrets, real and imaginary. If Governments are unable to keep their 'confidential' documents really confidential, the newspapers cannot be blamed for it. But the Behar Government have hit upon the unedifying plan of punishing the newspapers for the carelessness of their own subordinates, and presumably on the supposition that the documents must have been secured by bribing minor officials." This clinches the matter.

(d) Lastly, Mr. Whitty was pleased to declare that if the editor of the *Searchlight* would explain "how he procured the papers for publication, Government will have no objection to withdrawing their orders." No wonder that (from the journalistic standpoint) this shocking demand of 'disclosure' has upset the equanimity of even the loyalist *Bengalee*, equally so with the nationalist *Hindu* and all the other

Indian journals of weight, position and influence. Says the *Bengalee*: "And the inducement of removal of the ban offered to the erring newspaper, to betray the source from which it secured the document is in marked contrast to the dictum (on honesty) so sagely laid down previously (by Mr. Whitty). For a newspaper to reveal the source from which it gets its news is the worst outrage against journalistic decency and the suggestion comes ill after what practically amounts to a sermon on honesty." The *Hindu* is naturally more emphatic. It writes: "They have stated that their orders would be withdrawn if the editor would explain how he procured the documents in question. No editor worth his salt would divulge the source of his information and the very fact that the Behar Government have not scrupled to adopt such means to discover the delinquent imparts a deliciously Pickwickian flavour to Mr. Whitty's pontifical pronouncement on newspaper morality. What is worse, the Behar Government seem to think that their advertisements should be given not to the papers with the biggest and most influential circulation, but to those which would be ready to give them their subservient support for a price. Now a cynic might say that doles from the secret service funds would be the proper method of rewarding sycophantic organs of public opinion." This is well put, indeed.

VIII

By reason of the very peculiar constitution of the Provincial Legislative Councils in this country the result of the debate has been misunderstood by the average newspaper reader, it having appeared in the press that the non-official motion was defeated by 47 against 40 votes recorded in its favour. Even so shrewd a critic of our public affairs as the *Patrika* was betrayed into writing, by reason of ignoring the realities of the constitution of our legislative bodies, as follows: "The Bihar Legislative Council has covered itself with disgrace by rejecting the resolution, though the majority was only 7 and this would have been smaller, had not the official and the nominated members combined." An analysis of the figures, however, shows that out of the 47 who voted against the resolution, there were only 16 elected members

and the remaining 31 was made up wholly of officials and Government's nominees; whereas the 40 who supported it were all elected representatives. Judged, therefore, in its true perspective, the result of the voting—eliminating the officials and the Government's nominees who were bound to vote with the official leader of the House, Mr. Whitty—shows that 40 voted for the motion and but 16 against it. In other words, but for the presence in the Council of the 31 nominees of the Governor (18 official and 13 non-official) the resolution would have been carried by the overwhelming majority of 40 against 16, or perhaps, but for the existence in the Legislative Council of the official block of 18, the resolution would have been still carried by the majority of 40, against 29, supposing that the 13 nominated non-official members had, if given their freedom, still voted against the resolution. The Government of Behar and Orissa—trading upon the ignorance of the public about matters constitutional—may lay the soothing unction to their heart that they carried the day. But a consideration of the above analysis should rouse even their consciousness to the reality of the situation and must satisfy them that they were hopelessly beaten on the floor of their own Legislative Council.

IX

I have discussed at length all the main points in Mr. Whitty's first contribution to the debate. In his closing reply, he but repeated himself and added nothing new, and so I need not refer to it. But supposing the Government were to hold that the entire Indian press—moderate and nationalist alike—as also by far the larger number of the elected members of the Legislative Council, had taken a wrong and perverse view of the matter because of an innate anti-government prejudice in their mind, what explanation can the Behar Government offer to the strong denunciation of their conduct by the *Pioneer*, the life-long champion of the bureaucracy? I have already quoted from its editorial comments on the promulgation of the Government's order. But it returned to the charge again, after the debate in the Legislative Council, in the following terms: "It appears from the debate that considerable misapprehension exists in Government circles as to the true

functions and duty of the public press. The mentality that Mr. Whitty exhibited is almost universal from Simla to Madras. The attitude adopted by both Simla and the Provincial Governments is entirely wrong and culpable, as the mere fact that Government says that something is confidential does not make the document taboo to the world. Scarcely a day passes in England without so-called confidential documents, becoming public. From the *Times* down to the least provincial newspaper, an attempt is being made every hour of the day to beat the secrecy with which every Government desires to surround itself. The newspaper-man has his own code of conduct and it is a good deal higher than that of the Government official. The attempts that are being made in this country, at the present moment, to punish a critical press and to visit it with the full disfavour of a bureaucratic regime, are about as antediluvian as the methods of the Inquisition and are as certain to fail." Having thus emphatically condemned the action of the Bihar Government, the *Pioneer* expressed itself on the punishment imposed upon the *Searchlight* as "as gross abuse of the duties of Government—approaching those of Tammany Hall of New York in the pursuit of their policy of refusing to give advertisements to papers that oppose them."

Mr. Whitty had, in his speech, disowned this impeachment as 'entirely untrue.' His denial, however, evidently did not carry conviction with the *Pioneer*, nor will it very likely do so with all those who are familiar with the innate prejudice in the official mind against the press, especially those papers (which like the *Searchlight*) are of the nationalist hue and are generally exponents of the views of the opposition. This fact is much too patent to be disposed of even by the assertion, to the contrary, of the Hon'ble Mr. Whitty. But in case it be urged by the Government of Behar, in reply to the scathing condemnation of their conduct by the *Pioneer*, that these strong criticisms appeared in that journal when it was being edited by that 'renegade,' Mr. F. W. Wilson (who had revolutionized its policy and so its remarks might safely be discounted), I shall quote at some length the denunciation of the Government's original order and its subsequent attempted justification in the Legislative Council, from an Anglo-Indian journal of the position,

policy and influence of the *Statesman*, from the editorial comments in which, on this subject, I have extracted some lines as the motto of this disquisition.

X

Before doing so, however, I may invite the reader's attention to the following passages which appear in the course of an article on the "Origin and Growth of Journalism among Europeans (in India)," which finds a place from the pen of Mr. A. H. Watson described at the top of the article as "Editor, *Statesman* (Calcutta), formerly Editor of *Westminster Gazette* and *Weekly Westminster*—in the volume devoted to India, just issued in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science of Philadelphia*: "The English-owned newspapers, although they remain independent and are at times strong critics of individual acts of the Government, in general they are to be found supporting official acts and legislation. The function of criticism has passed to the native-owned press (Mark! Mr. Watson will not call it 'Indian-owned' in contradistinction to 'English-owned'), that of defence has become the province of the English-owned newspapers" (my italics). If, surely, after this very candid confession of the general pro-official attitude and pro-government policy of the Anglo-Indian press, the same Mr. A. W. Watson denounced in his editorial columns, the conduct of the Bihar Government in the matter of the *Searchlight*, one would like to know what reasonable answer Government could offer in reply to the *Statesman's* strictures passed upon their order, and later on their attempted justification in the debate in the Legislative Council. The *Statesman* wrote as follows in noticing Mr. Whitty's speech, in the course of the debate in the Legislative Council: "Mr. Whitty in the course of his speech said: 'I see no reason why a journalist should be allowed a lower standard of conduct than other people.' Nor do we, but this misses the point which is that the journalist cannot be held bound to secrecy in regard to information which is not conveyed to him under a seal of confidence. Governments must not carry to the point of absurdity the marking as 'confidential' of information about which there is no reason to preserve silence. Defending the withholding of Government adver-

tisements as a punitive measure against a newspaper, Mr. Whitty said that if the editor of the offending paper would explain how he procured the document for publication 'Government would have no objection to withdrawing their orders.' It is a matter of deep regret that any member of any Government should publicly offer a bribe of that character, and it is amazing that while complaining of breach of confidence the speaker should have tendered a reward for a graver breach. No journalist—worthy of the name—would contemplate for a moment such a surrender. Many editors have gone to gaol rather than disclose the sources of their information and we hope that tradition of the press will never be lost. Plainly Governments can, if they will, withhold advertisements from a paper that has offended, but the newspaper that can be coerced in that way is not likely to prove for long a valuable medium of advertisement. Whether a Government is justified in such a practice is more doubtful. It is dispensing not its own money, but the money of the public; it is under an obligation to see that such money is spent to the best advantage, that is to say, in such a manner that its advertisements will come under the eyes of the people for whose information they are intended. If the end aimed at, which is to punish pecuniarily, can be attained without detriment to the public interest, well and good. What is not defensible is that public money spent on advertising should be used with the purpose of rewarding the supporters of the Government or suborning the opponents of the Government without regard to the value obtained in publicity." This would seem like making mince-meat of poor Mr. Whitty and well may the Government Member of Behar exclaim at this castigation by the *Statesman*, "*Et tu Brute*."

XI

Though this discreditable episode is the latest in the history of journalism in India, it is by no means an isolated one. Only a few years back the Government of Madras, under that pseudo-Liberal Governor, Lord Willingdon, deprived one of the leading Indian dailies (the *Swarajya*) of the amenities and privileges of the editor's table; which order is, I fear, still in force. The discreditable incident during Lord Curzon's

regime in connection with the *Statesman* has already been narrated, while about a hundred years after the deportation of James Silk Buckingham (the founder of the *Calcutta Journal* in 1818) and the suppression of his paper, there was similarly expelled from the country, the

their sentimentality; their preoccupation with women; their sensationalism; their bad taste; their vulgarity; their unhealthy rivalry; their fear of and servility to advertisers; their own blatant self-advertisement; their fickleness towards an opinion—an idea—a man—their frequent, their inexhaustibility; their repetitiveness; their bulk; their habit of coalescing into beastly combinations; their slavish imitation of each other, hence their sameness; and the very damnable way they remove before publication the best points of any communication send them. But above all, I dislike newspapers for their exposure of official secrets and their damned spirit of truculence. But I find it hard to reconcile this fact with the manifest truth that I shall continue to buy and read them with avidity so long as they remain, or I remain, for the trouble is that one cannot do without these wretched beastly sheets."

XII

of powers vested in the Executive under a lawless law, Benjamin Guy Horniman, the then editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*. In Mr. A. H. Watson's article already quoted from, I find the following statements: "The rule of the East India Company was autocratic; its officers did not welcome criticism. Editors were deported for trivial offences against the regulations or were made to apologise publicly. Stringent rules were set up for the control of the press which was subjected to strict censorship. Everything that was to be printed had first to receive official sanction." Between 1818 and 1858 (when the country passed under the Crown) there was some relaxation, but even during the next half a century of a comparatively more enlightened system of administration, we have had such nefarious enactments as the Vernacular Press Act of 1878, and the more comprehensive and more diabolically stringent Press Act of 1910. True, both these Acts had been repealed—the former so far back as 1882, and the latter in 1922. But though they are gone, their spirit remains and still continues to characterize the relations of the Government with the press of the country. Take the latest instance of it, in the very enlightened administration of Bengal. I quote from *Liberty*—one of the well-known nationalist dailies of Calcutta:—"The Hon'ble Mr. Moberly admitted in the Bengal Legislative Council that a temporary order was issued by the Government prohibiting Government officials from buying copies of *Liberty*. The order in question, he added, had been subsequently withdrawn. This reply was given in answer to questions. On being asked what led Government to take that action, Mr. Moberly said 'the reasons were obvious.'"

Yes, the reasons are obvious, and they can best be summarized in the words of a well-known British journalist who (though writing of the British officialdom) seems to have acquired a tremendous insight also into the Anglo-Indian official mind. This is how he is stated to have put it: "I dislike newspapers—their lies; their language;

And now a word, in conclusion, about the *Searchlight* itself. By putting up splendid fight in this matter with the Behar officialdom, by sticking to its guns and offering a dignified but powerful resistance it has advanced the interests of the Indian press and thus incidentally helped the cause of political progress in India. It is not surprising, therefore, that it has been the recipient of much approbation and appreciation from all sections of the press in the country, not only the Indian but even the Anglo-Indian. Thus writes the *Pioneer* on this aspect of the question: "The Government's doctrine of penalising opposition in the newspapers of this country is virtually an attempt to demoralize the tone of public life and to corrupt the independence of those who direct public opinion. It is a policy which must be ruthlessly fought, and although we do not agree with everything that the *Searchlight* has written and said, we are willing to recognize a valuable contribution to the purification of India's public life the courage with which it has complained about the action of the Behar Government. It is a good thing for the Government of India that scattered up and down the country there is not a C. P. Scott, an H. Manssingham, a Wickham Steed or even Lord Northcliffe." All impartial readers w

entirely agree with these observations in commendation of the dignified but almost hand-to-hand fight which the *Searchlight* has put up with the Bihar Government and in which it has achieved such a notable moral victory, both in the press of the country and in Behar and Orissa Legislative Council. As for any pecuniary loss accruing to the paper by the stoppage of Government patronage and advertisements, I am reminded of the humorous American story of Mr. Jonathan Fizzley who, offended at something which had appeared in the *New York Tribune*, stepped into the editorial sanctum and roared, "Sir, I have stopped your paper." Old Horace Greely (the editor

of the paper) quietly looked up and said, "Wa'al stranger that looks rather serious. Let's go and see." He went upstairs and opened the door of the compositor's department. "All right here any how." He beckoned the stranger to look into the other departments. But by the time they came to where the Hoe machines were in full operation, Mr. Jonathan Fizzley had turned and fled. Mr. Fizzley could not stop the *New York Tribune*. The Government of Bihar and Orissa seem to be equally powerless to stop the *Searchlight*. But this whole discreditable episode points a moral, even if it cannot adorn a tale.

WORKERS' EDUCATION IN AMERICA

By DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE, M.A., PH.D.

Lecturer in Political Science, State University of Iowa (U.S.A.)

WORKERS' Education is coming to be regarded as a matter of very great importance for a better and happier nation. There was a time when the vast majority of peasants, who produced the food of the world through all ages, never received any formal education. It used to be held that those who only ploughed and sowed and reaped needed no education. The illiterate masses through the centuries made their mark with an X. They never had a chance to read and write. Education was only for a small privileged class.

Then came the Industrial Revolution, when factories were built and machines were set up. The industrial workers were given a little education in order that they might know enough to read signs and keep their hands and feet out of machinery. Elementary education was then considered a necessity for them. Widespread adaptation of machinery and scientific procedure

would not have been possible if the masses of industrial laborers were kept illiterate.

To the few who wanted to do clerical work, a little more of education was given. And when they had their little smattering and they considered themselves prepared to make a living, their education stopped. A few more, who were needed to be technically trained, were sent to medical schools, law schools, or engineering schools. When they graduated, their education came to a halt. They could make their living along a particular line; they were not interested in keeping up their education.

The movement for workers' education symbolizes the coming of the time in America when there will be unlimited educational opportunity for all the people of the time. It also marks the passing of the old notion that education is only a preparation to earn a living. Since life does not consist

chiefly in making a living, the educational process will not begin at a particular moment and certainly will not end at a particular moment. Education will be a continuous process. It must continue through the whole of life.

Moreover, workers' education in America suggests the passing of another crude old notion, namely, a person who works with his hands cannot be an educated and cultured man. The idea that a man, who is educated, should not work with his hands is rapidly losing ground. Students who go to American Labor Colleges, do not desert their occupations when they graduate. On the contrary, they return to their mines and factories as efficient miners and laborers, as intelligent members of their organizations.

There are in the United States a number of Labor Colleges supported and maintained by organized labor. Perhaps the most prominent among these institutions are the Brookwood College and the Denver Labor College. For the past five years the great University of Wisconsin, which is a first-class government institution, has been running the Summer School for Industrial Workers. It is a significant experiment in labor education.

The requirements for entering this school are very simple: students must be over 18 years of age, preferably over 20; they must have had elementary education; they must work with the tools of their trade, and must have been in industry for at least two years.

Expenses of all students in the Summer School for Workers in Industry are covered by scholarships. In awarding scholarships, those applicants are given preference who have continued their studies in evening classes, are taking active part in some kind of labor organization, and are interested in the problems affecting them as industrial workers.

The School lasts for six weeks, and is open to both men and women. The teachers are chosen because of advanced work in their special fields, experience in teaching workers' classes, and understanding of the problems facing industrial workers.

All students take the following courses: Economics, English Composition, Public Speaking, and Physical Education. The first three are closely related, the students' experience and problems being used as material for themes and speeches.

The students study Economics so that they will better understand their work, and their relation to other workers and other countries, and other times. It opens the door to wider horizons.

The labor students have experience but they seldom know how to give expression to it. By taking Public Speaking they learn to speak well in a meeting, and to talk more easily in a roomful of people.

The course in Composition is designed to help students write what they think and feel, and write clearly and forcefully.

As in other courses at the University of Wisconsin, the students and teachers are given the freedom to think and say, regardless of where the chips may fly. There is impartial presentation and free discussion, with an attempt to develop critical thinking and scientific method.

The content which can be given in six weeks is limited; but the students learn how to study and use a library, and are inspired to continue studying afterwards. Through small discussion groups and private conferences they receive individual attention, their capabilities are developed and their handicaps overcome.

The course in Physical Education is under the direction of an expert in

corrective work. The University gives a thorough physical examination to each student upon arrival. Often physical defects are discovered which can be cured by proper exercises taught to the student. In addition there are lessons in personal hygiene, folk-dancing and gymnasium, and a decided increase in general health often results.

The most frequent question that comes to one's mind about the students at the Wisconsin Summer School for Workers in Industry is: What happens after the students leave the school?

As in all education, results cannot be guaranteed for any individual. But according to the Director of the Summer School, many students have gained a new appreciation of the importance to the world of their everyday work, a new sense of responsibility to their fellow-workers, and in some cases have become effective members or leaders in their labor organizations. Many of them are continuing their studies in evening

classes. Some have organized classes of their own in their native towns and villages. As a whole they have gone back with increased health, zest for knowledge, better understanding of the various sides to the problems of industry, and eagerness to help towards their solution. Isn't it all well worth doing?

Let no Indian, not even a laboring man, be content to vegetate, to stop growing mentally, no matter what his age or occupation may be. Nobody is ever too humble or too old to learn something new. "A man is what he knows, plus mental and physical energy. One who knows nothing can be nothing." The world is full of things to make life interesting for the person who is intellectually alert. His right to knowledge, right to education and books without cost, is his birthright. Whoever deprives him of that right is a public enemy. Popular education is a subject to which the Indian leaders should dedicate themselves with energy.

A NEW MENACE TO THE DEFENCE IN CRIMINAL TRIALS—II

By SRIJUT RAJENDRA PRASAD, M.A., M.L.

IN my previous article on the subject (in the last issue of the *Hindustan Review*), I discussed the observations of the Chief Justice of the Patna High Court, from the standpoint of the administration of justice. In this concluding part of the discussion I propose to confine my criticisms—of the view propounded by the learned Chief Justice in criminal cases by defence counsel—from the legal standpoint, in the light of the decisions of the English Courts, in which many eminent judges have expressed their opinion on the points bearing upon the subject under consideration. I hope I shall be able to make out that Sir Courtney Terrall's view is

alike unwarranted, untenable and unsound both from the administrative and legal standpoints.

The Legal Aspect

The legal aspect also deserves careful consideration, and I venture to place certain points for the consideration of those who still pin their faith on the law and on the law courts. The rules laid down by the Chief Justice go, it seems to me, not only beyond but altogether against all that the British criminal jurisprudence teaches. I wonder if it has ever been held that an offence is aggravated in its heinousness by denial or by a counter-

charge. A denial may be mere negative or an emphatic denunciation of the charge—but may amount in either case in effect to no more than a plea of not guilty. A counter-charge goes beyond a plea of not guilty and lays upon the person bringing the counter-charge the onus of proving it. While in the case of plea of not guilty the accused is called upon to prove nothing, in the case of a counter-charge he is called upon to prove it, if he desires to bring it home to the opponent. Before dealing in detail with those sections of the Indian Evidence Act which are relevant to the discussion and the English cases which throw light on the point, let us see how far the Chief Justice is justified in issuing these instructions, by reference to certain other provisions, which may in an indirect manner help us to understand the policy of the law. The correctness of the Chief Justice's data may be tested with reference to some positive provisions in the Penal Code. Section 211 provides for punishment of a person who institutes a false charge of an offence against another with intent to injure him. The charge may be instituted by a private individual or by the police and the section is equally applicable to either case. It very often happens that the charge fails and the accused is acquitted.

It has been held in many cases that the main fact that the complainant has failed to prove the charge is not sufficient to bring him under the provisions of section 211. "Unless the person making a charge actually knows that there is no just or lawful ground for it, he is not guilty of the offence and cannot be properly convicted of it. It is not enough to find that he has acted in bad faith, that is, without due care or inquiry or that he has acted maliciously, or did not believe the charge to be true. The actual falsity of the charge, recklessness in acting upon information without testing it or scrutinizing its sources, natural malice towards the person charged, these are all relevant evidence, more or less cogent, but the ultimate conclusion must be in order to satisfy the definition of the offence, that the accused knew that there was no just or lawful ground for proceeding. It may be difficult to prove this knowledge but however difficult it may be, it must be proved, and unless it is proved the informer must be acquitted" (1893 P. R. No. 29 of 1894). A person may in good faith insti-

tute a charge which is substantially found to be false or he may, with intent to cause injury to an enemy, institute criminal proceedings against him, believing there are good grounds for them, but in neither case has he committed an offence under section 211. To constitute this offence it must be shown that the person instituting criminal proceedings knew that there was just or lawful ground for such proceedings—Chadda (1871) 3 N. W. S., 327. "In a prosecution under section 211 of the Indian Penal Code, two principles are to be kept in view, namely, first that failure on the part of a complainant to establish the truth of his allegation does not by any means justify the inference that the complaint was false and secondly that to secure a conviction in this class of cases, it must be established beyond reasonable doubt that the circumstances are not merely consistent with the guilt of the accused but entirely inconsistent with his innocence"—Ram Prasad *versus* Emperor, 16 C. L. J. 453.

Regarding the somewhat similar section 193, which provides for the punishment of an offence of giving false evidence, it has been held that the true rule in a case of giving false evidence is that no man can be convicted of such offence *except on proof of facts which, if accepted as true, show not merely that it is incredible but that it is impossible that the statements of the party accused made on oath can be true*. If the reference from the facts proved falls short of this, there is nothing on which a conviction can stand, because assuming all that is proved to be true it is still possible that no crime was committed—Ahmad Ally, 11 W. R., 25.

Depriving Accused of Safeguards Provided in Law

Instances like this may be multiplied from the law reports. The inference from these is clear that even in a case, where a charge is deliberately made in court and equally deliberately found to be false by a court, and in cases where evidence is given in solemn form in a court of law and not believed by that court, the fact of the charge or evidence being laid and found to be false is not considered sufficient for convicting the person instituting the false charge or giving the false evidence. Such person has to be tried under certain safeguards provided by the legislature, regarding

sanction of his prosecution and in that prosecution, as in all others, the onus is thrown upon the prosecutor to prove the ingredient of the offence laid down in the sections concerned as interpreted by the judicial decisions, some of which have been quoted above. As against this salutary rule which proceeds upon the well-recognised principle of criminal jurisprudence that every man is presumed to be innocent unless he is proved to be guilty, the learned Chief Justice lays down rules dealing with suggestions made in the course of defence of an accused person which not only take away the safeguard provided by a first trial for an offender in instituting a false charge or of perjury, but make him doubly guilty for one and the same offence and serve to enhance the sentence to be inflicted on him.

In the Light of Cases

The legal aspect of the case may be considered in somewhat greater detail with special reference to the provisions of the Evidence Act and the cases dealing with similar situations.

It is necessary to deal with six sections of the Evidence Act, sections 132, 146, 147, 148, 149 and 150. Section 132 provides that "a witness shall not be excused from answering any question as to any matter *relevant to the matter in issue* in any suit or in any civil or criminal proceeding, upon the ground that the answers to such question will criminate, or may tend directly or indirectly to criminate such witness or that it will expose or tend directly or indirectly to *expose, such witness to a penalty or forfeiture of any kind.*" The italics are mine and are intended to draw the attention of readers to the sharp distinctions which the Evidence Act has drawn between questions which are relevant, and questions which are irrelevant. Section 132 deals only with the position as it affects the witness, - it leaves untouched the question of the power of the court to allow or disallow the question. Section 146 provides that "when a witness is cross-examined he may, in addition to the questions hereinbefore referred to, be asked any questions which tend

- (1) to test his veracity,
- (2) to discover who he is and what is his position in life, or
- (3) to shake his credit, by injuring his character, although the answer to

such questions might tend directly or indirectly to criminate him or might expose or tend directly or indirectly to expose him to a penalty or forfeiture.

It is not necessary to mention that, up to now, we have not come to the question of the power of the court to interpose its authority for the purpose of disallowing the question put.

No Right to disallow a Relevant Question

Section 147 is important and it provides that "if any such question," that is to say, question referred to in section 146, "relates to a matter *relevant to the suit or proceeding*, the provisions of section 132 shall apply thereto." It means that a witness has no option to refuse to answer a relevant question, however much the answer to it may injure his character.

I now come to section 148 which deals with the authority of the court to disallow questions in cross-examination. It provides that "if any such question relates to a matter *not relevant to the suit or proceeding*, except in so far as it affects the credit of the witness by injuring his character, the court shall decide whether or not the witness shall be compelled to answer it, and may, if it thinks fit, warn the witness that he is not obliged to answer it." And then follow four rules intended to assist the court in making up its mind whether the question should be allowed or disallowed.

What is Relevant

I stop now to consider the effect of these sections. A sharp distinction is drawn between questions relevant and questions irrelevant; and a discretion is given to the judge to disallow questions within the ambit of section 146, if they are irrelevant or are relevant only in so far as they affect the credit of the witness. This section was admittedly designed to protect the witness against improper cross-examination. For instance, if a woman, says Sir J. F. Stephen, "prosecuted a man for picking her pocket, it would be monstrous to enquire whether she had not had an illegitimate child ten years before." Instances may be multiplied; but it is clear that there is a distinction between questions tending to shake the credit of the witness in regard to

matters outside those with which the prosecution is dealing and questions necessary to raise and establish a defence, though they may involve imputations on the character of the prosecutor or the witnesses for the prosecution. Questions tending to shake the credit of the witness are really irrelevant, and become relevant only by a fiction of the law that the credibility of a witness is always a matter in issue; but questions put to raise and establish a defence are always directly relevant and cannot be shut out by the court. It is easy to fall into an error in regard to this distinction; but a lawyer should have no difficulty in appreciating it. I will endeavour to make the point clear by reference to an incident in the famous Tichbourne case. An elderly man was called to disprove the identity of the claimant with the real Roger Tichbourne, and he was asked in cross-examination whether in early life he had not had an intrigue with a married woman. This was clearly a question in regard to matters outside those with which the prosecution was dealing and was, therefore, irrelevant. But a question suggesting that the prosecution case is false and the evidence concocted stands on a different footing. Such a question is clearly necessary for the development of the defence, and the court will take serious responsibility on itself in disallowing such a question.

I propose to show at once that the view which I am presenting receives considerable support from the English cases. In order to understand them, it is necessary to remember that in 1898, an Act was passed in England called "The Criminal Evidence Act," which made every person charged with an offence a competent witness on his behalf, but it provided that "a person charged and called as a witness in pursuance of this Act shall not be asked, and if asked, shall not be required to answer, any question tending to show that he has committed or been convicted of or been charged with any offence other than that wherewith he is then charged, or is of bad character, unless," and this is very important, "the nature or the conduct of the defence is such as to involve imputations on the character of the prosecutor or the witnesses for the prosecution." As may be anticipated, the question has arisen in various cases in England, after the passing

of the Act of 1898, as to what constitutes "imputations on the character of the prosecutor or the witnesses for the prosecution." From the practical standpoint, the question is of great importance; for where the nature or conduct of the defence is such as to involve imputations on the character of the prosecutor or the witnesses for the prosecution, the whole of the past life of the prisoner can be laid bare before the jury. I proceed to show how the question has been dealt with in England.

In cross-examination R. was asked **R. V. Rouse** whether the prosecutor had (1904), 1 K. B. invented the story, and he replied, "It is a lie, and he is a liar." Thereupon the prosecutor gave evidence to prove the prisoner's previous conviction on the ground that the nature or conduct of the defence was such as to involve imputation on the character of the prosecutor. It was held that the defence itself by the plea of not guilty involves the allegation that the charge is not true, and that the answer of the defendant was no more than a denial, emphatic in its terms to the same effect. In delivering judgment, Alverstone, L., C. J., said that if the answer of the accused could be construed as an attack upon the prosecutor's general character as regards truthfulness, that is to say, *if it referred to matters outside those with which the prosecutor was dealing*, different considerations might arise. Darling, J., added: "Merely to deny a fact alleged by the prosecution is not necessarily to make an attack on the character of the prosecutor or his witnesses . . . to add in cross-examination that the prosecutor is a liar is merely an emphatic mode of denial, and does not affect its essential quality." This decision gives a clear guidance as to how a question of this nature ought to be decided. Where the attack on the prosecution is in regard to matters outside those with which the prosecution is dealing, the nature or conduct of the defence will be regarded as involving imputations on the character of the prosecutor's; but where the attack is made in relation to the very matters with which the prosecution is dealing, such an attack will be regarded as an emphatic mode of denial of the fact alleged by the prosecutor and as included in the plea of not guilty. It is obvious that the effect of disregarding the distinction will be to unduly hamper an accused in making his

defence; for, unless he pleads guilty, he must of necessity say in a great majority of cases that the case against him is false; though there is no necessity for him to say that the maiden aunt of the prosecutor is addicted to the most vicious habits imaginable. I now proceed to deal with some of the other cases decided in England.

Prisoner when arrested said that he was acting under the instructions from a detective. At the trial he cross-examined the detective to show that the latter employed him as an informer. He was thereupon cross-examined as to his previous conviction. Per Alverstone, L., C. J.: "I must repeat what I have said before, namely, that raising a defence, even in forcible language, is not of necessity casting imputations on the character of the prosecution witnesses. No doubt imputations may be cast on their character, quite independently of the defence raised, either by direct evidence or by questions put to them in cross-examination. . . . If the questions put to Moss, the detective in question, involved the imputation that he was guilty of misconduct independently of the defence or of the necessity for developing the defence, different considerations might arise, for the question might then perhaps be construed as an attack on the prosecutor's general character." This decision again illustrates the distinction which has to be drawn between an imputation independently of the defence or of the necessity for developing the defence and an imputation as part of the defence and constituting the defence. Incidentally, it shows the anxiety of the English judges not to hamper the defence in any way.

The appellant was convicted of house-breaking. The question was whether he had been properly identified. In giving evidence at the trial, the appellant accused the police inspector of deliberately assisting the witness in his identification, whereupon he was cross-examined as to his previous conviction. The court of appeal quashed the conviction on the ground that cross-examination as to the appellant's previous conviction should not have been allowed. In delivering the judgment of the court, Channel, J., said as follows: "It is true that the appellant in the course of his evidence

referred to matters which, if true, amounted to a serious charge against the inspector. But the question of identification cannot be said to have been irrelevant to appellant's defence. It was natural that appellant should refer to it. We do not think that, because a prisoner perhaps inconsiderately but naturally and with reference to his defence makes a statement of this kind, the statute means that his career is to be exposed." This case is very important. The charge against the inspector was a serious one. It was a charge that the inspector prompted a witness to identify him though he had not identified him and thereby concocted the evidence against him. The trial court found that the charge was wholly unfounded. The court of appeal took the view that it was "natural" for the appellant to make the charge since that was his defence to the case against him; and that, as the charge was made "with reference to his defence" his career should not have been exposed to the jury. According to the Chief Justice of the Patna High Court, a charge of this nature, if unsubstantiated (and presumably it would be for the Chief Justice to say whether the charges were substantiated or not) "would gravely aggravate the original offence, and the sentence in that case would be substantially enhanced." Comment on his view would be an act of supererogation.

The appellant was convicted of robbery with violence. His defence was one of mistaken identity. The trial judge had allowed the appellant to be cross-examined as to his previous conviction on the ground that "a severe and unwarrantable attack had been made on the members of the police force who were concerned in collecting the evidence in the case." The appellant had made the following charges:

- (1) the prosecutor had been "coached" by a detective at the police station as to the sum of money of which he had been robbed,
- (2) when he protested, the inspector struck him down,
- (3) the prosecutor was a habitual drunkard,
- (4) the constable who arrested him and who was the first witness for the prosecution acted in an improper manner,
- (5) the whole evidence against him was concocted.

R. V. Bridge-water (1905), 1 K. B., 131.

R. V. Westfall, 7 Cr. App. Rep., 176.

R. V. Preston, 2 Cr. App. Rep., 24.

A more serious catalogue of misconduct cannot, I venture to think, be compiled against the police; and yet the conviction was quashed, not because the appellant had established the charges against the police, but because the charges brought forward by him did not "expose the prisoner to such very serious consequences." Hamilton, J., pointed out that charges (1) and (2) "were not within the words of the section" as the inspector against whom those charges were made was neither the prosecutor nor a witness for the prosecution. As regards charge (3), the learned judge said that "there does not appear to have been enough said to constitute such an imputation on the prosecutor as to expose the prisoner to such very serious consequences." In regard to charge (4), the learned judge admitted that "that no doubt was a suggestion that the constable was not only mistaken in arresting him at all, but that he acted in an improper manner." But he held on the authority of the cases to which I have referred above that "this does not seem to us to be such an imputation against the witness's character as to let in cross-examination of the prisoner as to his previous convictions." Charge (5) he disposed of by saying, "this was not so much the basis of the defence as would justify us in saying that the nature of the defence involved imputations on the character of the witnesses for the prosecution." When I read this case I asked myself, how would the Chief Justice of the Patna High Court, have decided this case in India.

Appellant was convicted of knowingly receiving a stolen coat. At the conclusion of the case for the prosecution, he handed in a statement containing the following sentence: "You can see that the police evidence is false." He was thereupon cross-examined as to his previous conviction. Per Hewart, L., C. J. (quashing the conviction): "It has been repeatedly held in this court that a mere emphatic denial of the case for the prosecution is not sufficient to warrant this kind of cross-examination." I ask myself is there any difference between the two words, "false," and "concocted"? I will now cite two cases to show under what circumstances the court has construed an attack by the prisoner as involving imputations on the character of the prosecutor

or the witnesses for the prosecution.

The appellant was convicted of larceny. Counsel for the prisoner suggested to two of the witnesses called for the prosecution that they themselves had stolen the money.

Thereupon the prisoner was allowed to be cross-examined as to his previous conviction. In the court of appeal it was pointed out by counsel for the Crown that the prisoner had never suggested that either of the witnesses was the thief and that therefore the questions put in cross-examination did not arise out of the defence. He conceded that questions which are asked merely with the object of eliciting the facts in connection with the very matter with which the prisoner is charged do not constitute an attack on the character of the witness; but he insisted that the questions put were not in that category as they did not arise out of the defence. It was accordingly held that the prisoner was properly cross-examined as to his previous conviction.

Appellant was convicted of receiving stolen goods. A witness, Mrs. Smith, gave evidence to the effect that the appellant had offered her these goods for disposal by her husband. In cross-examination, it was suggested to her that she had invented her story because she had a grievance against the appellant as he had caused her brother to be convicted for house-breaking some years previously. He was thereupon cross-examined as to his previous convictions. Per Hewart L., C. J.: "It is apparent that the statement on behalf of the prisoner and the suggestion made on his behalf in cross-examination to the effect that Mrs. Smith's evidence was not merely a pure invention, but was due to malice towards him arising out of a grievance imputed to Mr. Smith about a previous and wholly unrelated episode in which appellant and her brother were concerned, were imputations that went sufficiently far to permit the kind of cross-examination of which the appellant complains."

It is clear that a distinction has throughout been drawn in the English cases between an attack on the prosecution in relation to the very matters with which the prosecution is dealing and an attack in reference to matters "outside those with which the prosecution is dealing," (in the

R. V. Parker, 18 Cr. App., Rep. 14.

R. V. Dunkley, 19 Cr. App. Rep., 78.

R. V. Hudson, 7 Cr. App. Rep. 256.

language of Alverstone, L., C. J.), or in regard to "a wholly unrelated episode" (in the language of Hewart L., C. J.). A reference to sections 146, 147 and 148 of the Evidence Act will make it clear that the same distinction has been drawn in the Indian statute. What involves an imputation on the character of the prosecutor or the witnesses for the prosecution must be decided by reference to the English cases; and it must not be forgotten that, in deciding the question the large-minded English judges have always kept in view the paramount necessity of giving an unrestricted freedom to persons accused of crimes of presenting their defence, so long as they do not impute unworthy conduct to the prosecutor or his witnesses with reference to matters outside those with which the prosecution is dealing. It is well settled that the suggestion that the prosecution case is false and its evidence concocted does not impose a penalty on the accused. The Indian statute does not impose a penalty on the accused for transgressing the bounds of propriety, but it vests the court with discretion to disallow a question which relates to a matter not relevant to the suit or proceedings except in so far as it affects the credit of the witness by injuring his character. Such a question is irrelevant except for injuring the character of the witness and it would, in the language of the English judges, be described, as "an attack upon the general character having reference to matters outside those with which the prosecution was dealing." I think I have made it clear that both under the English statute, as also under the Indian statute a defence may be raised in forcible language by suggesting that the case of the prosecution is false and its evidence concocted. Such a defence is strictly relevant and the court is bound to enquire into it. I have, therefore, no hesitation in saying that an attempt by the learned Chief Justice to hamper the defence by suggesting that, if the accused person fails to establish that the prosecution evidence is concocted, his sentence will be substantially enhanced is contrary to the spirit in which criminal justice has been administered in England and in India and is wholly unjustifiable.

Full of Peril to the Advocates

There remains the question of the penalty which the Chief Justice would impose

on the Advocate. The Chief Justice says that when an Advocate begins an attack upon a prosecutor or his witness, the court should demand from him an assurance that he had good grounds for making the attack. The Chief Justice continues as follows: "If the assurance is not received the cross-examination on these lines should be stopped promptly. If the assurance is given and if it should appear at the termination of the trial that no such grounds had existed, the tribunal should bring the conduct of the Advocate to the notice of the High Court." It becomes relevant in this connection to consider the effect of sections 149 and 150 of the Evidence Act. Section 149 says: "No such question as is referred to in section 148 ought to be asked unless the person asking it has reasonable grounds for thinking that the imputation which it conveys is well-founded." Now it is clear that section 149 has to be read with section 148 and it means that no question relating to a matter 'not relevant' to the suit or proceeding except in so far as it affects the credit of the witness by injuring his character ought to be asked unless the person asking it has reasonable grounds for thinking that the imputation which it conveys is well-founded. Relevant questions suggesting that the prosecution case is false and its evidence concocted does not fall within the ambit of section 149. But even if irrelevant questions such as are contemplated by section 148 are asked, the Advocate is completely protected if he is instructed to put those questions. This is made clear by the illustration to section 149. According to the illustration an Advocate has reasonable grounds for putting questions, such as are contemplated by section 148, if he is instructed to put these questions. Section 150 then provides that "if the court is of opinion that any such question was asked without reasonable ground, it may, if it was asked by any barrister, pleader, vakil or attorney, report the circumstances of the case to the High Court or other authority to which such barrister, pleader, vakil or attorney is subject in the exercise of his profession." On a reading of sections 148, 149 and 150 there does not seem to be any doubt that

(1) an Advocate cannot be called upon to give an assurance as to reasonable grounds if the questions are strictly relevant to the enquiry, although they may

involve the suggestion that the prosecution case is false and its evidence concocted.

(2) an Advocate may be called upon to give an assurance as to reasonable grounds if the question relates to a matter not relevant to the suit or proceeding, except in so far as it affects the credit of the witness by injuring his character.

(3) proper instruction to put the question and not the view of the judge as to the reasonableness of the ground, constitutes 'reasonable ground' within the meaning of section 149.

(4) the circumstances of the case cannot be reported to the High Court, if the Advocate had instructions to put the questions, though it may turn out afterwards that there was no basis for the instructions.

In this view, the concluding portion of the judgment of the Chief Justice would appear to be full of peril to the Advocates practising under the Jurisdiction of the Patna High Court, though happily it does not touch the advocates of the other High Courts.

Advocacy in England *vs.* that in India

There is just another matter that I should like to touch upon. The judgment of the Chief Justice suggests that the standard of advocacy is higher in England, that is to say, in English Advocates make no suggestion whatever against the prosecution unless they have anxiously considered

the matter and have come to the reluctant conclusion that those suggestions should be made. In answer to this, I may refer to R. V. Winson (18 Cr. App. Rep., 108). In that case the prisoner was cross-examined as to what he suggested were the motives which caused the witnesses for the prosecution to make false charges against him. Counsel for the prisoner in the court of appeal complained that this was an unfair question to put to the appellant. To this complaint Shearman, J., replied as follows: "These questions are common form and they are put to anticipate the defence that the prosecution has been instigated by some malicious person." I make no comment except to point out that it is common even for Advocates in England to charge that the prosecution has been instigated by some malicious persons. But no doubt the standard should be different in a country like India where criminal administration is largely in the hands of amateurs who, moreover, are under the direct control of the District Magistrate.

Considering the question from all points of view, I have no doubt that if the instructions conveyed in the Chief Justice's judgment are acted upon by criminal tribunals, the position will be one of intolerable difficulty for the Advocate and must necessarily hamper the defence of the accused persons and it is not improved by the fact that there is no foundation or justification in law for such instructions.

THE FISCAL RELATIONS OF INDIAN STATES WITH BRITISH INDIA

By PROF. B. G. SAPRE, M.A.

THE Butler Committee was appointed to examine the political and fiscal relations between the Indian States and the Government of India. It received a mass of evidence from the States and had the additional advantage of hearing the case of Indian princes from an eminent counsel. Its definition of the relations of the Indian States with the

Paramount Power has recommended itself to the princes though it has raised a storm of protest from Indian publicists and politicians. Their dissatisfaction was intensified by the feeling of uncertainty about the position of Indian States in a self-governing India and by a vague fear that the princes were an obstacle in the way of British India

attaining her cherished political goal. The Viceregal pronouncement of 31st October has happily clarified the atmosphere. Dominion Status is declared to be that goal and the princes, on their part, have expressed their willingness to co-operate in the attainment of that goal. They will also participate, along with the representatives of British India, in the Conference that His Majesty's Government has agreed to invite before proposals are finally submitted to Parliament. But though, in this way, the political issue may be said to be well on the way to a satisfactory solution, the fiscal relations of the States with British India have not received the attention they deserve. The Butler Committee simply shelved that issue by recommending a committee of experts for its examination, and this in spite of the circumstance that the committee contained an expert. This shows that the fiscal problem is a complex one and requires patient investigation.

I shall attempt in this paper to indicate the broad grounds on which the claim of the Indian States for compensation is based, the principles by which its monetary value should be determined and the machinery by which the Government of India should meet it.

The principal grounds for the claim are two: the repeated assurances of the Paramount Power to protect and maintain intact the States without their being absorbed in British India, and, secondly, the change in the economic position of the States that resulted from the consolidation of British India and the establishment therein of a highly centralised system of administration. The consolidation of British rule in India has been a process analogous to the consolidation of scattered holdings. There is no doubt about the greater productivity of a consolidated holding.

But what about those who are expropriated in the process? If you are honestly convinced that the tendency towards large-scale cultivation was inevitable then the sooner the expropriation was brought about the better it would be for all. But if you concede that the petty cultivator has as much a right to existence as the large farmer then their co-existence and prosperity become a matter of just and equitable arrangement. The process of consolidation though of historical interest, has little practical bearing and the fact of the survival of the weaker party alone matters.

It may be therefore that though the expansion of British India into India by the absorption of the States is a consummation which some desire as leading to better government, the claim of the Indian States is entitled to be sympathetically considered when once their continued existence is taken as a 'settled fact.' If for any reason—selfish or disinterested—the retention of the States is regarded as a just, wise or benevolent policy then the question of giving them a fair chance for development becomes one of mutual agreement. Sportsmanship—if no higher principle of statesmanship—requires this.

Along with consolidation has gone the process of establishing a centralised administration in British India. The Indian States have suffered (and gained) from British India what India as a whole has suffered (and gained) from England. The interests of India as a whole have been sacrificed to those of England and of the Indian States to those of British India.

Centralisation has affected not only the Indian States but also the Provinces. They were impoverished to support a costly Central Government. Hence the keynote of political reform during the last fifty years has been Decentralization. This is being advocated not only for the

narrow purpose of administrative simplicity but for the larger object of giving fuller scope to the development of the diverse elements that make up India. The Indian States are an integral part of India and their claim for larger resources is as legitimate as the claim of the Provinces. It is impossible to exaggerate the evils from which the rural population (and this is 90 p.c. of the whole) suffers on account of the policy of centralisation. The Government of India look to their own needs first; the Provincial Governments come next. Defence and the framework of administration absorb the larger portion of revenue. Little is left for the development of the countryside. The burden of taxation is so heavy that little is left in the pockets of the people for private improvement and enterprise. The Reforms of 1919 failed because of the financial resourcelessness of the provinces. Provincial autonomy would be a farce unless it was accompanied by a substantial increase in provincial revenues.

The need for such augmentation is not less urgent in the case of the States. Their autonomy is of no avail—especially in the case of the smaller ones—unless they have adequate funds to adopt a progressive policy. Their existing sources of revenue are at once few and overstrained. The avenue of supplementing them by the allocation of additional heads of taxation is as much out of the question as the division of the proceeds of other taxes unless indeed one was prepared to throw away all the lessons of the financial history of our country.

What then should be the basis for the adjustment of the fiscal relations between the Government of India and the States? Most writers who have written on this subject have attempted to calculate the share which the States contribute to the Imperial or Provincial revenues and a refund of as many as

15 crores of rupees is claimed on this score. The difficulties of this method and the unsatisfactoriness of the results obtained therefrom are obvious. Modern life is so complex and the States are so intimately bound up economically, with the surrounding British territory that it is well-nigh impossible to disentangle the share which the States contribute to the Customs, Excise, Salt, Income-tax, Railways, Posts and Telegraphs, Exchange, etc.

The true basis for adjustment is to be found not in the contribution which the States make to the Indian Exchequer but in the extent of deficiency which they suffer to reach a decent standard of administration. Barring historical origin and the circumstance of personal rule, the functions discharged by a State *vis-a-vis* its subjects are analogous to those discharged by a Provincial Government and District Board. There is no reason why the subjects of Indian States should not possess those conditions of life which subjects of British India are beginning to enjoy. It is not fair to penalise the subjects of Indian States for the policy of perpetuating the order of princes. So far, therefore, as the benefits of general administration are concerned, *viz.*, protection to life and property, education and sanitation, fair taxation, etc., British subjects and subjects of Indian States should be on a plane of equality, apart from those shortcomings which are inseparable from personal rule.

The idea of the Government of India contributing to the States, though it looks novel at first sight, is in keeping with the financial policy of that Government towards the provinces. As all the revenues belonged to the Central Government it used to give to each province what it required. Backward provinces were developed and frontier provinces were defended at the cost of the

wealthier provinces. The principle upon which the Government of India proceeded was the communistic principle: to each according to its wants and not according to its contribution, after it had, of course, taken out its own lion's share. Why should not the same principle apply to the Indian States which are so many islands submerged in the rising tide of British expansion. If Parliament regards itself the custodian of the interests of British India, it is, by the same logic of circumstances, the custodian of the interests of the Indian States as well, and it is incumbent upon it to apply with impartiality the revenues of India to the development of Indians be they subjects of British India or of the States. The excuse that its hands are tied down by the existence of princes is as disingenuous as the plea on which before the Great Mutiny of 1857 the States were annexed in the interests of good government and humanity. The ultimate test which all arrangements with the States must satisfy is this: whether they, without prejudicially affecting the dignity and rights of the princes, promote the welfare of the subjects. If the Paramount Power must remain paramount and if the exhibition and exercise of that power are to be made to over-awe the ruler should he go astray, there would be nothing wrong if the interests of the subjects were given the prior consideration in fiscal readjustment. If the Paramount Power feels justified, nay compelled, to depose an erring prince is it not bound to furnish an able one with the wherewithal to carry on decent administration? Indeed the strongest claim of the princes to a share in the revenues of British India flows from their desire to do good to their subjects. The extravagance of

a few and the indifference of many should not be used as an argument to deprive the princes of their legitimate share though proper safeguards may be necessary to prevent abuse.

The idea of the Central Government giving subsidies to the provinces, and even the States, has commended itself to a recent writer on Indian Federal Finance.* He proposes a more scientific redistribution of revenues between the Central and Provincial Governments under which the former gain about 25 crores of rupees in addition to their present revenue. The writer suggests "that the bulk of this revenue surplus is capable of being distributed among the provinces—at least 20 crores to begin with—to ensure the provision of that indispensable and irreducible minimum of civic rights which the Indian Government have so far failed to afford."† The same writer further suggests that about five crores of rupees should be refunded to the States to begin with.

As noted before the guiding principle of the financial readjustment should be that the standard of administration in a State should approximate to the standard of administration of the province in which it is situated. Provincial standards vary greatly because of their economic conditions. We may rightly assume that the economic condition of a State is similar to that of the province to which it belongs. But in calculating the cost of administration of an Indian State allowance must be made for two factors: (1) the personal expenditure of the prince and (2) tributes and military expenditure. If we take for granted the existence of the prince we must provide for his *Khasgi* or private purse. This should be fixed as Civil List. As for tributes, they ought to disappear alto-

* Prof. K. T. Shah: *Federal Finance in India* (Taraporewala, Bombay) 1929.

† *Ibid.* p. 330.

gether as the vestiges of an ancient order of things and inconsistent with the position of the princes in a self-governing India. As for military expenditure it should be revised in the light of the new position of the States and treated as a part of the cost of administration. If after deducting the *Khasgi* expenditure (now fixed) and the tributes (now abolished), the *per capita* expenditure on administration in a particular state (including, of course, military expenditure, as revised and reduced) should be less than the *per capita* expenditure on administration in that province (as will generally be the case) then the Central Government should make good the deficiency in the form of a subsidy calculated on the basis of administrative cost and population as here explained. In both cases administrative cost should include the expenditure incurred by local bodies. For example, if the cost of administration (provincial and local) per head in a province is Rs. 10 and the corresponding cost per head in a State with a population of two lacs is Rs. 8, then the Central Government should give an annual subsidy of 4 lacs of rupees for a specified number of years at the end of which the subsidy should be revised.

Such subsidies though theoretically unsound become inevitable in modern States, Federal as well as Unitary, and even the Indian Taxation Enquiry Committee has approved of them (vide para 510 of its report).

Having indicated the grounds on which the States base their claim and the method of calculating its money equivalent, it now remains to sketch the machinery by which the subsidies should be paid. There must be a Central Body to look into the claims of each State. The Political Department of the Government of India cannot discharge this function. A new 'Board of

Commissioners' for the Revenue of Indian States should be established. Government of India, the Indian Legislature, and the princes should have due representation on this Board which should consist of, say, nine members. The Chairman should be of the status of a Chief Judge of a High Court and two members should have experience of fiscal administration. To this Board should be assigned a fixed annual lump sum, say, by way of illustration, 10 crores of rupees. This sum, in the absence of reliable statistics, will be more or less arbitrary, to begin with.

The *modus operandi* of the Board should be as follows: The budget of each State should be recast to show (1) the *Khasgi* expenditure of the Prince, (2) Expenditure due to hereditary and traditional expenditure obligatory upon the prince, (3) Military and Imperial expenditure to which the State is liable, and lastly (4) Expenditure for the welfare of the subjects. The first two should be fixed, as suggested before and excluded from calculation. The Board then should assign to each State a sum equivalent to the deficiency in its revenue approximate to the provincial standard of administration. The fixing of the initial subsidies will be a delicate task. The Board as a whole should hear the case of each State through its accredited representative and the decision of the majority should prevail.

The initial subsidy, once fixed, should be credited to the account of each State year after year and should not lapse. A State should be allowed to draw upon the amount at its credit for specific purposes which will require detailed and careful definition, *e.g.*, education, sanitation, public works, village reconstruction. A State should be entitled to draw upto twice the amount it is spending out of its own budget for the purpose for which grants can be made, in

addition to its existing expenditure. For example, if a state at present spends a lac of rupees on Education and it prepares a scheme for Primary Education involving an additional burden of Rs. 25,000 then it should draw two thirds of this amount from the Board.

The advantages of this procedure are as follows: The Board being a truly representative Body will inspire confidence. So far as the States are concerned they need not regard it as below their dignity to put their claims before a Body which contains their own representatives. The Government of India and the Indian Legislature will find advantage in having an independent Body through which the undoubted claim of the States could be satisfied. Again whatever

Federal arrangement may evolve for regulating matters of all-India concern such as Tariffs, Railways, Exchange, etc., the proposed Board will be necessary for the settling of claims. The procedure here recommended will ensure that the subsidies are spent entirely for the benefit of the subjects of the States. It will check extravagance and at the same time encourage the States to undertake expenditure upon nation-building departments. It will enable a State to husband its resources to execute a big work or scheme, and it will enable neighbouring States to undertake a project of common benefit. Above all, by improving the condition of the subjects of the States it will prepare the way for the closer union of the States as well as British India.

LORD BIRKENHEAD IN DIFFERENT ROLES: A "CRITICAL" APPRECIATION

His Lordship as a Journalist

By "A FELLOW-SCRIBBLER."

I SHALL discuss in this "critical" appreciation the Right Hon'ble the Earl of Birkenhead as a journalist. In this sphere of his activities, he occupies a fairly important position for the reason that all his works—other than, of course, his *International Law*—are no better than journealese. His collections of miscellaneous essays and addresses (brought together under the titles of *Points of View* and *Law, Life and Letters*, as also his *Fourteen English Judges*) are frankly speaking journealese pure and simple, without the least literary touch, as are also his two legal collections, *Famous Trials of History* and *More Famous Trials*. The reader, who has followed so far the delineation of the noble earl's character (in the previous study), will not be surprised to learn that in the collection of "famous" trials, he has unblushingly included his own forensic

performances as F. E. Smith. Perhaps he is right, for trials in which he appeared as counsel must be deemed by him "famous," if not so, in the opinion of others. There could be no significant illustration of the spirit of Birkenheadian journealese—and an intensely "yellow" one at that—than his lordship's unhesitating inclusion of his own performances, as an advocate, in a collection of "famous trials of history." "Modesty, thy name is woman" is clearly his lordship's motto. For this reason, I shall not discuss in this survey Lord Birkenhead as a *litterateur*, for that decidedly he is not. But he is entitled to be considered as a journalist, as he claims to be one. And yet no one has cast such an unmerited stigma on the newspaper press as this gentleman, who would no doubt claim for himself a seat on the highest rung of the journalistic ladder. Here

is the delicious comment of the *Times of India* on Lord Birkenhead's observations on "English newspapers":—"After disposing of India in this fashion, Lord Birkenhead swept on to China, where he found that 'students were unaccountably neglecting the immortal learning of Confucius but were reading the columns of English newspapers.' This cheap taunt at the press does not come well from Lord Birkenhead. As one who has spent a good deal of time writing for newspapers, he should not blame others for reading them; and as for the immortal learning of Confucius, we have yet to learn that Lord Birkenhead is an authority on the Bible or even a qualified exponent of the Christian spirit! Students in India and China naturally have a tendency to extreme politics, just as other students have all over the world. The tendency is as strongly marked in Britain as anywhere else, and it was not long ago that the *Morning Post* was working itself into hysterics over the dangers of Oxford Bolshevism. This type of mind cannot be eliminated by a Kaiser-like bombast about the sharp edge of the sword, and if Lord Birkenhead wants to find a cure, he should first show us that he knows something about the causes of the disease." But this scathing condemnation of his lordship, by a leading Anglo-Indian paper, is very likely to be lost on a veteran journalist like the Earl of Birkenhead.

Taking now his journalistic "wares" into consideration, it must be admitted with a sense of sorrow that Lord Birkenhead's own estimate of his august position in the world of journalism, has not been accepted by qualified critics. On the assumption that he is a great orator—in which character I shall discuss him later—he contributed some years back, to a popular weekly, a series of articles on "Oratory." Now this is how it struck the critic (in the issue of December, 1925) of the *Platform*, a monthly devoted to the cultivation of public speaking and oratory:—"We have referred to the series of articles appearing in *T. P.'s Weekly*, upon 'Oratory' by Lord Birkenhead. We confess to the keenest disappointment. *These articles are compositions which would not bring credit to the merest hack of Fleet Street* (my Italics). They are utterly unworthy of a man who has occupied the high office of Lord Chancellor. They contain no single spark of originality either in matter or in the manner of their presentation. But we suppose that so long

as the press continues to offer high sums for a name, men will prostitute themselves to Mammon—Mammon whose "looks and thoughts, even in heaven, are on the golden floor!" What has his lordship to say to it? It is literally wiping the floor with him. But more of it anon.

More recently that great journalist himself "came out" as formally connected with a weekly as its chief contributor. The formal announcement of his adhesion to the ranks of journalists naturally aroused much interest in Fleet Street, and his contributions were, therefore, scanned by competent critics. And what was the result? We shall let but one of them speak his mind—the very qualified literary critic of the *John of London's Weekly*, who signs himself as "Jackdaw." Now this is how Mr. "Jackdaw" successfully pecked at the journalistic coronet of the "noble Earl" turned journalist:—"The arrival of Lord Birkenhead in Fleet Street has aroused much interest, if no wild enthusiasm, in our literary thoroughfare. He comes to us from a profession, whose doors are locked against trippers, to a profession whose doors are open to all. It follows that he cannot look for a State entry into journalism. Nor, to do him justice, has he looked for it. With a gesture or two, and perhaps with an extra long cigar between his lips, he has hung up his wig in the Old Cock Tavern and has become one of us! We shall not "my lord" him now. On the other hand, both he and we may find it difficult to forget his past. When former Lord High Chancellor of England, Keeper of the Great Seal and Guardian of the King's conscience, rolled into one, begins to be headlined in our daily, evening, and weekly newspapers, we are fain to cry:—

Can such things be,
And overcome us like a summer cloud
Without our special wonder?

Still, Fleet Street's special wonder is always shortlived, and a little laughter is always behind it." One can see from this how the appearance of his lordship as a journalist was hailed in Fleet Street.

After these preliminary observations by way of welcome "Jackdaw" proceeds as follows:—"On the principle that from him to whom much has been given much shall be required, I venture to suggest to Lord Birkenhead that he should write, not as a

scribe, but as a master of pure and logical English. We scribes are a hurried and worried folk, who often write under almost incredible conditions of urgency. Lord Birkenhead is, or ought to be, in a happier position. The most venial sins of leader-writers, paragraphists, and reporters can hardly be forgiven to an ex-Lord Chancellor and present Privy Councillor. From him we may demand clarity itself. If Lord Birkenhead chooses to dictate his articles, and then leave their proof-reading to others, we shall not get the lucidity and logical rightness which informed so many of his legal judgments! In an article which he has contributed to *Britannia*, on the right or wrong of capital punishment, he points out that the death penalty for treason, though not abolished, is no longer necessarily inflicted:—"I conceive that in some of the existing cases, it may well be that the death penalty is excessive, but most of them are also triable under the Treason-Felony Acts, which were passed so that the offence can be treated as a felony without capital punishment. There is, unfortunately, a recent case, that of Casement. This man, born of good family, had spent his life in the service of the State. He had shortly before the War returned on a pension, after receiving a knighthood for his services."

Now listen to Jackdaw's comments on this passage which emanated (presumably) from the fountain-pen of the earl-journalist:—"Here the introduction of the word 'unfortunately' can raise only one expectation in the reader's mind. It is that Casement ought to have had the benefit of the Acts referred to, and 'unfortunately' did not receive it. But this is the opposite of what Lord Birkenhead means, for he dismisses Casement with the quite contrary remark, 'I am certain that it will be generally agreed that his sentence was just and merited: and that it was right that he should die.' (By the way, that was so as he himself had appeared as counsel for the Crown against Casement) But says Jackdaw "the word 'unfortunately' is redundant and misleading." But "unfortunately" for Lord Birkenhead, that is not all, for he is also evidently a victim of the "vice of dictation." Let us listen to Jackdaw: "I do not know whether Lord Birkenhead dictated this article, though, from internal evidence, I conclude that he did. The vice

of dictation is that it tends to wordiness. An unwanted or illogical word will fall from the lips that would never fall from the pen. In referring to the pirates who recently murdered two gallant British officers on the River Anking, Lord Birkenhead writes:—"These men are of course Chinese, but we must not assume that they are pirates because they are Chinese." Then why 'of course'? There is no 'of course' about it, but if there is then what is the relation of 'of course' to the rest of the sentence? If these pirates were *of course* Chinese, then it is fair to assume that their piracy and nationality were closely allied. All that Lord Birkenhead means by 'of course' is what the society journalist means when he or she writes:—"The Hon. Peggy, who is of course a niece of the Earl of—". Again, there is no 'of course' about it. So Lord Birkenhead as a journalist is—on the high authority of Jackdaw—not only "redundant and misleading," but also pleonastic or tautological!

Yet more hot stuff is to come. "In another paragraph"—says Jackdaw—"our illustrious recruit refers to the infamous Burke and Hare murders, in Edinburgh, as having been committed in 'the early part of the eighteenth century.' They were committed a century later. This must have been a mere slip, and I refer to it only because it suggests that Lord Birkenhead, who could not have been mistaken on the point, seems to have allowed someone else to read his proof. Referring to George Joseph Smith, of the 'Brides in the Bath' case, he writes:—"He was a man who set himself, like Landru, to live by swindling confiding females. He offered them marriage. If they parted with their means before the ceremony, he decamped and left them penniless. If they were more cautious and waited until after he had kept his word, then he robbed them as soon as possible after the marriage, leaving them as penniless as the others." Why until 'after he had kept his word'? 'After' is clearly redundant: moreover, 'after he had kept his word' and 'after the marriage' mean the same thing, so that 'after the marriage' is redundant. And if, as seems to be suggested, he left them all as penniless as the others, who were the 'others'?" So here, again the noble Earl-journalist is 'redundant and misleading.' What a poor sub-editor he would make! Lastly, writes Jackdaw, "Lord

Birkenhead writes:—"It is said the experience in other countries has shown that the abolition of the death penalty has not increased the number of murders. It may be the case in particular areas, but the experiment has not been tried for a sufficient period or over a sufficiently wide area, to form an accurate opinion for our guidance." Who, or what, is unable to form the opinion? Had the sentence ended on the word 'opinion,' it would have been passable, but the addition of 'for our guidance' makes 'experiment' the nominative of 'form.' No experiment can form an opinion. And even if this point can be waived, the sentence remains confused and woolly." So in writing this sentence, his lordship was clearly ungrammatical! Finally we read, says Jackdaw, the following sentence: "But the fear of a possible mistake has no bearing on the problem whether the State ought, or can, in natural justice, deprive a murderer of his life." The omission of "to" after "ought" is awkward and incorrect, though the meaning does not in any way suffer. The sentence would read more smoothly and forcibly if its last words ran: "whether, in natural justice, the State can, or ought to, deprive a murderer of his life." Jackdaw concludes his very sound and interesting criticism as follows:—"It may be suggested that I have indulged in hyper-criticism. I think not. Objections which would be hyper-critical if applied to a professional journalist, writing under stress of time, cease to be so when they are applied to a former Lord High Chancellor of England, Keeper of the Great Seal, and Guardian of the King's conscience who has brought his fountain-pen into Fleet Street." Now, this is the unkindest cut of all—the reminder that the ex-Lord High Chancellor is not only guilty of redundancy and faults of style but is even positively ungrammatical—and all that because of his writing with a fountain-pen! Never was a fountain-pen more severely condemned.

Let us now listen to the complaints laid against Lord Birkenhead as a journalist by a leading American journal—*The Living Age*—under the significant heading "A Lord in Trouble":—"Our old friend and steady contributor, Lord Birkenhead," it wrote, "is in hot water again. Indeed it may be doubted whether any British peer has ever been in quite so much hot water since

feudal days when the hot water was literal—and even then really up-to-date people preferred boiling oil. The trouble arises over the articles which his lordship has been writing, in a new journal—*Britannia*. Lord Birkenhead's reason for writing his articles is, his lordship says, he needs money. The cause of all the protest lies in the fact that Lord Birkenhead happens to be His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, and the British public cannot reconcile itself to the spectacle of a cabinet minister selling his name to the papers. Some months ago, after a fair-sized rumpus in Parliament, the Prime Minister gave an undertaking that his Secretary of State for India would write no more when he had finished a series for which he had already contracted. Behold now his lordship suddenly appearing in a brand-new field of activity as a writer, not of articles, but of advertisements! The fat is in the fire once more, his lordship is again in hot water—and also in the lime-light, a flame which has the peculiar quality of burning the brighter for hot water! Lord Birkenhead has written what can only be described as a 'puff' for a publication called *Mayfair Cartoons*. The puff deals with the career of one William Henry Goodman, a manufacturer of electrical condensers. None of King George's subjects hints that there is anything discreditable in the manufacture or use of electrical condensers; there is not the least reason why Mr. Goodman should not be praised for making them, for no one pretends that his condensers are bad condensers, but there are, as the *Saturday Review* says, 'an enormous number of reasons' why a cabinet officer should not be writing advertisements. This staunch Tory weekly—which ordinarily sympathizes with a lord, and especially a conservative lord, on principle—does not mince its words, for it writes in the following terms:—"Thanks to Lord Birkenhead, Mr. Goodman need feel no apprehension when demonstrating the doubtless admirable electrical condensers his firm makes before Indian Office experts. He can walk into Lord Birkenhead's departments with a glowing testimonial from Lord Birkenhead himself! It may be that the testimonial cannot be described as unsolicited; and it must be presumed that the periodical containing it paid Lord Birkenhead for it." When a crusted Tory journal, like the *Saturday Review*, could bring itself

to pillory Lord Birkenhead for writing paid advertisements, by way of puffs, while holding the office of Secretary of State for India, it can easily be understood what view the general public should take of such conduct.

For the heading of its article, referred to above, the *Saturday Review* took a phrase from a poem by Mr. G. K. Chesterton, now forgotten, but very scathing in its time—a time long ago, when his lordship was plain F. E. Smith. The line is short and not very polite—"Chuck it, Smith." I need not now quote it in full. But the pity of it was that even the *Morning Post* indulged in following satiric ditty on Lord Birkenhead's escapades as a hack, writing paid puffs:—

Common advertising's dead;
Let me do your 'ads.' instead.
Note the title—Birkenhead!
Don't by others be misled,
Or by dearer firms be bled,
I'm the *only* Birkenhead!
Anything from A to Z,
Hardware, corn-cures, fancy bread,
Written up by Birkenhead!
If you have a cotton thread
Or a patent folding bed,
Have it boomed by Birkenhead!
My advertisements are read:
You cannot now afford to tread
The old paths—'phone up Birkenhead!"

These verses are truly scrumptious and must have widened the sphere of Birkenheadian activities. The *Daily Herald*, Labour's newspaper, hastened to an advertising man to find out how these things are managed, and gleefully passed on the information to its readers. "This does not mean, of course," said its informant, "that the people who sign, write the puffs." They seldom do. It would be difficult to imagine Lord Birkenhead himself writing such feeble stuff as this, so common-place and dull. A clerk or a secretary puts the matter together as a rule. "For this sort of article I should pay an M. P. £50, a leading ecclesiastic £25, a popular actress £75, a film star £100, and a cabinet minister at least £250." The *Daily Herald* suggested that as Lord Birkenhead's

salary was (as Indian Secretary) £5000 a year, and that even when taxes were deducted he still had £3800, his lordship must spend a good deal of money! But his lordship's literary agent and the purchaser of the articles later issued a joint statement in which they explained that the conditions under which the articles were to be written had been changed subsequently to the making of the contract, and the purchaser even confessed that "additional illustrative matter had been added to the article," without Lord Birkenhead's having been informed! So here, I may now take leave of Lord Birkenhead, the literary hack and the writer of puffs. It is clear that in whichever capacity his name may go down to posterity, it will not be as a journalist of any worth or consequence. But then he has the consolation that even such great literary men as Goldsmith and others have had to serve, in their time, as literary hacks for the sake of money. For verily it is true as one Mr. William Shakespeare—of a place called Stratford-on-Avon—has put it in his own inimitable language, in *Cymbeline*:—

'Tis gold
Which buys admittance; oft it doth; yea, and makes
Diana's rangers false themselves, yield up
Their deer to the stand of the stealer; and
Which makes the true man killed, and saves
the thief;
Nay, sometime, hangs both thief and true
man: what
Can it not do and undo?

What wonder, then, if even such a saintly character as dear Lord Birkenhead has fallen a victim, in his old age, to the lust for gold and the greed for Mammon, with the result that he—the ex-Lord Chancellor and the ex-Secretary of State—now busily plies his fountain-pen to manufacture wretched ungrammatical stuff, unworthy of the veriest hack in Fleet Street! In the next paper his lordship will be discussed as a debater and controvertialist.

(To be concluded.)

LITERATURE AND JOURNALISM: THEIR INTER-RELATIONS

By MR. V. VASUDEVA RAO,
Joint Editor, Daily News, Madras

LITERATURE, in the technical sense of the term, is an artistic expression, of the ideas and feelings surging in the mind of a people, at a particular epoch in its history. In the general sense of the term, Literature is the expression, artistic or otherwise, of the opinions of a people on a given subject at a particular period of its history. Opinions as to what constitutes excellence in literature as an art may differ. For instance, whether in the realm of English poetical art, the meandering tapestry work of Spenser, or the myriad-mindedness of Shakespeare, or the lonely sublimity of Milton, or the olympian sweep of Dryden, or the exquisite polish of Pope, or, the etherealness of Shelley, or the entrancing picturesqueness of Rossetti, is superior, may be a question of opinion, which depends entirely upon the temperaments and the idiosyncrasies of the critics. Matthew Arnold's frenzied theoretical adherence to certain literary crotchets are known to every student of English literature. While propounding with vatican infallibility that Poetry must conform to certain stereotyped and dreary rules laid down by the Greeks three thousand years ago, his flagrant violation in practice of those very rules, was responsible for exalting some parts of his Poetry to the sublimest altitudes of Poetic thought and expression. Then, again, Wordsworth, as an exponent of the crude theories of Poetic thought and diction, was an anathema to all true lovers of English Poetry. But when he consigned these crude crotchets to the limbo of oblivion and brushed aside all critical cobwebs based

upon those crotchets, Wordsworth could reach the most transcendental heights of poetical conception and portraiture. Describing Newton as: "Voyaging through the strange seas of thought alone," Wordsworth, has, for once, brushed aside his crude crotchets and envisaged the auroral sublimity of poetical art. In the region of English Prose Literature, the same paradoxes and antitheses are perceptible. Whether the turgidity of Johnson, or the crisp, full-thoughted conciseness of Bacon, or, the picturesque exuberance of De Quincey and Carlyle, or the antithetical balance of structure of Macaulay, or the lucidity and the raciness of Newman, is superior, may also depend upon the proclivities and the temperamental idiosyncrasies of the critic and the writer.

From out of the apparently seething vortex of antithetical opinions adverted to above, emerges one point clear and distinct. That point is that spontaneous naturalness is the quintessence of excellence in art, be it painting or sculpture, or literature. Arid, dreary, and unnatural crotchets make the work jejune, morbid and artificial. Either in the field of literature or oratory, spontaneous naturalness divests the ideas of all ambiguity and crudeness, if any, and invests the subject expounded with a charm which no linguistic embroidery and verbal euphony could impart. Let me take, as a concrete illustration of what is stated above, the Rt. Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri's oratory. The "Manchester Guardian" has rightly described his oratory as being almost unsurpassed in the English-speaking world. The

above proposition may appear to be a breezy generalisation to some. But it is indisputable that the classical diction of which Mr. Sastri is the supreme and unrivalled master must be attributed to his clearness of thinking and the vastness of his erudition. Here, polish comes to the style automatically. There is no panting or grasping for word here. From out of Mr. Sastri's cultured mind, stored with synthesised and crystallised knowledge, automatically come the aptest words and the neatest phrases. The speech, therefore, becomes automatically imbued with a mighty heart-throb and brain-pulsing which no verbal embroidery, as such, could impart.

Journalism is a part of literature, in the general acceptance of the term. The roar and whirl of modern public life, the dynamic velocity at which ideas surge through the minds of public men in modern times, the vital interests involved in the creation and propagation of those ideas and lastly the multitudinous side-issues bound up with them, render any attempt, at imparting a jewelled or ornate polish to journalistic literature, an absolute impossibility. The matter-of-fact and work-a-day world is not a clean slate on which one could leisurely engrave a mosaic of ornate literary work. It is a rushing stream carrying on its crest dizzying eddies of life's stern realities demanding instantaneous attention. Matters of life and death emerge and demand immediate solution. Neither philosophical introspection, nor metaphysical speculation, nor leisurely artistic portraiture, can help us in the solution and the discussion of the problems that confront a journalist, day-in and day-out. This dizzying speed of thought makes impossible any attempt at polished synthesis or co-ordination of expression. But it is incumbent upon journalists to see that, within the compass envisaged

above, lucidity and clearness, fairness and dignity of expression, are not allowed to be overshadowed by either morbidity of temper or acrimony of tone. True that, in the vortex of political turmoil and personal bickerings, it is often difficult especially for a party journalist to maintain mental equipoise in the discussion of a party or communal subject. But most of the readers of the "Hindustan Review," will, I am sure, agree with me when I say, that present-day journalism in India is being progressively divested of crude squeamishness and morbid political bias.

A cursory glance at the salient facts of English literary history, especially from the Augustan age onwards, will show, that the most distinguished English Prose writers, were, for some time or other, either editors of journals themselves, or contributors to the periodical journals. The names of Addison, Swift, Steele, Johnson, and Goldsmith, have become immortalised by the publication of their writings in the English Periodical Press. Addison's work in redeeming English Prose from the quaint crudities and the turgid exuberance of some of the writers of pre-Augustan period and imparting to it marmoreal polish, is writ large in the pages of English literary history. The names of Macaulay, Carlyle, Matthew Arnold and Lord Morley are indissolubly bound up with English journalism. Macaulay's first literary venture was the celebrated essay on Milton that appeared in the "Edinburgh Review," which unravelled to an astonished world the inevitable picturesqueness of style of the Whig essayist, historian and orator.

Coming to modern times, H. G. Wells, Arnold Bennett, George Bernard Shaw, and the inimitable A. G. Gardiner, to mention a few, who constitute landmarks in the English literary

history of modern times, are journalists. In our own country, the distinguished orator, the late Surendranath Banerjee, was a journalist and he gave the best in him to the cause of journalism. The names of the late Messrs. G. Subramania Iyer and Malabari and Messrs. S. Rangaswamy Iyengar, C. V. Chintamani, K. Natarajan, Bepin Chandra Pal, Sachchidananda Sinha, and Pattabhi Seetharamiah, Pothen Joseph and Panikkar, to mention but a few, will occur to any one, who looks at the past history of Indian journalism. Space does not permit me to make any detailed reference to the distinctive literary

characteristics of these brilliant writers and thinkers; nor is it quite necessary, since their writings are well-known.

From what is stated above, it will be clear to the meanest understanding that journalism is a consecrated field and that slipshod and haphazard way of writing ought not to be encouraged in it. I do not mean to suggest that every journalist ought to be a literary prodigy. Far from it. But those, who, without taking the pains to study a subject, go on dealing out judgments by the bushel, desecrate the sacredness of learning and culture.

SOME INDIAN LABOUR PROBLEMS*

By MR. S. G. WARTY, M.A.,

Secretary, Indian Institute of Political and Social Science, Bombay.

THE recommendations that I make here for the solution of labour questions mainly centre round the problem of maintaining good relations between the employers and employed; for I am convinced that there is no hope of India attaining her rightful place as an industrial country in the present days of keen competition and rivalry unless industrial relations are perfectly smooth and there is the closest and willing co-operation between the workmen and the employers. When the employers learn to treat workmen as members of their own industrial family and when workmen begin to take personal interest in the prosperity of the concern everything else may be expected to follow.

My suggestions are as follows:—

(1) The Government and the employers should discard their traditional distrust of organisation on the part of labour and whole-heartedly and actively encourage the trade union movement *on right lines*. Government should appoint paid and honorary organisers to start and

supervise trade unions, in the same manner in which they actively encouraged co-operative movement in India.

(2) Government should at their own cost send some of our young men, preferably University graduates of ability, abroad, where they should be given the opportunities of studying the objects and methods of trade union work not in England alone, but in America, Germany and Russia.

(3) In the organisation of trade unions, the basis to be ordinarily followed should be "one factory, one union." The 'factory' unions may be combined into federations either on the basis of particular industries or on territorial basis, the former being preferable.

(4) Regarding the recruitment of labour, every factory or a group of factories should create an employment department under a labour manager, for selecting workers, fitting them to their jobs, watching their progress and analysing the causes of their resignation and discharge. It should also be the function of the labour manager

*Memorandum submitted to the Royal Commission on Indian Labour.

to secure the fixing of such hours, rest periods, holidays and other shop conditions as will ensure the maximum output and will avoid its being prejudiced by unnecessary fatigue.

(5) The institutions of "Works Councils" should be made compulsory by statute. It should contain equal representation to management and labour. Workmen's delegates to the Council should be selected by the "Factory Council" which is the Managing Committee of the trade union, the latter being elected every six months so as to maintain the closest possible contact with the masses of the workers.

(6) The powers of the "Works Councils" should be as wide as they should be. They should determine the conditions under which the workmen should work. The financial position of the business should be fully disclosed to the members of the Council and through them to the workers in the trade unions. The negotiations of all grievances, including the question of wages, should be carried on through them.

Joint Industrial Councils may not suit Indian conditions for a considerable time to come.

(7) There should be statutory obligation on all employers to maintain correct and detailed statistics of the cost of all the items in the operation of the industries, and this obligation should be operative throughout India being made applicable to all industries alike. The statistics thus maintained may not be published and may be kept confidential but should be made available whenever necessary to "Works Councils," Courts of Enquiry, Arbitration Boards and permanent Court of Appeals.

(8) The Labour Office should in addition to collecting statistics regarding labour, arrange annual conferences between employers and employed in the Presidency under its own auspices like International Labour Office. Similar periodical conferences may be arranged in the mofussil industrial centres among the local employers and employed. At these conferences Conventions may be reached, but even discussions would be of value. The Labour Office should be the Secretariat of these conferences.

(9) The Chief Inspector of Factories should be authorised to arrange research in industrial fatigue, humidity, prevention of accidents and other working conditions and

should be provided with the necessary funds for the purpose.

(10) Statutory rules should be framed not to permit the construction and operation of any factory unless suitable housing for the workmen is also included in the scheme.

(11) Welfare work consisting principally of adult education, primary education, medical relief, maternity benefits, recreation, amusements, etc., should be under the control of the Works Councils, and though not enforced under statutory obligation, should be actively encouraged by some privileges conferred on the factories which introduce them.

(12) Social insurance schemes for sickness, unemployment, old age and accident, may not all be immediately practicable in India for financial reasons and owing to depressed state of industries, but should be given effect to in the course of next ten years on a compulsory basis. As an earnest, however, an immediate beginning should be made with compulsory sickness insurance. The benefits provided may be only of a partial character at start, but the acceptance of the principle itself in actual practice now will alone ensure its extension in the near future.

(13) Schemes of profit sharing on approved lines are desirable. The amount of the bonus should not depend upon the will of the employer but should be determined by a scheme settled beforehand and clearly understood. The workmen entitled to benefit under the scheme should be given access to such financial data as will show that it has been carried out.

(14) Wherever possible there should be distribution and sale of stock to workmen in order to interest them in the concerns.

(15) Provident Fund schemes on approved lines and under suitable regulations must be generally introduced in all factories. This should ensure the attachment of the workers to the factory. It has a great future in India.

(16) Co-operative Societies should be started among workmen on a very large scale and efficiently supervised. This question has practically been neglected so far. The growing indebtedness of workmen to Pathans, Marwaris, etc., at ruinous rates of interest, makes workmen reckless, and has a deteriorating effect on their character, and breeds the mentality that thoughtlessly

plunges into strikes. Every Provincial Government should create a special branch in the Co-operative Department for this work alone.

(17) There should be constituted a permanent court of appeal in each province for the compulsory settlement of such industrial disputes as are not voluntarily settled within a certain period.

(18) (i) Labour should be represented in the Central Legislature either through electoral colleges or by nomination. The number of such nominated members should be increased to at least five, of whom one should represent railway labour, one posts and telegraphs, one mines, one textile and one miscellaneous.

(ii) There should also be representation in the Legislative Council of each province through electoral colleges. If the representation is secured by nomination, due representation should be given to mofussil labour, as also agricultural labour including tenant-cultivators.

It may be pointed out in this connection that we have had very sad experience in Bombay in the matter of such nomination. The Bombay Legislative Council has three members nominated to it to represent labour, but all the three are Bombay city-men.

It is unfortunate that the Commission have not the question of agricultural workers included in the terms of reference. Having considerable experience of agricultural workers, it appears to me that there are many vital problems connected with them. Though the Commission are precluded from considering them in detail, let them at least recommend that in

the Legislative Council of each province there should be some persons nominated to represent their interests. The franchise in rural constituencies is based at present on the payment of high land revenue assessment and the smaller and actual cultivators go entirely unrepresented.

(19) Sub-Committees of the Commission should tour through various countries and especially Russia, to get first-hand information regarding labour in those countries, with a view to accept light from all quarters. The opinion may be hazarded that the adoption of everything that is good in Russia and practicable in India will be the best antidote to the spread of communism in India. The Russian Sub-Committee may contain Indians in majority say two out of three, as Britishers are supposed to be somewhat prejudiced against Russia and do not take kindly to her practices. To err on the safe side and to be above suspicion, a sub-committee with Indians in the majority is advisable.

(20) The Commission will do well for the future guidance of industrialists in India as also of Government, to emphasize the need of 'decentralization' of industries, so that factories on a small scale may be started in the mofussil instead of being centred in one place. This would establish better contact between workmen and the employers and bring in the personal touch that is so needed, and minimise to that extent the causes of disturbed relations. It will also eliminate a number of other problems of labour inseparable from city life. The spread of electric power should help to do this.

INDIAN UNIVERSITIES AND RESEARCH

By SIR C. V. RAMAN, Kt., F.R.S.

THERE is no sphere of human activity which tends to draw peoples of diverse lands and cultures together and create bonds of sympathy and friendly understanding so much as the pursuit of knowledge. Knowledge is universal by its very nature. A fact of nature newly discovered is a discovery whose significance or utility cannot be altered by the colour of the discoverer's skin or his nationality. Hence, recognition of such discovery is usually spontaneous. A striking example of this is furnished by the fact that the bitter feelings existing between England and Germany during the War did not prevent Englishmen of science giving the fullest and promptest recognition to the work of Einstein. The speedy reconciliation of England and Germany that has followed after the War is, I believe, due not a little to the cultural and intellectual domination which Germany continues to exercise over the whole world and which remains unaffected by her defeat on the field of battle.

UNIVERSITIES AND NATIONAL WELFARE

Intellectual activity of the highest type, such as every university should strive to develop is a force of incalculable power and importance for the national welfare. Apart from the direct results of such activity in promoting agricultural, industrial or commercial progress, its indirect results are even more important. Intellectual stagnation is equivalent to national decay and death. Intellectual activity, on the other hand, leads to a quickening of the national life in all its aspects. To a normal human being in full possession of his faculties, the ideal of healthful happi-

ness is not a life of slothful inactivity or placid contemplation, but one of varied activity, both physical and mental, interspersed by the minimum periods of rest which Nature demands for recuperation. Either physical or mental activity by itself is incomplete and insufficient for the maintenance of human efficiency at its highest level. The mainsprings of intellectual activity in every country are education and the spirit of inquiry and its quality varies with the standard set by the thinkers and educators of the nation. Thus, in the last analysis, it is the leadership offered by the universities that determines the level of intellectual activity in the country and therefore also the national efficiency.

In thus drawing attention to the relationship between national welfare and the work done in the universities, I would wish to emphasise the danger of allowing such work to degenerate into a deadly routine of formal teaching and formal examination. The tendency of all formal schemes of education is to regard the human mind as a kind of soft metal to be squeezed into shape by intense pressure into the hard steel moulds of syllabuses and examinations. This kind of mechanisation of education is, I believe, most deadly in its effects, and is responsible for not a little of the intellectual sterility of the finished products of our universities. The essence of education is the development of individuality and personality, and it is easily possible to carry the idea of formal training and intellectual discipline to the point of extinguishing such individual development. I would say that the good is often the enemy of the best. Formal training should make way in

favour of individual freedom of study and work wherever and whenever the latter promises the best results. It is here that the discernments and sympathy of the teacher are most needed.

NEED FOR RESEARCH

The ideal of university work is the provision of opportunities for special abilities of the teacher as well as of students, to express themselves. How this is to be done without dislocating the general activities of the university is, I consider, one of the most important problems in university administration and its successful solution requires the most careful and sympathetic consideration. It is my conviction that, at the present time, Indian universities generally pay less attention to the development of special activities and abilities and more to purely routine activities than should really be the case. In a general way, of course, the differentiation between pass and honours courses recognizes the importance of giving special opportunities for special ability. But this, in my view, is not enough. There should be greater freedom for the expression of individual ability and more time and opportunities for research work for teacher and student alike, in those cases where evidence of ability to profit by such opportunities is forthcoming.

During the last few years, there has been a growing recognition that India is not a negligible factor in the advance of human knowledge. I will go further and say that the world outside has begun to learn that the Indian intellect can occasionally march abreast, or perhaps even lead in the onward march of scientific progress. This is certainly a position in advance of that freely expressed ten years ago that the Indian mind was by nature sterile, and is, in my opinion, largely the result of the work of the younger generation of scientific

workers in India during the last ten years. But the position reached is, in my opinion, still quite unsatisfactory. A great many new universities have sprung up all over the country and in many of them Indians are holding appointments with some opportunities for original work. Some of them are, no doubt, showing praiseworthy activity. But taken altogether, I think, not enough is being done. The reason for this is a matter which I would recommend to the university administrative bodies all over India carefully to investigate and set right without delay. In some cases, it may be lack of opportunities for research, by reason of excessive insistence on routine teaching; in others it may be lack of research equipment. I hardly think the lack of competent students or helpers can be the cause. If there is any point on which I feel a confidence derived from experience, it is that there is abundance of talent in the younger generation awaiting the right kind of leadership.

FIELD OF HUMAN KNOWLEDGE

The field of human knowledge at the present time is in an extremely interesting state. The principal feature of the activity of the nineteenth century may be described as the fragmentation of knowledge into a large number of small holdings with uncultivated boundaries between them—mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, geology, botany, zoology, sociology, economics, politics, psychology, philosophy and so forth. During the last twenty years, however, a strong movement has set in towards a new synthesis of knowledge. A change has occurred in our philosophic outlook which is tantamount to a recognition that, in spite of her immense diversity, Nature is still one and indivisible. The barriers artificially set up by the nineteenth century between the different branches of knowledge are

fast crumbling to pieces and in many cases, for instance, as between physics and chemistry, have completely disappeared at the present time. The current of present-day progress thus gives a new strength to the university idea which recognizes the essential impartibility of that great estate which we call human knowledge. Not only so, but this also gives us fresh reason for hoping that India with her well-known power of synthetic and philosophic thought may yet, if she exerts herself, rise once again to a position in which she can lead the world in intellectual advance. But this is a mere possibility and to convert it into an actuality requires strenuous effort, and calls for a revival of our ancient love of learning compared with which the Renaissance of Europe in the Middle Ages would sink into insignificance.

The spirit of modern knowledge is repugnant to vague and unsupported speculations. An unhesitating rejection awaits generalisations, however attractive, based on mere sentiment or belief or on an incomplete analysis of experience or experiment. Rigour, logic, precision, attention to detail, a disinclination to gloss over essential differences, and the most rigid power of self-criticism—these are what modern science demands. These habits of mind are hardly developed by the mere passive absorption of knowledge in the lecture room or library. Indeed, knowledge as embodied in a formal treatise or lecture is apt to convey an impression of static perfection which is deceptive and induces the mind to adopt an attitude of uncritical acceptance. The highest qualities of mind are evoked by knowledge which presents itself in a dynamic but imperfect form, calling for criticism and personal investigation for its adequate appraisal. This is the real value of research as an instrument of education

in itself. The attitude of mind habitually adopted by the investigator is the one that not only leads to the advances of knowledge, but also develops his own inherent intellectual powers and enables him to apply his store of knowledge with success to new or old problems that press for solution. The promotion of such an attitude of mind in the intellectual products of the University is a matter of the greatest importance for the welfare of the State.

THE TRUE ATMOSPHERE

Real culture includes within itself an appreciation not only of intellectual values but also of social virtues. A truly cultured man has no use for dogmatisms, fanaticisms or unreasoning beliefs or prejudices of any kind. A university ceases to be a temple of learning and becomes a breeding place for the microbes of ignorance if it lends itself to the propagation of the religious antagonisms and of the communal jealousies that disfigure the public life of our country at the present time. A university should, above all things, be a place where personal ability and personal character are alone the passports to success, and a broad tolerance enables men of divergent views to work together for a common cause. If our universities are animated by such ideals, they will prove a much more potent power for the building up of a great nation than Congresses and Councils, and solve the problem of the future of our country more effectively than Leagues and Legislatures. It is my earnest hope that the younger generation of university-trained men will in this matter have a saner outlook than our self-constituted political leaders. It is to them that I look to see the country set on the high road which leads to national honour and regeneration, and not on the wrong turning which can only lead to national

humiliation and decay. There is no denying the existence today, both in British India and in Indian India, of political unrest. It is often suggested that unrest is due to education and will disappear with a restriction of educational facilities. I entirely disagree with this view, and believe that the real cure for unrest is an extension of education and the provision of special opportunities for those qualified by special energy, intelligence and ability to advance knowledge, to promote its useful applications and thus add to the national efficiency and wealth. On the broader issue of national self-determination, I will suggest that if we wish men of other nations to respect us and yield to our wishes, we must learn to respect ourselves and make ourselves worthy of respect from others. We must abolish slothfulness and self-indulgence, and substitute in their place a mentality that recognizes the highest form of human happiness to be that

which is reached by labour and self-restraint. We must put aside a spirit of defeatism and put in its place a spirit that glories in the overcoming of obstacles. We must learn to appreciate and use the products of Indian labour, however imperfect they may be. We must acquire by labour and thought the secret of craftsmanship which lies in meticulous attention to detail and the continual striving after perfection. We must refrain from copying the vices and expensive habits of other countries and never forget that alcohol and nicotine are the deadliest of poisons known to humanity. Finally we must never forget that the strength of our people depends quite as much on our women as on our men. The richest rewards are the fruit of labour, study and thought. Self-determination will come, but we must prepare ourselves for it. It is no use asking for freedom if we are not prepared to pay the price for it.

THE PRINCES AND THE REFORMS

By MR. S. K. SARMA, B.A., B.L.

THE announcement made by the Labour Government through their Viceroy on the eventful 31st of October last, accompanied by the publication of the correspondence between the Prime Minister and Sir John Simon, invests the problem of the future relation of Native States with British India with an importance in the forthcoming discussions on Indian reforms which it has failed to secure till now. It has been followed, for one thing, by a new orientation of the attitude of the princes not only to British Indian questions but also to questions appertaining to their own subjects. The more enlightened and vociferous among the princes have come to recognize that they can no more oppose democracy in its

stately march about them and if they want to have a place in the sun it is as well to reckon with it and not to ignore it. Consistently with the innate recognition of their own capacity to tackle with the help of imported or indigenous ministers the administrative problems of their own States, it is only wise of them to recognize in Indian political leaders an equal measure of capacity to deal effectively with the problems of their own country. They cannot with any grace declare—and especially when many of these States have been helped in the evolution of a stable and progressive system of administration by the intelligence, ardour, and high-mindedness of British Indian statesmen lent

specially for that purpose—that Indians are unfit to work a parliamentary system of government and are fit only to be governed by an alien bureaucracy. Their professions of sympathy place them in a position which would otherwise have been incongruous if not officious and absurd. While we are therefore grateful to them for the repeated assurances they have given of their good will and sympathy towards the recognition of the claims of India to Dominion Status, we cannot forget that otherwise their own claims to have properly and efficiently governed their subjects would have been imperilled and challenged even more successfully. The evolution of public opinion among them from silent opposition through tacit acquiescence to one of active and professed sympathy, is a matter on which we can sincerely congratulate them.

The princes could not in the very nature of things have been oblivious of the time-spirit that is moving the thoughts of men, and have in their own way paid homage to the aids of the democrat in pushing forward their own claims before the British Government. If the Butler Committee had only condescended to look at the relationship between the Native States and the Indian Government from the angle in which the princes wanted them to look at it,—but then it is a needless if. What is more important however to note is the paramount necessity to which they found themselves driven to employ all those methods of stage management and electioneering tactics to which the modern politician has recourse, to press their claims and press them on the attention of by no means a prominent or influential committee. The Butler Committee was at best a departmental affair consisting of a minimum number of men to constitute a committee and none of them arresting personalities or men of high influence and prestige in the political world. One wonders if but for the fact that the princes secured for their services one of the foremost lawyers on a fee which Indian princes alone could afford, and let him address the committee for more days than one cares to count, the Butler Committee would have evoked any interest at all outside the domestic circle of the Chamber of Princes. But not only did they retain a prominent lawyer as their spokesman, but they also strengthened his hands by securing the advice of four able constitutional lawyers who gave their

considered opinion on the “legal and constitutional aspects of the questions raised by the terms of reference to the States Committee.” The money value of these services coupled with those of the pressmen and other broadcasting agencies, whose co-operation appears to have been purchased with no niggardly price, may be but a flea-bite to them; and the princes have learnt the art of advertisement to a phenomenal extent. But the moral value of these supreme efforts has, however, been more appreciable. They have learnt that it is not by taking to the art of electioneering agents that political issues can be won but by adopting more sedate and straightforward methods.

In striking contrast to the splenetic attempts made by the princes to win the approbation of British public opinion was their studied neglect of Indian opinion or the good wishes of their own subjects. Even now they do not seem to have altogether escaped from the cramping atmosphere in which they have been trained to move or risen above the petty prejudices of the hour. Immediately after the announcement, two of the most enlightened princes, who have been taking some interest in these affairs, declared their faith in democracy, but were careful to add that so far as their own subjects were concerned they could recognize no agency outside of the Durbar to fairly and adequately represent them. The constitutional position that in the consideration of any problem relating to their States with British India, the people of the Native States can speak only through the States Government, was laid particular emphasis by the Maharaja of Bikaner, who stated with considerable naivete, that any demarcation between the duly constituted governments of States and their peoples implied a complete misconception of the relations between the rulers and the ruled which “the majority of the *bona fide*, loyal and thinking subjects of our States would themselves find unacceptable.” That is a matter between the subjects and the rulers and one does not care to interfere in a quarrel which is a purely domestic concern between them, except to remark that since kingship began as an institution scarcely an autocrat put his claims higher or on a more sentimental basis for unmitigated personal rule. The Maharaja of Bikaner's conception of the duties of the Princes as custodians of the rights of the subjects in all

negotiations with the British Government or British Indian representatives at the Round Table Conference, is a graceful reminder to his fellow-rulers as to the ideal they ought to keep before their mind and we might drop it there without more ado. Only if the subjects of the Native States reciprocated the same feeling which the Maharaja of Bikaner entertains about them, the Native States must be excellent places to live in, an Arcadia of simplicity, cheerfulness, and content. Their condescension to confer on terms of equality with the "representatives of different parties and interests in India" becomes all the more remarkable.

It is this parental attitude of the princes towards their subjects, whose constitutional heads they claim to be in the settlement of every question that might affect their and British Indian subjects in common, that has precluded us from considering the feasibility and practicability of a federation of British India and Native States of which the Maharaja of Bikaner, speaking on his own behalf and on behalf of the governments of the States, declared that they had no terrors. Unless the Maharaja used the word 'federation' in a loose sense, one cannot conceive how between the crowned heads of certain component parts and the democracy of certain others there can be a federal union. Federation in a true sense implies the surrender of certain basic rights on the parts of the members for the ultimate benefit of the whole union in certain more vital respects. What are those rights which the Native States governments now enjoy which they are going to give up for the common benefit of the whole of India? Like many others who have spoken and written on the subject the Maharaja has not been able to point out the essential sacrifices the States are prepared to make for the advantage of a federated India; but from his observations it is clear that he is not satisfied with the financial and economic arrangements that now subsist between the Government of India and certain Native States. That these arrangements have been made after careful consideration with every Native State which might be open to revision on the lines indicated by them is the conclusion arrived at by the Butler Committee. In the absence of a tendency towards a federal union among the States themselves it would be arguable if any programme for a wider union is not more

ambitious; but certainly it would seem to be an awkward interference with the financial and economic policies of the States, if every Prince is allowed to have a voice in the determination of any issue between every other State and the Government of India. Are the princes prepared to surrender their own autonomy, their right to settle any issue between them and the Government of India, to the majority vote of other princes; and, if not, how can we expect them to surrender it to the combined judgment of their fellow-princes and of an Indian democracy? Frankly, the princes want to be masters in their own household and if they can get better terms by individual negotiation instead of by a corporate discussion, they are sure to prefer that. Nor have they shown any disposition to let their financial and economic policies canvassed by other governments or their representatives.

One can go further and say that if the Native States want to preserve their individuality and their varied statal existence, they must oppose any federation of the sort now loosely talked about. It may even be more advantageous for them to deal on terms of equality with the future Government of India than to weigh themselves in a scale with the other members of the federation. Cochin and Travancore, for example, might not exercise the same preponderating influence which Hyderabad or Baroda might in a federal board, and possibly in matters which do not affect them their interference might even provoke jealousy. How is Pudukotah, for example, interested in the regulation of customs duties to be collected at the Kathiawar ports or the terms on which poppy may be cultivated in Malwa? Reflection would show that the points of contact between the Government of India and the States vary in importance and in particulars, and surely it would be both prudent and helpful for each State to settle its own questions by means of friendly negotiations than by throwing them open to a public debate with all the attendant evils resulting therefrom. The Maharaja of Bikaner hit the correct nail when he laid it down as a condition precedent for the States joining a future federation that "the States cannot be expected to agree to any proposals involving a violation of their treaties and infringement of their sovereign rights and internal

autonomy and independence. British India and the States have existed for a great many years indisputably side by side as two separate parts with mutual advantage and it is impossible to believe that they cannot so exist in the future without any one desiring to encroach upon the rights of the other or wanting the States to merge their separate entity." Heads I win, tails you lose, is not a maxim which one can successfully adopt in political actions when either side is equally well armed and the Maharaja must be even more optimistic than he is if he thought that Indian democracy will not approach the problem with the same mental reservation with which he has approached it.

The ground being thus cleared, it is proper to enquire the causes for the needless apprehension of the princes as to the future relationship between a self-governing India and the governments of the Native States. That the princes were apprehensive of the paramount need for an early settlement on an equitable and satisfactory basis of such relationship even when the Statutory Commission was appointed seems now to be clear. It appears that the Indian States Committee was brought into being just to consider this point. Nobody has quarrelled with the princes for a just recognition of the correct position of the States with the Government of India of the future nor has anyone stated that any adjustment of their future relation should be settled other than on the free consent on terms just and honourable and satisfactory to the States as well as to British India. But what are the adequate guarantees and safeguards for the preservation and the maintenance of the Princes' honourable position as "perpetual allies and friends" and for their rights and privileges as such? From whom do the princes claim them? The first term of reference to the Butler Committee was to "report upon the relationship between the Paramount Power and the Indian States with particular reference to the rights and obligations, arising from (a) treaties, engagements and sunnuds, and (b) usage, sufferance, and other causes." After discussing the nature of the relationship and vainly endeavouring to find some formula, as the Committee confess, which will cover the exercise of paramountcy, with all the obligations which it involves "defining or adapting itself

according to the shifting necessities of the time and the progressive development of the States," the Committee laid down the demands of the States to be that "without their own agreement the rights and obligations of the Paramount Power should not be assigned to persons who are not under its control, for instance, an Indian Government in British India responsible to an Indian Legislature." After all, the huge and immense cost which the princes have expended in advertising and emphasising their apprehensions of a government of India responsible to an Indian legislature is not in vain, in view of the grave warning issued in their behalf by the Butler Committee in these pregnant words: "If any government in the nature of a Dominion Government should be constituted in British India, such a government would clearly be a new government resting on a new and written constitution. The contingency has not arisen; we are not directly concerned with it; the relations of the States to such a government would raise questions of law and policy which we cannot now and here foreshadow in detail. We feel bound, however, to draw attention to the really grave apprehension of the princes on this score, and to record our strong opinion that, in view of the historical nature of the relationship between the Paramount Power and the Princes, the latter should not be transferred without their own agreement to a relationship with a new government in British India responsible to an Indian legislature."

This medley of confusion would have been excusable in a cold weather tourist who knows nothing about the constitutional machinery of India, but scarcely in an expert body which has been feted for months in princely splendour and lectured to by eminent legal talents. That any government in the nature of a dominion government would be a *new* government, instead of being the evolution of the present system, which will have the rights and obligations of the Paramount Power assigned to persons who are not under its control, is an excellent headline in a print devoted to scare-mongering, but scarcely an edifying comment in a considered judgment. Sir Leslie Scott and his associates submitted it as their considered opinion that the relationship between the British Government and the Native States was one of

paramountcy by mutual agreement with the Crown and the Princes and they held that any assignment of paramountcy to others not under the control of the Crown is a violation of the contractual relationship on the faith of which the princes have occupied a position of subordinate co-operation with the Paramount Power. The Butler Committee, while not agreeing with what Lee-Warner called the 'channel' of paramountcy by mutual agreement by which the rights and obligations of the Crown have been regulated, declared that the relationship depended upon "treaties, engagements and sunnuds supplemented by usage and sufferance and by decisions of the Government of India and the Secretary of State embodied in political practice," which have been held to be authoritative by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in *Hemchand Devchand vs. Asani Sakarlal Chhotamlal* in 1906 A. C. at page 237. On this question whether the relationship exists between the Princes and the Crown independent or on behalf of the Government of India there is considerable difference of opinion, but Sir Leslie Scott and his associates agree that the Crown's obligations have been carried out by the Secretary of State, the Viceroy and the present Government of India without the prior consent of the princes. Should the Crown choose another servant, a constitutional Viceroy, in place of the present Government of India, why is the consent of the Princes necessary for the same? And where arises the question of assignment to an agency independent of the Paramount Power?

Some enlightenment was expected from the letter which Sir John Simon wrote to the Prime Minister in September last, when in defiance of Section 84A of the Government of India Act which gave the Statutory Commission their legal justification and which did not provide for discussing the problem of the relationship of Native States in some future contingency with the Government of India, he asked for permission to cover a wider field than was contemplated by the terms of reference. But apart from the bald statement that it is already evident to them that "whatever may be the scheme which Parliament will ultimately approve for the future constitution and governance of British India, it is essential that the methods by which the relation-

ship between these two constituent parts of greater India may be adjusted, should be fully examined," we got no further information. As may be expected, the Prime Minister was agreeable to the proposal of the Commission to explore that field of investigation as well though they have entered upon the 'final stages' of their work. The discovery of the importance of the subject two years after the appointment of the Commission and when they are actually drawing a skeleton of the report is indicative of the thoroughness with which the Commission propose to discharge their duties; but they have this advantage that they are not hampered by statements of the case either by the representatives of the Native States or the co-operating section of Indian subjects for them to consider. The lack of material can be made good by their own volition. But what are those points in which inevitable contact takes place? The usual procedure of questionnaire issued to prospective witnesses would have given an indication, and where the question is an after-thought, as is clear from Sir John Simon's letter to the Prime Minister, it would not have been improper on the president's part if he had indicated them in some details. The Butler Committee dealt exhaustively with the nature of the present relationship and the Statutory Commission want to deal with the future relationship. But unless self-governing India wants to upset the present practice the need for a further exploration is not apparent if the princes are not to be brought in as a red-herring across the tract of India towards dominion status.

This is not to be understood as an attitude of pessimism towards what has been welcomed as a sincere and genuine stroke of statesmanship on the part of Sir John and his colleagues. British statesmen, to whatever party they might belong, are never known to look into the future too far ahead. Their intense practicalness has always led them to tackle with problems immediately in front. It is surprising therefore that without any explanation or warning the Statutory Commission should be thinking of providing for a contingency which might be very remote. Or is it likely that we are on the eve of a decided step towards Dominion Status where the contact between the Native States and a self-governing India is more imminent? That would

certainly be too good to be true. Neither the antecedents of Sir John Simon nor the political convictions of Lord Burnham & Co., encourage us in the belief that the assignment of the powers of the British Crown to a 'new' government in India is a likely contingency. Even the Nehru Report does not expect as much. It has been less ambitious in its outlook. The consensus of opinion has been in favour of vesting the purely political part of the relationship affecting the personal authority of the princes, their rights and prerogatives with the Viceroy. There remain only the financial and economic questions either directly or indirectly affecting the subjects of the Native States. Bearing in mind a due regard for the internal sovereignty of the States, the need of reciprocity between them and British India and the natural and legitimate effects of prescription, the Butler Committee have, following the recommendations of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, made an important recommendation. They recommend the formation of committees in which representatives of both the Native States and British India may sit. "The appropriate departmental standing committees of the Legislative Assembly may meet the standing committees of the Chamber of Princes or a technical committee of the Chamber of Princes consisting wholly or partly of ministers of states," they say, "it being often difficult for the princes themselves to leave their states. A convention of this kind may well grow up, beginning, if desired, in cases where legislation is in prospect." In cases where such committees do not agree, the recommendation is made to appoint a more formal committee consisting of a representative of British India, a representative of the States and an impartial chairman of not lower standing than a High Court Judge. Thought is eminently moving in the direction of adjustment by committees, and perhaps Sir John Simon's move is only to give statutory recognition to decision by arbitration.

The more enlightened among the princes have welcomed the idea of a joint conference with the representatives of British democracy with or without the representatives

of British Indian subjects. It is perhaps too premature to say what is likely to be the attitude of others equally important who have as yet not spoken. The refusal of the more important states to be jointly represented by the eminent counsel retained by the standing committee of the Chamber of Princes before the Butler Committee is evidence of the lack of a unity of purpose and aim among the princes who may think that their individuality would be merged in a corporate body where the voting strength may not be proportionate to their status, dignity or influence. The less important may think on the contrary that they would be nowhere in such a conference. Usually jealous of their prestige, they may not care to have their relationship with the Paramount Power, or whoever is its agent for the time being, publicly canvassed. That is the danger which may still await the proposal of Sir John Simon and his colleagues. The reason given by the Maharaja of Bikaner for refusing to respond to the invitation of Pandit Motilal Nehru for a joint conference in India raises a reasonable apprehension that it is not so much the political advance of British India that is their concern, as the entrenchment of their own position in the confidences of the present agents of the British Crown. Indian political leaders, on the other hand, have always stood by them in their endeavours for the preservation of their integrity and independent existence. They will continue to do so whether the princes require the services done to them or not. At the Round Table Conference we shall approach the problem with a due sense of our responsibilities for a closer intimacy, based upon mutual respect, good-will and sympathy, between the peoples inhabiting Greater India, and if the representatives of the princes, should they agree among themselves as to their representation, are animated by the same spirit and work in no spirit of bargaining, which was the dominating note before the Butler Committee, we shall have laid the foundations for a future more peaceful and progressive than it has ever been in the past.

POET SAINTS OF INDIA—I: TIRU JNANA SAMBANDHA

By Mr. CYRIL MODAK

WHO does not know that in India the chanting of dulcet hymns to the melodious voice of the *vina* lulls into silence the morning air, and sends a thrill through brooding twilight? Floating out, like a cloud of incense, over the stone walls of the temple courtyard, this music and song arrest the attention of the passer-by. Even the foreigner, who fails to grasp the meaning of the unfamiliar words, has been seen to stand and drink in the strains of this sacred music. It seems right, therefore, that as the world has progressed to a stage when the East wants to know the West, and the West wishes to understand the East, India should endeavour to interpret her religious and mystical heritage to the world.

It is admitted on all hands, to-day, that Aryavarta has been the home of Poetry from the very earliest times; from the dim ages when the civilization of Greece and Egypt and the culture of Mediterranean regions were yet to be; from the days when her *rishis* chanted the hymns of the Vedas. Is it strange, then, to find in the beginning of the seventh century A. D. that the South of India had awakened to song? Although this was not the beginning of the outpouring of the Dravida soul in lyrical rapture, it was the beginning of the long line of sixty-three Poet-saints who belonged to the same school of thought, and paid homage to Shiva. Sambandha was born, it is believed, as an answer to an earnest prayer to the Shiva worshipped in the Shyali temple of the Tanjore district; and he was marked out for no unimportant part in the long, though somewhat unworthy quarrel between faith and faith. Purnalingam Pillai thinks that the saint lived about the close of the seventh century A. D., while Prof. Sundram Pillai, supported by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, alleges that Sambandha's date belongs to the opening of the seventh century: and this latter date seems more probable.

Two remarkable points appear in the traditional story of the saint's life: the first being the gifts of song in his third year, of the golden symbols bearing the holy pentagram thereon, and of the litter and canopy of pearls; and the second being the power to work miracles. In religion he was a dogmatist. As a *Brahmin* he asserted his pride of birth and plumed himself on his wonderful Tamil proficiency. The latter weakness of human nature may be found plausible in Sambandha when we remember that up to his youth alone he had sung three hundred and eighty-four hymns, which embodied in polished Tamil verse the essence of the Vedas and the Agamas.

His mode of living does not seem to have been that of a recluse, but rather that of a pilgrim-poet. It is said that he went on his several propagandist tours in company with a lyrist of great attainments, and a gifted woman-singer, whose voice drew the thousands, whom Sambandha's poetry held enraptured. He had set himself to the task of reviving the Shaivite School of Bhakti, then in a decadent state. It is necessary, therefore, if we would understand the life of the poet and the spirit of his hymns, to have some knowledge of the conditions of his age. A man may start life with a set of respectable convictions; and yet, later, his convictions may be modified by experience, and influenced by circumstances. Circumstances often make or undo a man. History illustrates this truth. So it was with Sambandha.

By the middle of the sixth century A. D. Jainism and Buddhism had gained a strong foothold in the south of India, pushing their conquest throughout the Dravidian country. Shaivism was on the wane. The royal patronage was given to Buddhism and Jainism. Few would venture to adhere to the worship of Shiva. Yet Shaivism had not died out. It lived, at least secretly, in the hearts of many pious Shaivites. Sambandha was the

son of one such. He naturally imbibed with his mother's milk a desire to revive Shaivism. He naturally decided as his mission in life to wander from shrine to deserted shrine, singing the praise of Shiva. He naturally became an enemy of Buddhism and Jainism, and worded an imprecation against them in almost every tenth stanza of his *padigams* or hymns. He was still young when he was invited by the queen of Madura and the Prime Minister to the Madura court, for the king had been converted by the Jains. "The lonely saint," say Kingsbury and Phillips, "faced a vast multitude of Jains in the royal presence, conquered them in argument, and reconverted the King. Eight thousand of the stubborn Jains, with Sambandha's consent, were impaled alive." Similarly, later, he converted to Shaivism hosts of feeble Buddhist opponents. What was the background of his teachings which appealed so powerfully to men?

Like most Shaivites, Sambandha pictures Shiva with a human form which has three eyes, the right one being the sun, the left one the moon, and the one in the middle of the forehead a sacrificial fire. His russet hair is matted after the fashion of ascetics, and the crescent moon adorns it, which seems to symbolise his assurance of his presence in the darkness. From his head springs the Ganges. To understand this we must go back for a moment to the old Vedantic conception that the soul of the most highly cultured and thoroughly disciplined *sanyasin* progresses up to and resides in the head. Shiva is called the paragon ascetic. He has thus poured forth his soul for the purification of those who dip in this river. A snake coils round the huge coiffure of his matted hair. This may have two meanings, *viz.*, that Shiva has mastery over the venomous form of evil, or that he is the master of the serpent Vasuki. He has four arms to guard the four cardinal points, and is often pictured sitting on a great gray-bull. The bull is the traditional representation of the Vedas. Round his neck there is a necklace of skulls, which are said to be the skulls of successive Brahmas, each of whom died after long ages: and it is meant to show that Shiva alone outlives all, and as such, is eternal. He

wears a girdle of tiger-skin or elephant-hide which, perhaps, represents his power over the animal kingdom. He is sometimes portrayed as *Natraj* (King of the Dance) with his right foot set on a demon. This is believed to represent the easy, almost sportive effort, needed by God to crush the adversary. While his dance is believed to be suggestive of the perfect ease and the rhythmic grace with which he executes his five duties of making, preserving, purifying, judging, and punishing, it is interesting, in this connection, to cite Dr. N. Macnicol's vivid words: "The fact that even about this ghoulish God, more devil than Deity, who battens corpses and smears himself with the ashes from the burning ground, has gathered an affection that has been able to remould an object so repulsive nearer to the heart's desire, is in itself a remarkable testimony to the strength in the Indian peoples of the theistic instinct."

Two incidents only remain to be seen in the life of the wandering revivalist. In one of his journeys, Sambandha met Appar, at Thiru Arur, and called the contemporary poet-saint 'father.' They visited a few shrines together. They sang a few songs. They offered a few garlands of praise to Shiva. Then they parted. Neither knew that he would not meet the other again. Shortly after this a miraculous life found a fitting conclusion in a miracle. At Nallur Sambandha found a bride. She was the daughter of Nambanda Nambi. The auspicious wedding was solemnized. Their married-life ended where it began. The bride and Sambandha were seen no more. A biographer rightly observes: "Thus his brief span of life which buckled in a sum of age terminated as it opened—in a miracle." Thus he died, of whom Prof. Sundram Pillai writes, "He is decidedly the greatest and most popular of the Tamil *rishis*," or of whom Mr. Virbhaddra Mudaliar says, "We have simply to open the inimitable pages of our Lord Sambandha to understand the profuse richness of Tamil poetry during the Tamilic period."

"Shaivism in the Dravidian country has gathered around it an extensive literature of its own, which consists of eleven collections. The first three of these eleven embody the hymns of Sambandha. Each hymn is called

a *padigam*, having ten stanzas, with an eleventh usually containing the author's name. Nambi Andar Nambi, the Tamil Vyasa, is accredited as being the compiler of these eleven collections, collectively called *Adnukul Murai*. "Besides these," says Sir. R. G. Bhandarkar, "there are the works of what are called the *Sanatanācharyas*, which are fourteen in number called *Siddhant Shāstra*. Their contents are of a philosophical nature. The most highly honoured of all these writers is Tirujnana Sambandha." Would it not be worth while to have a passing survey of some of these utterances of such an honoured poet?

Turning, then, to the hymns we find in the first verse, which he is said to have composed at the incredibly early age of three, on the banks of the temple-lake at Shyali, an expression of the sense of awakening to the divine approach.

"His head is adorned with the crescent
moon's ray,
And he is the thief who my heart steals
away."

As Cupid is conceived of a 'thief' who robs the lover of his heart so the devotee compares his Lord to a thief: and yet it should not be misunderstood as disrespectful. This leads us to the problem of the poet's conception of God. Some may be disappointed—and not without cause—to find an almost complete absence of moral qualities or analogies to Vaishnavite conceptions which are nearer the ideas of the Hebrew prophets and psalmists. None the less, in spite of the rigidity of Shaivite philosophy as embodied in the *Shaivadarshan*, we find Sambandha and his successors panting after a moral God.

"Thou the sense of books divine,
Thou my wealth, my bliss art thou,
Thou my all, and in thy shrine
With what praises can I bow?"

Or Shiva is pictured as the Ascetic, who sits on the lonely summit of Kailash, chanting the Vedas. Yet it is not an idea of a deity who has snapped connection with man, and is absorbed in some personal gratification, however religious. For,

"Cry ye in your worship,
At his feet appeal.
He who dwells in Palmy
All your sins will heal."

It seems strange to read the next verse and discover that Shiva to his devotee was not the 'ghoulish God' that many are likely to picture.

"Three eyes hath his forehead,
Fair moon crowns his hair;
When death sought a victim,
Shiva's foot crashed there;
Gory streams of blood flowed,
Death it was that died,
Such is he, our Father,
Uma at his side."

The reference here is to Markandeya, a boy-devotee of Shiva. The fates had decreed, as the story goes, that this boy should not see his seventeenth year. As the fated hour drew nigh, his father lived in the agony and torture of the worst fears, while Markandeya spent his time, undaunted, in Shiva's worship. Death came. He threw his loathsome noose round the boy's neck, nor waited to think that the devotee was at worship. Markandeya clung to the phallic emblem (*lingam*) of Shiva. It is said that Shiva came forth from the emblem and destroyed Death. Markandeya was saved. This scene has been a favourite of the statutory artist of Shaivite temples in South India. Further, the line:

"Uma at his side,"

needs some explanation. The Shaivite had a desire to illustrate and explain that Shiva and Shakti work in conjunction, and thus united, are the authors of all cosmic change. Shiva is often pictured as half-man and half-woman, the right half being pink, representing Shiva, and the left half being green or dark, representing Uma. The poet says once,

"He is both Lord and Lady fair."

Or again,

"All goodness hath he and no shadow
of ill,
Gray-white is his bull, fair Uma shares his
form."

Here for once it seems possible even for the mind of the Shaivite with its pantheistic

tendency, to exclude from Shiva's all-embracing goodness the 'shadow of ill.' Not infrequently Shiva is depicted as including evil as well as good.

In a lyric of great beauty Shiva is portrayed as the lover, and the soul of the devotee as the lady-love, who according to a belief in some parts of India, suffers from disfiguring wrinkles on her skin because of the intense sorrow of separation.

"Birds in the flowering green-branched
punnai tree,
Love writeth clear its mark on me, for he
Who cured my grief, yet left unending
pain,
Senkattankudi is his holy fane, . . .
There in the burning ground, with fire in
hand,
Sporteth unceasingly our Master grand."

It may be suggested that the ancient idea of Shiva as frequenting the place of cremation is meant to stress the hard fact that, oftener than not, it is in that 'acre of God,' at the sad parting from some loved one, the soul realizes a living, present God. One may fail, however, to understand the propriety of Shiva 'sporting' or 'dancing' at a place filled with an air of unspeakable solemnity and grief.

What is it that impells the poet to sing an appeal to others to join Shiva's worship? It is nothing but the devotion, burning like a fire within his soul. It is nothing but a conviction that light in darkness, freedom in death, and bliss in life can thus be obtained. He says,

"For the Father in Arur
Sprinkle ye the blooms of love;
In your heart will dawn true light,
Every bondage will remove—
Bonds of birth will severed be,
Left behind all worldly ways—
Sorrow ye shall wipe away,
Yours be bliss beyond compare."

Unlike the Vedantic and Brahmanic idea the Shaivite seemed conscious of his sinful nature, and of the need of divine grace and forgiveness. It may not have been as deeply felt as it was by the Hebrew singer David, or the Vaishnavite hermit Dādudayal; but the consciousness was not absent from the mind of the Shaivite poet-saint:

"He who dwells in Palay
All your sins will heal."

Or again,

There dwells the first of all moon-crowned,
and those who cleave
For ever to his foot, no cleaving sin will
grieve."

Or pleading for mercy,

"Oh thou whose form is fiery red,—
In grace deliver me from dread."

Thus the oft-repeated prayer seems to be a cry to be saved from the wages of sin, which, according to Hindu thought, took the form of the affliction of a cycle of births and deaths. The belief that evil deeds earn the penalty of rebirths had grown out of the intercourse between early Aryan settlers and the aborigines of India. No school of Hindu thought had broken away from the doctrine of *Karma*. So the poet says,

"Thou Light whom Brahma, being's fount,
and Vishnu could not see,
No righteousness have I, I only speak in
praise of thee.
Come, Valivalam's Lord, let no dark fruit
of deeds, I pray,
Torment thy slave who with his song
extols thee day by day."

Wonderful as the work of Sambandha had been in the matter of reviving Shaivism latent in the heart of the Dravidian country; potent, too, as his lyrics had proved to be as forces of inspiration; great as his success had been; one cannot, if he is to be impartial, overlook the fact that there was not in him the spirit of the just reformer, which, in so many instances in the history of religion, has urged the saint and the profits to denounce and reform evils and errors in the faith and thought of his forefathers and his people. Sambandha's zeal to reinstate Shaivism on its rightful throne, which was being attacked, and usurped by alien systems like those of Buddha and Mahavir seems to have hoodwinked him to the deficiencies in Shaivism. Unlike Kabir, he eulogized the advantages of a pilgrimage. Unlike Vemana, he condoned idolatry of the phallic emblem. Unlike Tulsidas, he did not labour to reconcile factious sects, Vaishnavism and Shaivism. He had recognized as his mission in life not the reformation but merely the resuscitation of Shaivism.

Yet one must remember in passing judgment upon Sambandha that he was a votary so ardently devoted to Shiva that he could say,

"To those who forsake the world
He reveals himself as World-forsaking too"

that he was a seer so convinced of the in-dwelling presence of Shiva that he could sing,

"The lustrous moon and Ganges crown
his hair, and he a place
Hath made himself within my heart.
Wherefore let shine the moon
(Or sun or any star of good or ill, or serpents
twain.
For Shiva's slave all are benign, all work
for him great gain."

His theistic instinct repelled against the cold and agnostic doctrines of Buddha and Mahavira, however attractive the ethics of each one's system may have been. And Sambandha cried out,

"Those Buddhists and mad Jains may
slander speak,
Such speech befits the wanderers from the
way;
But he who came to earth and begged for
alms,
He is the thief that stole my heart away."

Thus though we are inclined to lay some blame at the doors of the pilgrim-poet, it can hardly be unmixed with praise. Whatever his shortcomings, whatever his theological fallacies, whatever the obliquities of his angle of vision, Sambandha was a sincere man, a gifted poet, and a great Shaivite. It is not surprising to hear Prof. Sundram Pillai remark, "All classes of poets, from his colleagues, Appar, Sundarar, to the latest of the Purana-writers, from the purest of Vedantists like Tattavarayan, from the iconoclastic Kannudaiya Vallalar to Virashaiva Shivaprakash unite in invoking his spiritual aid as a common cement of their literary labours."

INDIAN EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS : THE HARTOG COMMITTEE REPORT REVIEWED

By C. V. HANUMANTHA RAO, M.A.

THERE is much useful matter for speculation in the recommendations of the Hartog Committee, which educationists and those otherwise connected with educational progress will have to take in hand and tackle. The development of Indian educational policies in the right direction is a necessary preliminary to the successful functioning of any democratic machinery of government that will have to be set up in future as much as it is an effective remedy for the colossal illiteracy and ignorance that now prevails in the country. An educated and informed electorate brings in its train an enlightened legislature and a healthy public opinion, which could and would provide a check and a safeguard against administrative tyranny on the one hand and mob domination on the

other. It is quite in keeping with the necessities of the situation that the Hartog Committee have visualized this essential truth and that they have, in fact, proceeded from this basic standpoint in formulating all their recommendations. A desire to ensure that this ideal, which forms the fundamental basis of all progress is reached and reached successfully runs through the whole of the Committee's Report.

Equally noteworthy is their appreciation of the fact that at the present moment the most important thing to take care of is not so much higher education but mass education. There is an imperative necessity for the diffusion of educational facilities in the country-side and for the broadening of the mental horizon of the vast masses of population

that are now practically shut out from all access to literacy and its accompaniment of knowledge. For some years to come, the efforts of the educational departments in the various provinces will have to be directed in the channel of providing every available opportunity for carrying the torch of enlightenment to the general mass of the community. In spite of the transfer of the portfolio of education to Ministers responsible to the Legislature, and in spite of the honest and sincere endeavours made by them to bring about a general advancement in the literacy of the people, very scanty and inconsiderable progress has been made, owing largely to certain organic defects in the schemes put forward but also, to a certain extent, owing to the apathy, the indifference and sometimes the active antipathy of the elderly people in the village. Part of the responsibility for the snail-like progress has also to be attributed to the unwise and unprofitable devolution of the powers of the Ministers to the shoulders of the Local Boards and Municipalities which, as in the Madras Presidency, on account of their communal character and its dismembering consequences, have failed to discharge their obligations with any degree of success. Any reform or extension of primary education is bound to prove infructuous unless it is preceded by a resumption by the Central Government of effective control over the educational departments in the various provinces and unless it is followed by the assumption of more stringent inspectorial and supervisory action by the Provincial educational departments. It should also be preceded by a more liberal provision, by the Provincial Governments, for the establishment of more primary educational institutions and by their insistence on an extensive programme of establishing such institutions on the part of the local bodies. The observations of the Hartog Committee in this respect are worthy of reproduction. They state: "We are of opinion that the divorce of the Government of India from education has been unfortunate, and holding as we do that education is a national service, we are of opinion that steps should be taken to consider anew the relation of central government with this subject. . . we cannot accept the view that it (the

Central Government) should be entirely relieved of all responsibility for the attainment of universal primary education." Later on they speak of the evils of the laxity of ministerial control over the expenditure of funds on education by the Local Boards and they declare that, "owing to inadequate inspection, they have little information as to the results of that expenditure." The factors contributing to the unsubstantial results from the policy of disseminating mass education have been clearly analysed by the Committee,—an analysis which ought to be taken notice of in any attempt to secure effective remedies for the present situation.

A most important postulate for a successful scheme of primary educational advancement is the introduction of an element of compulsion, and naturally enough the whole report of the Committee has this one idea behind its back, as the essential preliminary for every necessary change. Considering the utter aversion with which the villagers look upon education, the indifference and apathy which they assume towards any scheme which is novel and with which they are unacquainted, even though it be to their own betterment; considering, again, the fact of the lack of appreciation on the part of the average village parent as regards the benefits and advantages of education and the narrow standpoint from which he looks at the question, it is not to be thought of that the opportunities afforded by extension of educational facilities will be voluntarily taken advantage of by them. It requires the exercise of the force of law and propaganda of very intensive and extensive character before they can be induced to send their children to school, though, even then, the fact that the poor parent looks to the child as an earning partner in the family when he is still below ten years, constitutes a stumbling block to his being kept there till the end. But notwithstanding all these potential difficulties the situation has to be boldly countenanced and tackled, if the end in view is to be attained, as has been found to be the case in the State of Baroda, where compulsion had now been in existence for over a decade. Here again, the devolution of authority to the local bodies has stood in the way of undertaking a

comprehensive reform and of introducing a uniform policy throughout each presidency, or province which alone would have facilitated the objective of attaining universal literacy. It is noteworthy that the Hartog Committee have expressed themselves unequivocally on this point when they stated that "the adoption of compulsion is important and urgent as an effective means of checking the wastefulness of the present voluntary and haphazard system of primary education in India." They have also appraised at its true and real worth the unprofitable character of the existing system of leaving the introduction of compulsion to local option, as in their opinion experience in Bengal and in other provinces has shown that "local option may result in almost complete inaction on the part of the local bodies" and that "it is quite clear that a mere enabling statute will not provide any guarantee for the widespread and speedy application of compulsion." In addition to the other difficulties in the way of compulsion, there is the difficulty also of providing adequate funds for the purpose, which in the case of some provinces may prove almost insuperable, unless they take to the doubtfully potent expedient of starving other departments. But provided the Central Government, whose responsibility for mass education, cannot, as has been pointed out, be shed by them, follows the practice of granting loans to the Provinces and provided the Ministers in the provinces come forward with definite and clear-cut schemes for educational development on compulsory lines, the Provincial Legislatures will find themselves irresistibly forced to sanction the necessary expenditure, even though it may entail some additional tax burden for some time to come. It is a question of breaking new ground, which has to be encountered; and as it is in the best interests of the people, there can be no question of shirking it.

The educational system in India as at present constituted is a highly exiguous one having no intimate relation to the conditions, needs, requirements and the general life of the nation. From the Primary right up to the University course, there is a huge amount of wastage, as an inevitable corollary of the present position—a fact which lends

justification to the strong condemnation and criticism levelled against it by the committee. By far the most important vocation which occupies the attention and the energies of 75% of the population is agriculture; and any education which does not take into account the necessity for the conservation of the energies and the intelligence of the children of the agriculturists, which does not afford them the necessary training for fitting them for the occupation, which is to be theirs in life, must write itself down as a failure and must be considered absolutely out of place. It must have a predominantly rural bias; it must include the teaching of subjects which would enable the children to become acquainted with all these pursuits which, in the words of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, make for a fuller and completer life in the villages and put them on the track of better things; and lastly, it must have as its aim the dissipation of that spirit of lassitude and defeatism, which is so much in evidence in the villages. "There is no reason say the Committee why the scope of the rural middle schools should not be made even more efficient for their purposes, by their inclusion of teaching in the elementary principles of improved village sanitation and of the maintenance of the co-operative societies and in other subjects calculated to improve the well-being in rural areas." They continue, "We go further than the Royal Commission on Agriculture and hold that even now if the middle vernacular course were remodelled and adapted to rural requirements, and if the opportunities for rural work and service now open to those who complete that course were more widely realized, not only could the gravity of the problems confronting Anglo-Vernacular education be diminished, but rural reconstruction and improvement would be materially assisted." There is no reason to doubt the accuracy or the truthfulness of the diagnosis of the Committee in this matter nor need there be any controversy as to the remedy proposed by them to meet the situation and set right the defects. The Committee appointed by the Board of Education in England to report on the educational system in Great Britain have also formed similar

conclusions with regard to the inadequacy of that system to satisfy the requirements of the nation, as could be seen from their remark in their Report that "the gravest weakness in our system of national education as at present established in function is the insufficiency of Higher Secondary education" and that "the provision of facilities for those more specialized studies which should be carried on between the ages of sixteen and nineteen as a preparation for entry into life on the one hand, or for further and higher studies at the University on the other, is relatively and absolutely inadequate for the needs of the nation."

In order that the wastage, so enormously evident in the rural areas, might be reduced and if possible obliterated, there should be not only an extension of educational facilities, as has been suggested above, but also an improvement in the quality of the teaching staff and the necessity for the village teacher to keep himself abreast of the modern developments in agriculture and other handicrafts, so that the knowledge that he possesses might radiate to all the people of the village and lead to general enlightenment of the young and old alike. The idea should take deep root in the minds of the authorities concerned that primary education is not an end in itself but only a means to an end; that in the case of a proportion of the pupils at least, it is a preparatory ground for higher studies in the secondary schools, and that the primary thing to bear in mind is the avoidance of waste and the conservation of manpower in the earliest and lowest stages. "It should not be difficult to convince local bodies of the unwisdom or failure on their part to get good value for money spent," say the Royal Commission on Agriculture and the local bodies should not only be convinced of this sort of unwisdom but also of the greater unwisdom of making any haphazard endeavours in the direction of establishing a greater number of schools, without taking proper steps to staff them adequately and to supervise their efficient working. Mushroom or impoverished and languishing institutions are a greater danger to the spread of a good system of primary education than the absence of any institutions at all, as they

serve to shake the confidence of the sceptical and suspicious villages and to create a psychological distrust of the attempts made to help them.

It was a very strong indictment that the Hartog Committee had drawn up against the present condition of university education and the glaring defects that are inherent in it. "The universities are the keystone of the whole structure of higher education. To them we must look for continuous rebirth and renovation of modern studies. In them should be consummated scholarship, learning, and the final product of research into every element of national life among the great peoples of the modern world. From them should spread the stimulus of that enthusiasm which comes from aspirations realized. By them must be trained, not only the highly qualified teachers who are needed for every institution for the instruction of childhood, adolescence and maturity, but also publicists, statesmen, journalists, administrative and executive officers for home and foreign service, and at least a proportion of those who are to be responsible for the national interests of finance, commerce and industry. Without a high standard of knowledge and training in the universities we shall look in vain for the men and women whom we need for a thousand specialized duties in the modern world." Such is the high nature of the standard and functions of the universities that has been envisaged by the Committee to report on the Educational System of Great Britain, already referred to; and such ought to be the standard that the universities in India have to set before themselves. The Hartog Committee write in the course of their report in answer to the query as to how far university education is calculated to produce, and is producing men who will be able to play a worthy part in public life that the "Universities in India are overcrowded with men who are not profiting either intellectually or materially by their university training." That is a serious position fraught with grave menace to the intellectual and moral growth of the young men, who are set adrift in the world without any employment and consequently prove a source of danger to society and to themselves. The graduates annually turned

out by the various universities only grow to swell the ranks of the unemployed, as there are no appointments available to absorb them into their fold, and as they are by their training and aptitudes unsuited to any appointments outside the circumscribed sphere of Government departments and the liberal professions of Law and Medicine. The fundamental defect lies in the fact that the system of secondary education in India had been formulated with the wholly unimaginative outlook and the completely unpositive ideal that every secondary school should be a preparatory ground for university training. The recognition is significantly lacking that university education ought to be reserved for those, who can afford the luxury of it and who are fitted for it by reason of their higher intellectual faculties and by their capacities for undertaking the work of research and reconstruction of the higher branches of learning. Under the present circumstances, when most of the pupils in secondary schools have no definite end or aim in life, when the training and education they receive there do not fit them for anything in particular, the only possible course open to them is to drift along to the colleges and to 'waste' another four years of their precious lives and another Rs. 5,000 of good money apiece, in order to qualify themselves for a degree, which, however, does not lead them anywhere nearer to the promised land than the education received in the secondary schools. This absence of any ideal in life is the reason for the enormous wastage in the man-power of the nation, that is so rampant and for the utter lack of those qualities of leadership and initiative, which ought to be the inseparable concomitants of an university education. "The graduate on leaving college is only too often a man with no wide or living intellectual interests, with no discipline or experience in the difficult art of living in a community, with no training in leadership and with little sense of responsibility to others." This is the verdict of the Hartog Committee on the products of university education in India, a verdict with which everyone has, in the main, to concur. The wisdom of multiplication of universities in this country has, from this point of view, to come in for

serious doubt, though, at the same time, one cannot help acknowledging, that it is becoming increasingly recognised, that universities have to play a peculiar role of their own in the educational economy of the nation and that it is not the best part of prudence to overburden them with material, which cannot derive the fullest advantage from them. The opinion of the Committee quoted above serves both as a warning and a guide to all those interested and must enable them to realize how imperative is the need for overhauling the whole system of university education, so as to bring it more into conformity with the accepted ideals of university education in the other countries of the world. If universities have to fulfil their mission in the scheme of things, if they are to function as institutions, which embody the quintessence of the culture and enlightenment of the community, and if they are to serve as beacon-lights to the world at large to understand the highest thought of the country, it is essential that they should be manned and filled with people, who possess the equipment necessary for the realization of the high ideals for which they stand.

This should lead us to the consideration of the problem of secondary education which holds a key-position in the educational system, in so far as it forms the basis for all higher education on the one hand, and as, on the other hand, it affords to many young men a means of earning their livelihood, by being a complete whole in itself. That is to say, the system of secondary education is or ought to be a preparatory ground for life in the case of a vast majority of young men and for higher education in the case of a few ; but, at the present time, it is so designed as to be incapable, in a large measure, of achieving of either of these two objectives. A general course of education such as that obtaining in the secondary schools leaves the educated in a position, in which he cannot earn a decent livelihood in an honourable way ; while, at the same time, the knowledge gained in them is so meagre and insignificant as to render the young men unfit for pursuing those higher ideals of culture and knowledge, which an university training affords. As it is, the interests of the vast

majority of those who want to enter life soon after finishing their secondary course are sacrificed, not as it should be, for any substantial advantage that accrues to them in consequence, but only for a vague ideal of doubtful utility to them, *i.e.*, the throwing open of university education to all and sundry. There is need for the termination, as early as possible, of this kind of extravagance and waste that is going on, and for concerting measures for a radical reform of secondary education, so as to make it fit in with the requirements of the situation. The most imperative reform is the division of secondary education into two branches, one of which should be dominated by the ideal of preparing pupils to follow a craft or a profession soon after leaving school, while the other should have as its guide the preparation of young men for university education. The proposals of the Hartog Committee in this connection are worth quoting. They state, "It is the exception rather than the rule to find in India an educational system in which the industrial and the ordinary schools are regarded as complementary to each other. All pupils, whatever be their aim in life, should first receive general education, but it should be open to boys at some stage of their subsequent course to branch off to craft schools or to vocational classes. We are told that the industrial schools are not widely appreciated at present, but we are hopeful that if once industrial training is given its proper place in the higher stages of the educational system, many of the boys who now waste time and money in a secondary school will be diverted to more fruitful forms of education and occupation." The present position is dominated too much by the 'examination complex' and real knowledge is nowhere to be found to exist in a system in which the educand has his mind always set on scraping somehow through the examination. This comes of the absence of any opportunities for a pupil in a secondary school to branch off to some technical or industrial course after a suitable course of general education and of thus fitting himself for practical occupation. There is, of course, a growing recognition of this fundamental drawback in almost every province—a recog-

nition which is finding practical application in the introduction of vocational training in the lower classes of the secondary schools; but the tendency will have to be developed into a more pronounced change, leading to a general change, in the scheme of secondary curricula.

The review of the educational system in India by the Hartog Committee has revealed certain serious defects in that system, which need to be remedied before it can fulfil its twin purposes of producing "a popular electorate capable of exercising intelligently the primary functions of citizenship and of producing a smaller body of persons capable of furnishing representatives on legislative and local bodies and of officers of central and local administrations." As a body appointed to act as an auxiliary to the Simon Commission on Administrative, Political and Constitutional Reform, the Hartog Committee had primarily to concern itself with the two aspects of the problem above referred to and only secondarily with the details of educational reform. But, as a matter of fact, the Committee had gone at considerable length into the latter aspect of the problem also and made valuable suggestions, which must carry great weight with those concerned with bringing about and promoting that reform. If the general principles of educational development adumbrated in the Committee's report are carried into practical effect, it is sure to take us a long way along the road to such educational progress, as would ensure the promotion of the national needs and requirements. A great responsibility rests upon the Government both as regards expansion and supervision of educational facilities and institutions, a responsibility, which, as the Committee rightly point out, they (the Government) cannot possibly divest themselves of, without serious detriment to the educational interests of the community. There can be no question but that educational development has received a stimulus after the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, and that there has been a marked improvement in the standard of literacy amongst the people as a whole as a consequence thereof. But it has, at the same time, to be conceded that

that development had not been as rapid or as extensive as it ought to have been; neither can it be said that the Reforms have placed in the hands of the Ministers in provinces resources adequate enough to enable them to achieving outstanding results. Primary, Secondary, as well as University education requires reorganization and remodelling, so that expansion of each branch of education within its own sphere will go hand in hand with soundness and efficiency of each, leading in the end to the establishment of an integrated and coherent system of educational expansion. What is needed in regard to primary education is compulsion coupled with a policy of effective control and supervision; what is needed in regard to Secondary Education is a reshuffling of the curricula of studies coupled with the removal of the examination tyranny; and lastly, what is needed in regard to University Education is the maintenance of a high level of culture together with the cultivation by them of the

three essential standards of scholarship, judgment and conduct, which had been so strongly stressed by His Excellency Lord Irwin in his address to the Inter-Universities' Conference held in Delhi recently. To put the educational needs of the present day into a succinct form, what is required at present is expansion, consolidation, and preservation; expansion in the primary stage, consolidation in the secondary stage and preservation of the highest ideals in the university stage, always having in view the necessity of eliminating wastage but yet spreading the light of literacy and if possible knowledge to as many as possible in the community. It is to be hoped that there will be a widespread and wholehearted endeavour to attune Indian Educational reform to the needs of the situation as depicted above, and so to bring it about as to obviate all possibility of the scoffers of Indian fitness for self-government pointing at us the finger of criticism.

THE LIBRARY MOVEMENT IN INDIA*

By NEWTON MOHUN DUTT, F.L.A.

THE object of this article is to give a survey of recent library developments in India. Definite information on the subject is not easy to come by, for want of some agency to collect and collate it. I fear, therefore, that my article will be found rather scrappy and incomplete, and I am circulating to the libraries of India a questionnaire with a view to obtaining the latest statistics about each public library in the country and eventually publishing an Indian Library Directory.

The modern library movement in India dates from 1910, when H.H. the Maharaja

Gaekwad of Baroda, then touring for the second time in the United States, engaged the services of Mr. W. A. Borden, Organiser and Director of a State Library Department for his dominions. Mr. Borden was well qualified for his work, being a library expert of some years' standing. He had, in fact, been an instructor in the first library school the famous school organised by Dr. Melville Dewey in Columbia University in 1887. During his three years' tenure of office, Mr. Borden conducted a library training class, established the Central State Library in the

* Substance of a Paper read at the Indian Library Conference held at Lahore, in December, 1929.

capital city, and planned a network of free public libraries throughout the State. He was succeeded by Mr. J. S. Kudalkar, on whose premature death in 1921 the present incumbent was appointed.

The Library Department now comprises of two sections, the Central Library and the Country Section. The former includes a lending and reference library with newspaper reading room, as well as a ladies' library and reading room and a children's playroom. This latter is one of the most interesting and original features of the Central Library; it is a large and airy hall, well-furnished and decorated, and provided with English and Vernacular books and papers, as well as a variety of indoor games, amusements and occupations such as draughts, jigsaw puzzles, mosaic-work, designing meccano, etc. The Central Library circulates more books than any other library in India, and is perhaps the third largest one in India, with over 109,000 volumes.

As to the Country Section, there is first of all the Travelling Library Branch, which circulates books by means of travelling libraries. These libraries consist of boxes each holding from 15 to 30 books, and strong enough to withstand hard wear. They are dispatched free of charge to any library, school or other institution in the State, even the freight both ways being borne by the Department. About 12,000 volumes are circulated in this manner every year.

Another branch is the Visual Instruction Agency, which sends out an operator and lecturer to tour in the districts, giving cinematograph or magic lantern demonstrations for the benefit of the illiterate masses.

The most important function, however, of the Country Section is the subsidizing and control of the town and village libraries. As far back as 1906 His Highness commenced giving subsidies to the rural libraries. Four years later, on Mr. Borden's recommendation, plans were laid down under which the department has been running ever since. When a community has succeeded in collecting Rs. 100, 300 or 700—the sum depending on whether it is a village, an ordinary town or the chief town of the district—a similar sum is granted by the

Library Department and the same sum by the Prant Panchayat or District Board. In some cases the Municipal Board also gives contributions. If a library building is required, the people have only to find one-third of the cost—the remainder being contributed in equal quotas by the government and the local board. Finally, to provide a nucleus for a new village library, the local committee can purchase for Rs. 25 only a collection of good Gujarati books worth Rs. 100, the rest of the money being found by the department.

The people have not been slow in taking advantage of these liberal facilities for self-culture. Up to now all the 45 towns and 678 of the villages have been provided with free libraries, which can boast an aggregate stock of 494,654 volumes and a gross circulation of 307,350 volumes amongst 60,789 readers. There are also 178 newspaper reading rooms. This is not a bad record for 18 years' work, considering that of the population outside the capital city only 238,000 are literate out of about two millions. Moreover, 93 libraries now possess buildings of their own. Rules are laid down for the proper management of these libraries, and they are visited by the Assistant Curator, who also gathers groups of town and village librarians at convenient centres to receive courses of study in library management and to discuss with him various practical problems. Directions and hints and lists of good books are also published by the department in *Pustakalaya*, a Gujarati magazine devoted to library interests. During the rainy weather, library classes are also held in Baroda. Although not left without guidance, yet the libraries are given a large amount of autonomy, and the people thus learn to take a genuine interest in the local library, which generally becomes the centre of social and cultural activity for the village or town. A good example of a successfully run village library is the library of Chhalala, a village of some 3,000 souls, the honorary secretary of which is a school teacher. The circulation of books is pretty large, and although the ladies do not visit the building, yet their needs are not forgotten, for books are sent to their houses through the head mistress

of the girls' school. On the walls of the library will be found all the interesting information and statistics about the village; number of farms and their extents, number of ploughs and bullocks and the like.

These associated libraries have established a State Library Association, which has already held four very successful conferences at various centres. The organisers of the Conferences seek to do propaganda work by inviting educationists, officials and social workers from outside Baroda. At the last Conference, held in Amreli, in the Peninsula of Kathiawar, the President was Sir Prabhashankar D. Pattani, K.C.I.E., President of the Council of Administration of the Bhavnagar State, at whose invitation educational officers from numerous states in Kathiawar and Gujarat were present. Such was the enthusiasm shown at the meeting that a committee was appointed with Sir Prabhashankar at its head, to carry on propaganda work in these states. An interesting feature of these conferences are exhibitions of books, pictures, charts, posters, etc., wherewith the value and importance of public libraries, are emphasised. Many Indian and other publishers sent sample of their books, including Macmillan, the Cambridge University Press, A. & C. Black, as well as such well-known firms as Mudies Library, J. Boots Library, Times Book Club, and Gaylord Brothers, of Syracuse, New York.

A novel method in propaganda is the institution of a Library Day throughout the State, on which special efforts are made to demonstrate the value of libraries and to collect funds from the public. This is conducted on the same lines as Hospital Sunday, in England.

The Baroda Library Association has also established a co-operative agency for the wholesale purchase of books, periodicals and supplies, which is receiving year by year increasing patronage from the 700 libraries of the State as well as from outside institutions. Publishing work is also undertaken by this agency, the last works being a classified and priced catalogue of the 8,000 best books in the Gujarati language, and a directory of the libraries of Gujarat, as well as a revised scheme of classification for Gujarati books

with the author and alphabetical tables.

Of the 40 talukas or countries in which the State is divided, no less than 12 have organised local committees to develop the libraries in the taluka by collecting funds and making inspections of the institutions in the area.

The country work of the Library Department of the Baroda State has ever since its inception been in the capable hands of Mr. M. N. Amin, the Assistant Curator.

Baroda has also tried to do some missionary work outside the State. When starting his library training classes in 1910 Mr. Borden sent out invitations to outsiders to take advantage of these classes, but the call fell on deaf ears. It never occurred to anybody that librarians needed any training for their work; a librarian was assumed to be born, not made. Again the staff of the Baroda Library for some nine years published the *Library Miscellany*, a magazine in three languages devoted to the spread of the library gospel. Many earnest workers in the library cause, particularly those in Madras, gladly acknowledge the debt which they owe to this pioneering magazine. The Library Department also hold library exhibitions and have arranged for library stalls when exhibitions are held, e.g., in Calcutta, Madras, Gwalior, Ahmedabad, Chandernagore and other towns. A library exhibition is now being planned in honour of the visit of H.E. the Viceroy to Baroda in January, 1930. The Baroda Library Department was represented by an excellent collection of exhibits in the British Empire Exhibition held in Wembley in 1924, and a smaller collection was sent to the All-World's Library Conference held in Rome and Venice last June. Another way in which the Central Library has endeavoured to advance the library cause is by giving training to librarians sent by the other governments, states and institutions. The Bhavnagar State has recently sent a young man to Baroda to undergo a three months' course in librarianship.

In 1915 the Central Library launched the *Gaekwad's Oriental Series* for the printing of rare unpublished Sanskrit works and other books connected with oriental scholarship. This series, which has been well-received

by the learned world, was two years ago transferred to the newly created Oriental Institute, Baroda, together with the library's stock of 6,000 Sanskrit printed books and 13,000 manuscripts.

Let us now see what progress has been made in other parts of India. Some years ago, the Bombay University sent its librarian to India for technical training. The Punjab University in 1915 invited Mr. A. D. Dickinson from America to reorganise its library and to hold classes and give a course of lectures on librarianship. These lectures are still being held and diplomas bestowed on successful candidates at the examinations. Mr. Dickinson published in 1916 an excellent elementary work for library aspirants—the *Punjab Library Primer*. The Madras University recently sent its librarian for training to London, and now that he has returned to take up his duties there is considerable library activity apparent in that city and presidency. Lectures on various aspects of library work are being given and the Government Institution—the Connemara Public Library—is now to be converted into a free Public Library, whose books may even be lent to other libraries in the presidency.

In 1918, prompted by Mr. J. A. Chapman, Librarian of the Imperial Library, the Government of India convened a meeting of librarians at Lahore, and the following year at Calcutta, to consider how the bigger libraries might co-operate by the interloan of books and the co-operative indexing of Indian journals. The Bombay Government also called a committee to discuss these problems. Nothing, however, has come of these meetings, but three Indian journals are now being indexed from Baroda in the Subject Index to Periodicals which the Library Association is publishing. Mr. Chapman was, however, successful in getting the permission of the Government to convert the Imperial Library—the biggest and most important library in India—into a free lending library. Books may now be borrowed free of charge by anybody resident in India. In November, 1928, Mr. Chapman retired from service, and his successor has recently returned from London with a diploma in librarianship from the University of London.

The libraries of which we have been speaking are the bigger and more important libraries, but during the past twenty years a movement has been on foot for establishing free public libraries for the masses. One of the first people to take inspiration from Baroda were the Andhras—the Telugu-speaking people of Northern Madras, who established some years ago the Andhra Desa Library Association. This is doing excellent work, and in 1919, it convened an All-India Library Conference in Madras, under the patronage of Lord Willingdon, then Governor of Madras. An All-India Library Association was founded which published the *Indian Library Journal*, and has held meetings in various towns.

From the latest reports it appears that a directory of the 600 libraries in the Andhra districts has been printed and that many of these libraries are holding evening classes for adults. The main library of the Association in Bezwada has special children's and ladies' departments and also training classes for librarians. A Telugu library journal is also being issued. Two years ago the Madras Library Association also came into existence, and everyone interested in the spread of popular libraries ought to procure its latest production, *The Library Movement*, price Rs. 2. The 100 short articles in this book deal with various aspects of the library movement and are written by some eminent authority or well-known politician-librarian or educationist amongst which may be mentioned Lord Goschen, the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, and Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. India is so large a country—it may rather be called a sub-continent, containing as it does a variety of different peoples, speaking separate languages—that local agencies are needed to carry on intensive work in each province. Accordingly local organizations are springing up in every direction. There is the Maharastra Library Association, of Poona, which is doing good work in the Marathi-speaking districts of Southern India. Bengal has also been active since the establishment of the Bengal Library Association, with which are affiliated district organizations.

The Municipality of Calcutta has given a grant of Rs. 25,000 annually for subsidizing

libraries. Some of the Co-operative Societies in the Punjab have added the provision of libraries and reading rooms to their programme for village uplift. The Corporation of Bombay has travelling libraries and a plan for helping other libraries. The city of Ahmedabad is erecting a fine library building to be called the Dadabhai Naoroji Library, and the Ahmedabad District and Local Boards are co-operating to find funds for local libraries. The neighbouring District Board of Kaira is working along similar lines. One of the earliest States to take up the popular library problem is that of Mysore, one of whose librarians had been trained in Baroda. Two excellent libraries are established in Mysore and Bangalore cities and in some other towns and their work is supplemented by a travelling library system. Other States throughout India are following the example of Mysore, including the small State of Pudukotah (Madras) which has an admirable system of public libraries.

The two most literate States of India are Travancore and Cochin. In the former the country libraries receive grants-in-aid from the Government amounting to Rs. 50 or so per annum, and can be affiliated with the Public Library, Travancore, by paying an annual fee of Rs. 3 or Rs. 2. This entitles them to draw books from the Travancore Library through a travelling library system.

There is considerable activity in the Gujarat districts and good work is being done by the Gujarat Vernacular Society of Ahmedabad, and the Charotar Education Society of Anand. These societies not only publish good Gujarati books, but are also giving practical encouragement to libraries and reading rooms in Gujarat by grants-in-aid.

The former society in co-operation with the Baroda Library Association is making plans for a Library Conference to be held next spring in Ahmedabad, as a result of which it is hoped that a Gujarat Library Association will come into existence.

Efforts are, however, not being confined to organised bodies. Private philanthropy is not wanting, although it is hoped that much more will be done before long in that direction. The most generous aid, of late, is that

of Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas, C.I.E., O.B.E., M.L.A., of Surat, who has given Rs. 10,000 for providing travelling libraries in the schools of the Surat District. Other gentlemen such as Seth Nanji Kalidas of Jamnagar, have come forward with smaller but equally acceptable gifts for assisting libraries in Gujarat and Kathiawar, and it is confidently expected that when Sir Prabhashankar Pattani's Committee for carrying on propaganda amongst the States of Kathiawar sets to work, the rulers of States in the peninsula will take more interest in the movement.

When sending me recently a list of the public libraries of Burma, the Director of Public Instruction for that Province also forwarded a catalogue of the contents of the Travelling Library sets which he had made up. He further informed me that he was running his travelling library system on the Baroda plan, and that it was found quite satisfactory.

As I write these lines an interesting and important piece of news comes to hand. That Government which, in the person of its Governor (Lord Willingdon) welcomed to Madras the first meeting of the Indian Library Association in 1919, has now come forward with a generous contribution of Rs. 20,000 for the public libraries of the Madras Presidency. The terms of the donation are that the subsidy shall be spent on equipment, and especially on books, and not on buildings, that it shall not exceed the sum collected by the library itself, and that it shall be distributed through the local co-operative society or local board. At present it is budgetted as a non-recurring item, but I hope it will become an annual contribution, and thus provide evidence of the permanent and abiding interest of the local government in the popular library movement.

The path of India's progress is beset with many hindrances, among which we must reckon the poverty of the masses and the terrible rate of illiteracy in India. It is sad and humiliating for an Indian to have to confess that in this immense country—a country as large as Europe without Russia—no less than 82 per mille are unable to read and write, while such countries as Japan,

Bulgaria and Turkey are rapidly forging ahead. Burma stands at the head : nearly one-third of the whole population are literate. This is largely the result of the work of the Buddhist monasteries, of which there is one in nearly every village, and the monks of which give instruction to the village children, albeit of a very elementary kind, extending to little more than the ability to read and write. However, although for administrative purposes, included in the Indian Empire, Burma has really nothing in common with India. It is of interest to know that education is most advanced in the three Indian States of Travancore, Cochin and Baroda, which can boast of literacy to the extent respectively of 289, 214 and 147 per mille. The British provinces come lower down in the scale and are headed by Bengal (where the literacy is 104 per mille), followed by Madras, the Mysore State and Bombay Presidency.

It is hard to understand why British India cannot do what some Indian rulers have succeeded in doing, and ever since the late Mr. Gokhale, many years ago, introduced a motion in the Legislative Council for free and universal education, Indian social reformers, educationists and practical politicians have been making the same demand. The stereotyped reply of the authorities to these claims is that money is not forthcoming—that India cannot afford to launch into such

expensive schemes, but nowadays all the nations of the civilized world have discovered that they cannot afford to lag behind and to disregard the need for universal education.

Of the British Provinces Bombay is leading in this direction : only the other day the Minister of Education reported that the expenditure on education considerably exceeded that of any other part of India. The number of schools are something short of 14,000 while the number of students are a little under one million.

To quote the words of an American educationist, "the school and the library are two legs upon which the body politic stand : the one exists to start education, and other to continue it, and it is as important to teach children what to read as it is to teach them how to read." Until education has made further strides, it is hardly likely that much progress will be made in the provision of popular libraries.

This short and inadequate review is sufficient to show that some improvement has been made of late, and the very hindrances and stumbling blocks should only act as incentives and challenges to those devoted men and women who are working in the cause of the public library movement in India.

[*Reprinted, with additions, especially made by the writer for the Hindustan Review from the Librarian and Book World, May, 1929.*]

THE GREATEST WORK IN ENGLISH LEXICOGRAPHY*

By "AN OXONIAN"

THE first section of the *Oxford Dictionary* was published in 1884, the first volume in 1888—forty-four years is a small period in the life of a language—when Appendicitis and Aviation were yet unknown; but a Supplement is in active preparation which aims at adding important

words and meanings of words which have come into use since that part of the alphabet to which they belong was originally published. A copy of this Supplement, as already stated, will be offered free to every possessor of the complete *Dictionary*.

Does the *Dictionary* do justice to American

**The Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford University Press, Bombay), 1888—1928.

English? To a large extent it does. *Aside* for 'apart' is duly recorded. Under *Blizzard* is found 'as applied to a snow-squall, the word became general in American newspapers during the severe winter of 1880-1.' *Buncombe* is given as the 'name of a country in North Carolina.' Owing, however, to the rapid growth of the vocabulary of the United States of America there are doubtless many gaps, to fill which is one of the principal objects of the forthcoming Supplement.

From the time of the publication of the first part of A in 1884 the *Dictionary* has been a daily source of enlightenment and satisfaction to an incalculable number of readers. Each section has been eagerly welcomed and the interesting statements in successive prefaces have been widely discussed on appearance. Mr. Arnold Bennett confided recently to the readers of the *Evening Standard* that he regards the *Oxford Dictionary* 'as the grandest of all achievements in reference (except Whitaker). I have been buying it in parts for nearly forty years and am still buying it. The longest sensational serial ever written!' As each instalment has been issued it has become the seat of authority. It has been repeatedly relied upon in courts of justice, where members of the Bar have quoted it and members of the Bench bowed to it. It has been appealed to in political controversy in Parliament and on the platform. It was reserved for Dr. Sanday to cite the *Dictionary* in a notable pulpit. Preaching in Great St. Mary's Church at Cambridge on 'The Meaning of Miracle,' Dr. Sanday said: 'The following is the definition of Miracle in the great *New English Dictionary*: "A marvellous event occurring within human experience, which cannot have been brought about by human power or by the operation of any natural agency, and must therefore be ascribed to the special intervention of the Deity or of some supernatural being; chiefly, an act (e.g., of healing) exhibiting control over the laws of nature, and serving as evidence that the agent is either divine or is specially favoured by God." That (the preacher observed) is at least a very good definition of a miracle, though it is perhaps not quite ideal. My only doubt about it would be whether it does not enter a little too much into detail, and so

perhaps impose restrictions which are not necessarily inherent in the word. The object in view has no doubt been clearness; and that object is, I think we may say, attained.' It has made possible the scientific study or the adequate editing of the whole of our literature, and obviously it has vastly enriched other dictionaries which have been issued while the Oxford work was still in progress of publication.

None the less every one who should has not taken the opportunity of consulting the parts as they appeared. Nothing exasperated Sir James Murray more than to receive letters, as he often did, from persons alleging that this word or that was not in the *Dictionary* when it was there. Lord Curzon, in 1924, pointed out that the value of the service rendered by the Press to the advance of knowledge, particularly by the publication of the *Dictionary*, was still very imperfectly appreciated. 'I wish the public,' he said, 'would realize a little more what the *Dictionary* contains. Week by week, notably in the columns of the Sunday press, I see interesting letters on literary or philological subjects. All those questions are answered in the great *Oxford Dictionary*, if you take the trouble to look into it.' The same note has been often struck in *Notes and Queries*. Mr. Joseph Knight, for example, wrote: 'Constant demands are made for information which is within immediate reach by the *Dictionary*. No thought of applying to its pages seems to have presented itself.' Mr. Knight has been dead these twenty years or more, but the same observation is still to be met with frequently. Now that the *Dictionary* is complete there can be no further excuse.

Mr. Stephen McKenna wrote in the same periodical: 'Is it the vision of our idealist, or may we hope that when peace enters at the door "pacifist" may fly out at the window? For aught we care, "pacifist" may take wing with it, for, though of decent parentage and respectable antiquity, it finds no place in the *Oxford English Dictionary*. Walter Pater counselled the younger essay-writers of his college to use no word that failed to bear the hall-mark of Dr. Johnson; but a greater latitude is given to the modern undergraduate by the mighty work of "A

Scotsman, a Presbyterian living in Oxford." Countless new words are available. The editors have with faultless tact defined "Spoonerism" in the lifetime of Dr. Spooner, and scores of contributors in hundreds of homes are wrestling with zebras, zenanas, and zoetropes. The old words are there, too: "peacemaker" and "peacemonger" to suit the innuendo of any whose skin pricks at sight or sound of a neologism. Is it too wild a phantasy to imagine leader-writers and the *New Oxford Dictionary* coming one day into contact? It should be noted that *Pacifist* did not exist when *pa-* was published!

The dictionary has done a great deal to correct vulgar errors. The *Modern Language Review* called attention to the treatment of 'psychological,' with reference to the phrase "at the psychological moment." It is shown that the present use of it arose in French, at the time of the siege of Paris in 1870, and was due to an error in translating the German phrase *das psychologische Moment*, in which *Moment* being neuter, signified "momentum," and not "an instant of time," as when it is masculine. After such mistranslation, it was imported into England, where it has been joyously imported into our "journallese" talk, in despite of its absurdity, with an imaginary sense of "at the critical instant." As an instant of time cannot be affected by psychology, it is too unmeaning to be really jocose, and has become no better than silly. But it will probably long continue to be employed by writers who do not even understand their own expressions. Like the "blessed word" Mesopotamia, it has a pompous sound.

The War Office with its 'despatches' is an old and incorrigible offender. In the Prefatory Note to *Disobst—Distrustful*, Dr. Murray shows dispatch to be, historically, and etymologically, the proper spelling of a word, which by some unaccountable mistake was entered in Dr. Johnson's Dictionary as *despatch*, to the disturbance, though happily, not to the overthrow, of good English usage. More than a quarter of a century ago Dr. Murray lamented the fact that the Post Office after long retaining the correct official tradition, had recently capitulated.

In 1897, when the third volume was com-

pleted, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford entertained at dinner in the Hall of Queen's College those concerned in the production of the Dictionary, when there were numerous speakers including Professor Skeat, Sir Henry Roscoe, and Sir William Markby. Professor Skeat said that he 'had many times shown a volume of the *Dictionary* to different people, and he was met with the remark that they had never seen the book before. If they could only get every man who paid income-tax to take a copy they would make a great advance, and those who did not want it could give it to a free library or mechanics' institute. It ought to be understood by this time that this was really a dictionary of the English nation.' Sir William Markby's reply to Sir Henry Roscoe's speech, in which Sir Henry had said that 'without the University or the Clarendon Press the great *Dictionary* he supposed, would never have seen the light of day,' included the following references to the *Dictionary*: 'I must admit with regard to the *Dictionary* that we have occasionally envied the acuteness of the American publisher mentioned by Dr. Furnivall, who, when the *Dictionary* was offered to him, said he would think about it when it was completed down to the letter M. But this has always been only a momentary feeling, we have never hesitated in the performance of what we consider to be a great duty which we owe to the University and to the nation, and we have never felt any doubt as to the ultimate completion of the work under the able editorship of Dr. Murray and the co-operation of those associated with him in this great work.'

In 1909, in his letter to the University, Lord Curzon wrote: 'In the staff on the *English Dictionary* alone the Press contributes to the University what is probably the largest single engine of research working anywhere at the present time.' Dr. Craigie has left on record that Professor Skeat once said to him 'Have you ever realised that this *Dictionary* could not have been made fifty years ago?' He was thinking, chiefly, of the amount of older English that had been printed during that period, by which the historical treatment of words had been rendered possible. Dr. Craigie replied, 'No, but I have sometimes thought it would be impossible to do it fifty

years after this.' 'I am still of that opinion,' he added, 'and to my mind the future of English lexicography lies in concentration upon special periods and sections of the language, so that each of these may be dealt with more fully than is possible in a comprehensive work.'

The quotations have always been up to date. Lord Morley of Blackburn, in his address on 'Language and Literature' at the annual meeting of the English Association on January 27, 1911, paid more than one tribute to Oxford books, remarking that he found 'in Sir James Murray's *Dictionary*—a splendid triumph for any age—that I am responsible for having called literature the most seductive, deceiving and dangerous of professions.'

The *Quarterly Review*, referring to well-known slips in Johnson's *Dictionary* remarked that 'other lexicographers have been no more free from the lapses which arise from inattention or the limitation which Johnson called "pure ignorance." A striking example was Webster's original definition of a wicket-keeper as "the player at cricket who stands with a bat to protect the wicket from a ball." If not to pure ignorance, at least to gross inadvertence the slip was due by which in the *Dictionnaire de l'Academie* an eclipse was defined as "the disappearance of a heavenly body due to the interposition of a celestial object between it and the observer". . . . Want of a judicious reserve in limiting his definitions to what was necessary led Phillips into a trap when he defined a quaver as "the half of a crotchet as a crotchet is the half of a quaver, a semiquaver, etc.'"

Richardson, in his *Dictionary*, occasionally made the mistake of misplacing his quotations. Thus, after defining the word 'Snail' as 'any creeping, slow or sluggish thing,' he illustrated the word with a quotation (among others) from Beaumont and Fletcher's 'Wit at Several Weapons,' in which Pompey says: 'Snails, I'm almost starved with love and cold.' But the word is really "snails, a euphemistic shortening of 'God's nails.'

In the opinion of the *Quarterly Review*: 'It is by the literary range, the careful dating of the birth of words, the systematic tracing down of changes in form and meaning—in a word, it is by the completeness with which the English language is represented in the Oxford Dictionary that its preeminence rests. In comparison with that, Grimm's *Dictionary* affords only a cursory and imperfect view of German speech; and any other dictionary that could be named, of whatever living language, makes but a poor showing when compared with Grimm.'

When Mr. H. G. Wells published *The World Set Free* pictured a Utopia in which English should be the universal language. But, he added, 'its spelling was systematized and adapted to vowel sounds in use upon the continent of Europe, and a process of incorporating foreign nouns and verbs commenced that speedily reached enormous proportions. Within ten years from the establishment of the World Republic the New English Dictionary had swelled to include a vocabulary of 250,000 words.' A compliment was implied on the speed with which the *Oxford Dictionary* was being published.

MOTTO—A reviewer of books is a person with views and opinions of his own about life and literature, science and art, fashion, style and fancy, which he applies ruthlessly or pleasantly, dogmatically or suggestively, ironically or plainly, as his humour prompts or his method dictates, to books written by somebody else. The two notes of the critic are sympathy and knowledge. Sympathy and knowledge must go hand in hand through the field of criticism. As neither sympathy nor knowledge can ever be complete, the perfect critic is an impossibility. It is hard for a reviewer to help being ignorant but he need never be a hypocrite. Knowledge certainly seems of the very essence of good criticism and yet judging is more than knowing. Taste, delicacy, discrimination unless the critic has some of these, he is naught. Even knowledge and sympathy must own a master. That master is sanity. Let sanity for ever sit enthroned in the critic's arm-chair. — *The Rt. Hon'ble Augustine Birrell, M.P., on "The Critical Faculty."*

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

(A) ESSAY-REVIEWS

C. E. MONTAGUE—JOURNALIST AND AUTHOR—II

By MR. C. L. R. SASTRI, B.Sc.

LET us now turn to Mr. Montague's war novels. They include his *Rough Justice* and *Right off the Map* and his collection of short stories, *Fiery Particles*. Montague detested war and the things that lead to war. He detested, especially, the last war. He had peculiar opportunities of watching the war from the inside, so to speak. He was at the very heart of the rose. And, behold, he saw that it was all vanity and vexation of spirit. *Rough Justice* deals with the last war. *Right off the Map* with an imaginary war in an imaginary country.

In *Rough Justice*,* the important persons are Thomas Garth, a retired politician, his son Auberon Garth, his niece Molly Garth and a young man Victor Nevin, a friend of theirs. A good deal of the early portion of the book is taken up with the gradual growth of Auberon and Molly from children to young persons, and also with their baby-talk. This part of the book could easily have been considerably shortened. And the baby-talk could very well have been dispensed with. It is not exactly necessary to the developed scheme of the book and, even otherwise, it is wholly out of place.

The turning point of the story occurs when war is declared. Auberon and Victor join as privates. Eventually they go to France. While marching to the front a shell

bursts near Victor and makes him temporarily unconscious. When he comes to, he finds all his comrades gone. He is excessively weak, and seeing a light issuing from somewhere, he makes for it: it beckons him, so to speak, as the lonely lamp in Greenhead Ghyll beckoned Wordsworth's Michael. That light issues from a house which is occupied by a French lady who readily allows him to rest himself. While he is asleep she covertly destroys his uniform and gives him, instead, the civilian clothes of her deceased husband. To cut a long story short, Victor henceforward stands in the same relation to her as the latter. After two or three years he is found out by the military authorities and shot down as a deserter.

Now, Montague does not spare himself words of praise in describing Victor in the earlier half of the book. In the later half he is equally unsparing in delineating him as an unspeakable coward and monster. The two parts of the book, therefore, are not consistent with each other; they are in a manner of speaking, set up in different types. And very, very rough justice, indeed, is meted out to Victor in the end.

Now about *Right off the Map*† Montague invents an imaginary republic called 'Goya' which, as such things will happen even in the best-regulated republics, breaks up

* *Rough Justice*: By C. E. Montague, Chatto & Windus, 1926.

† *Right off the Map*: C. E. Montague, Chatto and Windus (1927).

into two independent republics, 'Ria' and 'Porto.' Affairs in Ria are in full swing when, all of a sudden, its public men discover that a little more speeding-up, a little more 'pep' or 'ginger' is needed in the nation's activities and, accordingly, they set about—as only public men know how to—to create a war-fever among the inhabitants. By public speeches and by newspaper-articles they do succeed in their ambition, and the mob is soon on a fair way to clamouring for war with the neighbouring Portans, though they cannot, for the life of them, tell what on earth they want it for. They know this much that it is a highly righteous war that they are going to wage, that the Portans are simply asking for it by their notorious savageness, and that they are doing a vast service to humanity by thus waging a war. Well, at last hostilities are declared and, in the event, the Rian army, except a small portion of it which, all unknown to both the Portans and the Rians, finds refuge in an hitherto unmapped locality, called the 'Scout Valley,' is routed, is devastated, as no known army has ever been routed or devastated. Finally, the Portan army enters the Rian capital and makes Ria a part of Porto.

II

Now, what are we to say about his war-novels?

They are written exquisitely, no doubt, and much labour assuredly went to the making of them, but what impression do we carry away with us after their perusal? Merely this, that they do not convince us. They lack 'reality.' Actual life, heaven knows, may be wonderful enough: it may contain incidents that baffle the wit of man. But life as portrayed in fiction must be more according to a pattern: if a certain thing has happened, we must be in a position to say that, considering the structure of the story, it was likely enough to have happened. Fiction must be more methodical than life. Montague's fiction breaks very often all the laws of probability. His *Right Off the Map* is one whole piece of improbability from beginning to end. The entire 'Scout Valley' episode is the *nadir* of unconvincingness. *Rough Justice* also, though to a much lesser extent, is unconvincing. Its earlier

half is in one key, and its later half in another. Wordsworth, we are told, demanded of a poem that it should have 'inevitability.' Certainly, in fiction there ought to be inevitability. And this is what Montague's novels lack. As that brilliant essayist and critic, Mr. J. B. Priestley, finely sums up the weaknesses, of Montague's fiction:

"What interested him were the high lights of his own experience, and these do not form a sound basis for fiction. He lacked that jogging prose-strain which a novelist must have, even though at moments he may be all lyrical ecstasy It is the weakness of his fiction throughout that there is too much rough justice in it and that nearly all his tales, and not merely the last of them, seemed to be right off the map."*

What is the chief ingredient in a novel? It is, assuredly, creative imagination. Style is only a secondary quality. That is why we find that many who can write beautifully but who lack this primary gift of 'creating' men and women, do not, in the American slang, "get away with the goods": whereas authors who are not acknowledged stylists but who can nevertheless convince us that their characters are not mere puppets, are not mere automata that dance to their measure, do "get away with the goods." That is why, to name only one instance, Dickens, who had not much of a 'style,' and who could not dabble in the dead languages, is a more considerable author than Thackeray, who could manage his sentences as few novelists have ever been able to, who could make them run to a lilt, a rhythm, a measure, who could, in other words, invest them with a sort of music, and who could, moreover, quote his Horace at the slightest opportunity, or at no opportunity at all,—that is why, we say, Dickens is a more considerable author than Thackeray. It is, if we only come to think of it, wonderful what your unscholarly men can do with fiction, and what your scholarly men, your "high-brows," *cannot*, for the life of them, do. We are, and have ever been sticklers for style. But even we have to admit that, so far as novels are concerned, it is not a quality of the first importance, that, in short, it can even, in some cases, be completely dispensed with. Novelists, like poets, are perhaps born, not made. Montague

* See M. J. B. Priestley's article on "C. E. Montague" in the *London Mercury* of August, 1928.

certainly, was not a born novelist. He has done better as an essayist and critic and as a miscellaneous writer. If one wants to see Montague at his best, one must read his *Disenchantment* and *The Right Place*.

III

The last-mentioned two books are his very best; and his fame will eventually rest on them. We have just now said that he is far better as an essayist than as a novelist. If only he had let fiction severely alone and, instead, gave all his attention to essay-writing and criticism, he would, we are sure, have been a much greater author than he is. Montague was a born essayist: but he strangely mistook his vocation. *Disenchantment* is about the last war. As the title indicates, he was, as so many others were before him, disenchanted with it. For him, as for them, the first bloom of his enthusiasm withered at the cold touch of reality; the gilt, in other words, was off the gingerbread. Some books defy criticism: they are so good. This is one of them. His whole soul is revealed here. It is a record of how the war reacted upon a sensitive mind. Montague, though about fifty, and though his hair was snow-white, enlisted (after first dyeing his hair black, of course) and finally rose to Colonelship in the Intelligence Department. He had, therefore, a right to publish his opinions about the war. In *Rough Justice* there are some pages describing the experiences of those who enlisted as Privates. We hazard the guess that they are more or less auto-biographical. Both there and in *Disenchantment*, he writes deliciously of the Old Army. The Old Army, he implies, was as rotten as any Army, old or new, could be. Whenever he has occasion to write about it, he surpasses himself. So early as p. 14 of his book, he begins the attack:

"Dearest of all the New Army's infant illusions was the Old Army—still at that time the demi-god host of an unshattered legend of Mons."

Again:

"From any English-training camp, about that time, you almost seemed to see a light steam rising, as it does from a damp horse. This was illusion beginning to evaporate." (p. 27.)

If one wants to read what some fine English natures thought during the war,

one will scarcely do better than read *Disenchantment* from the first page to the last. Nor is it, we suggest, a difficult feat. One must only begin, that is all. Then one cannot help proceeding to the very end. The first chapter of *Disenchantment* is one of the finest bits of writing that Montague ever attempted. One can see, after a careful perusal of the volume, that it simply *had* to be written: Montague could no more have helped writing it than he could have helped breathing. *Disenchantment* is himself; and, as we have remarked, it baffles analysis. It would be sheer impertinence to try to criticise it: as well criticise Mont Blanc or the Matterhorn. Montague might very well have applied to himself the famous lines of Walt Whitman:

"Camerado, this is no book,
Who touches this touches a man."

The Right Place is a different sort of book altogether. It is a glorious incentive to travel. Montague loved mountaineering. If one referred to *Who's Who*, one would find that he belonged to only one club, and that was the Alpine. All kinds of physical exercise attracted him: rowing, cricket, walking, mountaineering. *The Right Place* contains many beautiful passages. If once one began quoting from these two books, *Disenchantment* and *The Right Place*, one would hardly know where to leave off.

IV

We have yet to discuss Montague's style. Of course, it was excellent: else it would not need to be discussed. "Give me a nation's ballads and I don't care who makes its laws," someone is reported to have said. "Give me a style—and the best going—," one can imagine Montague declaring, "and I don't care what it is all about." The magic of words enthralled him: to him style was (if we may say so) as horses and dogs were for the gentleman in the tall white hat whom David Copperfield met on the top of the Canterbury coach: "Orses and dorgs," said that gentleman, "is some men's fancy. They are wittles and drink to me, lodging, wife, and children, reading, writing, and 'rithmetic, snuff, to-backer, and sleep."

Montague was a conscious artist; and the chief peculiarity of his style is the large number of metaphors one finds in his pages. Some of them, no doubt, are

exquisite; and none besides Montague could have managed them. Everyone, it is only fair to point out, cannot coin metaphors. But, then, one *need* not coin so many metaphors. In sound prose they should be as few as possible. But in Montague they are as

"Plentiful as tabby-cats
In point of fact, too many."

Montague, then, revels in metaphor. Now, we shall try to show that Montague's style was much better when he used it sparingly than when he let it frolic in his pages to its heart's content. The following is a passage which is as simple as Montague could have made it:

"In every mountain country you will find some legend of a lost valley, having in it a tiny world that is better than our big one. Its pastures are deeper and its waters clearer, and its trees are heavier with fruit. To lock it in, safe from such thieves as men have been since the Fall, there are usually hanging glaciers and tiers of unclimbable precipice.

There may be people in the lost valley of myth and there may not. According to most of the local legends there lingers in it a choice morsel of the Golden Age which vanished everywhere else some time ago. Even Shakespeare could only partly resuscitate it in the Forest of Arden. Perhaps a ripe apple, bitten by a child's teeth, has been found in a mountain torrent into which the stream that drains the lost valley must have made its way by some underground channel that cannot now be traced. And there may be other proofs of man's presence there, equally cogent. The valley of other legends has no human possessors; only the wild goats, the white hares and the chamois of all the surrounding mountains flock to it in winter to live out the evil months in this patch of mild fruitfulness left over from Eden; the valley stream is never quite frozen, nor its grass buried deep under snow." (*Right Off The Map*: p. 164.) Montague *could* write like this. But he *would* also write like this:

"But Dick was a disconcerting lump to address; not lumpish, strictly; a graceful mass, a great stalking athlete from a Greek frieze; you might feel him crazy, but not dull; docile too, in a way; as often as Brumby came out with some crystal of

practical wisdom, the slowly formed gains of a lifetime, or handed to Dick some holograph chart, his own work, of the shoaly seas of thought upon life and conduct, upon business, manners and the arts, Dick would listen with rounding eyes, silent or only putting in, here and there, a question that opened up new reaches to be buoyed out by the pilot mind; and yet—well, to change the figure, it seemed as if some fine pile of rock had asked nothing better of Moses than just to be smitten, and have its miraculous waters drawn from it, and Moses had smitten, and then found the rod would not bite on that special formation of rock; there are feathers, again, that a pellet will glance off; in Dick's willingness to learn, the most unerring shafts of the elder's sagacity buried themselves and were lost, like bullets fired into penetrable-looking sand. Still, a man must try; it was only fair to the boy, and to the paper." (*A Hind Let Loose*, pp. 28-29.)

This is not a solitary passage. Scores of such can be found scattered up and down his pages.

We are told that there is a time for blank verse and a time to refrain from blank-versing. Likewise we may say that there is a time for metaphors and a time to refrain from metaphors. But Montague had a fatal felicity for coining them: and we firmly believe that it ruined his style more than it improved it. What started out to be a manner became, in course of time, a mannerism: what began as a virtue became ere long, a virtuosity. And even if a metaphor be employed, it should, we have no hesitation in saying, be completed as soon as possible: it should not drag on to the bitter end. Leslie Stephen, speaking of Matthew Arnold's "Sohrab and Rustum," says:

"'Sohrab and Rustum' is to me among the most delightful of modern poems, though in it Arnold indulges, perhaps more than enough, in the long-tailed Homeric metaphor, which drags in upon principle all the points in which the thing compared does not resemble the object."*

Montague was very fond of this kind of portmanteau metaphor.

While on this subject we shall do well, we think, to remark that figures of speech are the bane of most writers of prose.

* *Studies of a Biographer*. By Leslie Stephen, Vol. 2, Duckworth, 1898, p. 83.

Aristotle, as everyone knows, put a premium on metaphor, raising it almost to the level of a divine gift; and poetry, perhaps, becomes all the more poetical for it. But in that (as Dryden calls it) "other harmony of prose," metaphor (or, for that matter, any figure of speech) is not such a prime necessity. Nay, it is often a positive hindrance. Some of the most exquisite writers of prose have avoided metaphor as they would have done the devil: they have let it severely alone. Swift is a case in point. "The rogue never hazards a metaphor," said Johnson; and right he was not to hazard it. People are apt to forget that what is good for poetry is not always equally good for prose. "There is one glory of the sun and another of the moon"; and prose has its distinct glory, and it is harder to be attained than the one appertaining to poetry.

V

Summing up, we may say that with all his faults Montague was an excellent author. In judging of a man's work, we shall do well to pass by his weaknesses and concentrate only on his strong points. Every author has his faults: the important thing is to lay hold of his virtues and to make them public. As Mr. John Bailey says:

"But in the arts no number of blunders or failures outbalances a single success."*

Or as Mr. Lytton Strachey puts it:

"So complex and so various are the elements of literature, that no writer can be damned on a mere enumeration of faults. He may always possess merits which make up for everything; if he loses on the swings, he may win on the roundabouts."†

THE EURASIANS AND THEIR FUTURE ‡

By Mr. SARKIES MAGHERIAN

I CAME across it in a book-store—a slim book with the disturbing title *Cimmerii*? followed by the explanatory sub-caption "Or Eurasians and Their Future." The author, Mr. Cedric Dover, has been many things in the past—more things than most young men can be. His publishers tell us (in more prosaic language) that he assisted the Zoological Survey of India, helped the Secretary of the famous Asiatic Society of Bengal, dissected and sorted out 'bugs' in Malaya, and directed a college (or is it a kindergarten?) for the physical education of fishes and molluscs in the Federated Malay States. His dedication shows him to be both an iconoclast and a scientist—and I like both. The opinions of a scientifically

trained mind have always been of interest to me. I have a particular dislike for the man who says "for it is written"—and builds his edifice on the babblings of yore alone. I like *him* who asks "Why?" and "How?"

And why "*Cimmerii*?" with the query? Puzzling, very puzzling indeed, for the intelligentsia, I mused. Meaningless for the profane, I decided. *Cimmerii*?! Raking the shelves of my memory I alighted upon some dust-covered knowledge of ancient times and Homeric legends. *Cimmerii*. . . . Oh, yes, a people who lived in the Crimean regions and were terrible in their vengeance, said the parchment. Not much of a clue here. *Cimmerii*?, said the Homeric chapter, were a mythical race living in a gloomy

*Walt Whitman. By John Bailey. (New Series of "English Men of Letters"), Macmillan, 1926, p. 207.

†See Mr. Lytton Strachey's article on "Macaulay" in the *Nation* of June 21, 1928.

‡*Cimmerii? Or Eurasians and Their Future*. By Cedric Dover. (The Modern Art Press, 1/2 Durga Pituri Lane, Calcutta, (1929.) Price Rs. 1/8.

land, so gloomy in fact that the poor inhabitants took a shade of the darkness around them. And Homer had painted his picture of the Kingdom of Pluto from this legend. Ah! here was promise of a ride with the Devil, and the Devil has always had more charms for us humans than the stern, unsmiling Almighties who seem to lack what is best—humour.

But why the question-mark—*Cimmerii*? Was the author not sure, or was it a challenge? "Give the Devil fair play," says a bishop in one of Bernard Shaw's plays. I decided to read this book and also to find out if there can be angels in other hues than white. The author starts with a text—he believes in having one—and the one he chooses is from a forgotten novel by Bruce in which "Corporal Dekker" summarises his opinion of these children of East and West thus: "But an Yewraysian is not a proper human being." And Mr. Dover proposes to combat this opinion, which, to be candid, is the view of most ordinary Whites—and perhaps of most above-the-ordinary Browns. He proposes in fact to do more than this. He wants to show that Lord Olivier was right when he described the mixed breed as "potentially a more competent vehicle of humanity." He shows—as the intelligentsia already know—that prejudice is the way of foolish conquerors, quick to despise and slow to learn.

Beginning with the pre-Christian period he cites Alexander's Asiatic wives, Chandragupta and his Greek consort, and then Asoka, who seems to have been a *Eurasian*. But why not go a little further back? We know that the Aryans invaded India some 5,000 years ago. So half (I speak metaphorically) the population of India to-day consists of Eurasians! Unfortunately Lord Hastings (who coined the word) was not present at that invasion, otherwise the *Rig Veda* and the *Mahabharata* would be chanting the beauty of Eurasian maidens and the gallantry of Eurasian knights! Mr. Dover seems to be keen on proving that the present-day Eurasians are the fruits of high-class and high-caste unions. Does it really matter? It should not—at least for us Christians whose God had a poor carpenter

for step-father and a beguiled virgin for mother, and also chose to be born in a stable. Mr. Dover is incensed because an American sociologist has said that "in every case the half-caste races have arisen as the result of illicit relations between the men of the superior and the women of the inferior race." He is very incensed, indeed, so much so that it causes me to suspect in him the very 'inferiority complex' which he complains is the cause of all Eurasian evils.

Now in the first place, it is almost impossible to say who are the superior and who the inferior races. We may advance theories on the conformation of bones, cephalic indices, skin-color and what not. But they remain no more than theories; these physical characteristics do no more than distinguish types. And supposing we admit that the Whites are the superior race, how shall we explain the Mongolian onslaught upon Europe and the traces of their blood as far as Land's End? In the second place, what are 'illicit relations'? They are, of course, in conformity with all the laws of nature—or how could the child be born? But they are not in obedience to certain customs which are neither natural nor universal. Wherefore the fruit is called a bastard. It is an offence only among the 'lower' classes. A certain prime minister is called a 'natural child' (by courtesy)—and it is well-known that the bastards of the Kings of yesterday are the dukes of to-day. The real bastards (if we must give the word an offensive meaning) in my opinion are the children of loveless hymens. Poor things! I hope they may some day know the love their parents overlooked.

So from declamations on illicitity of relations and superiority and inferiority of races the only tangible knowledge one gets is of the ignorance of the person who makes them. (But perhaps it is necessary to combat sometimes a lie even more energetically than the truth.) The fact is that humanity is still in the making. The human race, since the days of the prehistoric monkey-man, has been mixing and mingling in the cauldron of evolution. At times the blue-eyed northerner has hugged in his arms the dark-hued beauty of the tropics. At others

the slant-eyed Mongol or Tartar has revelled in the possession of a golden-haired maiden—and so on and so forth. The cauldron is still boiling and the soup is not yet cooked. When it is ready, when the last bit of seasoning has been added, it will be good no doubt. But who can foretell its color? In the meantime, it may be assumed without any disparagement that the Eurasians are an additional spice in this process. They had to be, and they are what they had to be.

II

Reading *Cimmerii*? I learned a few things of which I was ignorant. I learned that Eurasians were among the pioneers of English education in India; that they were good fighters and had fought gallantly under Clive, as a Mr. Stark (who seems to have written a book with the unsavoury title *Hostages to India*) declares; that Brendish, the hero of the Punjab was not an "English boy" but a Eurasian. Mr. Dover cites other cases of Eurasian heroism; for example, Forgett, who saved Bombay. But he must not be too cross with Europeans for not remembering Forgett. The name resembles too closely a certain imperative and he has been duly forgotten! Now I may frankly concede that it is well to know these things but, again, what is the use of a pedigree? The highly pedigreed nations are not among the mightiest and most successful of to-day. But considering that the past may to a certain degree show the possibilities of the future, I welcome the knowledge that there have been fighters, thinkers and lovers among Eurasians.

And now I come to the ninth chapter which the author opens with these words: "We have said that as Christ founded the greatest religion on earth, so Eurasians may be the harbingers of international amity." There are several things taken for granted in this assumption and the twisted meanings of the biblical quotations that follow hardly satisfy one. First, it is supposed that Christianity is the greatest religion of the world. Who says so? The Christians? No court of law would accept the testimony of an interested witness. Christianity is a religion just as great and as good as Bud-

dhism, Brahmanism, Islam, Bahaism and other forms of belief. We have no standards on which to prove the superiority of one belief over another. The only argument that can be advanced in favour of Christianity is that the Christian nations have progressed more than others. But somebody told me one day that Europe had never been strictly and morally Christian—and history seems to prove him true. I am persuaded that the White man progressed not because he believed in presenting the other cheek when slapped on one, but because of his unswerving faith in Beauty, Force and Comfort. The first magisterial kick delivered to Christianity is called the Renaissance in our history. This much for the "greatest religion."

Secondly, the author feels sure that Christ was a Eurasian. Now to the Christian this is pure blasphemy. Christ was no man as men go, and cannot therefore be included in this or that race. When a being is conceived through the Holy Spirit and a maiden of Israel, who is the European and who the Asiatic in the case? Or is Mr. Dover endeavouring to pay an unsolicited compliment to Europeans by considering the Holy Ghost one of them? But perhaps the author is addressing rationalists. Well, it is a useless and futile argument. Christ's historical existence has yet to be proved. Father Josephus and a few scriptures carefully selected by the employees of the Church are not enough to satisfy the rationalist historian. I need not say more about this chapter. It strikes me as an unnecessary struggle for originality, and this new crucifixion of Christ does not even possess the grim pageantry of the biblical legend. Mr. Dover had no need of forced originality. His book was not lacking in ability and new ideas. He is in a happier mood when he discusses the Anglo-Indian's abhorrence of the term Eurasian. He is fully aware of the nervousness that members of his community display at being called Eurasians. They prefer to be Anglo-Indians?

Indeed, when they can they prefer to be Europeans. I was introduced once to a fine type of half-caste—a tall young man of

very regular features and athletic build. His accent had something of the drawl of an Oxfordian and his manners were perfect. He was rather dark in complexion, and while a temple of admiration was being built in my heart for this fine specimen of a successful experiment he destroyed it with a single blow: "I am Irish," he said "Irish," he insisted—and there was fear and hurt pride in his voice. Pathetic, very pathetic indeed. And once more I have to agree with the author. "When Eurasians (he says) are proud of being Eurasians, when they are proud of being sons of the soil on which they were reared, the problems of this race will have been largely solved." Yes, that is the spirit!

And let us not laugh lest we fall into the error that the listeners of Phideas committed. Who was Phideas? Oh, Phideas was a poor young man with a bad character and lots of ambition, like many other young men, and lived in Marseilles some 2,400 years ago. The Greek colony of that town, perhaps with a view to getting rid of their turbulent son, sent him on a long voyage of discovery. "Nobody had ever been there before and therefore he cannot come back," they argued. But they were wrong. A year passed, perhaps two, and then Phideas returned. What a story he had to tell! Beyond Gaul and its fierce tribes, beyond a sea which I crossed (said Phideas) I found a large, a very large, island. It was full of men and birds and beasts, all equally savage. There are places in the

north of that island where two suns arise (he continued to the astonishment of his hearers), one for the day and another for the night, besides the moon. Besides the moon (he assured them). His listeners laughed. "What is the name of this ghostly country?" they asked. "It has no name," replied Phideas, but I shall write a book about my discoveries and there I shall call it the Island of the Painted men—the Pritannic Isle." "Why Pritannic?" "Because the savages of that island paint their bodies in different hues," answered Phideas. And his listeners laughed again. There is no such land, they declared between their outbursts. Yet such a land there was and the name also remained and the "Pritannic Isle" became the hub of the greatest empire in the modern world.

So why be shy of the name Eurasian? A Eurasian is something like a tinted European. They should bide their time and emulate the painted men of Phideas. I like Mr. Cedric Dover's book. It is short; it is sincere; it is vigorous. And when I closed its covers I was reminded of the opening lines from the immortal *Rubayat*:

"Awake! for the Dawn in the Bowl
of Night
Has cast the Stone which puts the
stars to flight."

And *Cimmerii*? It has cast also a stone which may put some stars to flight. It has taught me that there can be angels in other hues than white; that there can be devils in other tints than black.

AMERICA RENAMED BY AN INDIAN*

By Mr. CEDRIC DOVER

IN one of his lighter and more bearable moods Mr. Wyndham Lewis wrote a review of *Mother India*. He said it had sunk to the level of vulgar untruth, he said Miss Mayo had left an appreciably greater mess behind her in the world, that she had sent up the international tension and fever, that she had insulted three hundred million people.

He said all this and more. He said with brutal cynicism that if an Indian lady journalist visited the United States she could paint an equally untruthful picture; he said in effect that any journalist with a flair for raking among the muck-heaps of forgotten literature could write a *Mother England* or a *Mother Germany*. Such books have in fact been written—only they were given less euphemistic names. I have seen them lying around in stacks in dilapidated bookstalls from London to Tokyo—little red-covered, badly printed books published at a shilling or so each, but “fourpence (or four annas or twenty cents, as the case may be) to you, Sir.” I do not remember their names: I think they had such titles as *Germany Revealed*, *Those Bloody Huns*, and ‘Exports’ to Brazil—and I never bought any, though I glanced over a few.

A pity this! I am a bad businessman. Five rupees spent in this way would have been a great investment. I could have made a fortune by rehashing those books. I may have gained a reputation for altruism, sincerity and veracity (the little red books were “heavily documented”!) by presenting this *rechauff*. In fact my literary bulldog may even have said of my effort as Mr. Harry H. Field said of *Mother India*.

“Looking down the centuries, certain writings, here and there, stand out rather as material events than as mere records—rather as social forces than as records

of thought. *The Origin of Species* and *Uncle Tom's Cabin* are instances . . . *Mother India* (*Papa Europe* in my case) bids fair to enter this class.”

To be quite frank, he would not have been content with comparing me only with Charles Darwin and Harriet Beecher Stowe: he would have given me a halo even larger than theirs. For in my preface I would not only have given my future bulldog a plain biscuit. I would have dipped it in condensed milk.

And what a tale I would have spun! what heart-rending disclosures I would have made about hard-drinking, hard-swearing, free-loving, white-slave driving, venereally infected (80, or is it 93 per cent), irreligious, grasping, greedy, hypocritical Europe, where x per cent of the population is murdered every day, where y per cent of the female population is annually raped, where z per cent of the double-beds have “grease spots” every morning through the timid haste of wifely paramours. I would, of course, have interspersed my tale with bits about democracy, political constitutions, sanitation, primary education and what not just to show what a serious student of European affairs (“trained in the methods of such research”) I was.

I would have dedicated the book to “The Peoples of Europe and that devoted English Evangelist who first showed me the horrors of the brothels of Nice,” and I would have said (forestalling Mr. Gauba) that the writing of my book had been anything but a “genial task,” that its writing had been in fact “most painful and unpleasant,” and I would have appealed with Mayoian journalese to intelligent Europeans to accept my “plain speech” as the “faithful wounds of a friend” how a wound can be faithful I would have

* Kanhaya Lal Gauba: *Uncle Sham—Being the Strange Tale of a Civilisation Run Amok*. Illustrated. (The Times Publishing Co., Lahore, 1929.) Price Rs. 6. Popular edition, paper cover, Rs. 4.

left to mere grammarians and stylists to fight out among themselves.

And to counteract the sales-reducing effect of these concluding sentimentalities (a nicer word than hypocrisies or lies) I would have added a fat and unsavoury appendix, to win back the favour of my pornographic (I mean studious) readers, in which I would have quoted extracts from such authorities as W. N. Willis, George R. Sims, Maria Monk, Paul de Kock and the rest. Greatly daring, or confident of the mental level of my public, I may even have quoted from one or two of the works of the more observant ancients, which were published by the so-and-so Press in 1924!

I could have done all this. I could have reaped my share of the rewards which come from the writing of 'serious, sociological' books—rewards which would turn Victoria Cross or Michael Arlen green with envy. I could have bought a Hispano Suisa (or is it an ordinary Rolls?) even six inches longer than Michael Arlen's, and given my cook a common or garden Daimler in which to do the daily marketing. For I too would have sold three million copies of *Papa Europe* in New York alone in one week—or is it a week?

But I didn't write *Papa Europe* and I don't mean to. Nor did any Indian lady journalist accept the suggestion which Wyndham Lewis gave the profession as a gift. It went abegging. No Indian woman told us pathetically that American men are impotent at thirty and that their wives replace them with hired Negroes; that homosexuality is rampant in American high schools and universities, though girls who carry contraceptives with their lip-sticks were serious competitors of boys and fairies in co-educational institutions; that, in spite of this general liberality, 6 per cent of Americans abused themselves daily (see Appendix D); that a million and a half abortions take place every year largely because many drug-store contraceptives don't work and some women still obey the law of the land (and perhaps of their religions also), which prohibits the sale of contraceptives; that the death-rate per day (see Appendix F) on account of syphilis or prohibition authorities or mere crimes of violence

was such and such; and that so many unfortunate negroes were lynched, disembowelled, boiled in oil, or just roasted every month—women and children not excepted.

No Indian woman told us all this or wound up her tale (just before the sob-stuff and the Appendices) by saying that America was a world-menace, and that something ought to be done to prevent those terrible American tourists from bringing the germs of syphilis or dolerites to India—the universal mother.

To the credit of India's womanhood no Indian Mayo arose. Mr. Lewis' suggestion went abegging—but not quite. For what an Indian woman could not do an Indian man could—and he did it as pithily (which means as journalistically) and quite as untruthfully (which also means journalistically) as Katherine Mayo. Only in the sob-stuff did he fail. He could not get beyond "most painful and unpleasant task; he could not think, being a mere man, of the equivalent of "faithful wounds of a friend." Neither Miss Mayo nor the little Boston girl whom he loved taught him the subtleties of their sex—but it hasn't mattered much anyway.

His book is a success. Not quite such a success as *Mother India*, because what Miss Mayo said was new to the general public, while what he has said has been hurled every day from newspapers and magazines throughout the world. Miss Mayo's book was a fresh sensation; Mr. Gauba merely re-tells things which numerous journalists have already made fortunes by telling. Still *Uncle Sham* is a success. It is not selling at the rate of three million a week in New York, but 5000 copies were sold in India in three weeks, and one of the author's admirers (*vide* 3rd. ed., p. viii, last para) was so "fed up of the damned telephones I am getting from so many people" that he told "one or two fellows that they should go to the girl who first introduced Mr. Gauba to Uncle Sam!" But in spite of this rebuff they kept on "worrying me like hell," which is quite good going—for India anyway. And Mr. Gauba can now float another company or buy a yacht, and his publishers will be able to afford better blocks for the fifth edition, though they may still feel they cannot afford the services of a good proof reader (a man

who knows that the 'a' precedes the 'u' in 'gauged,' that Philippines is not consistently spelt with two 'l's' and 'p,' and that the name of the author of *Americana* is neither 'Menkin' nor 'Menken' but Mencken to correct his next book.

Yes, what an Indian woman could not do an Indian man certainly could. Mr. Kanhaya Lal Gauba was the man. He out-Mayoed Mayo: none of this 'mother' stuff for stern Mr. Gauba. He re-named America, consoling American patriots with the suggestion that if they found his conclusions to be wrong "it should not be difficult to delete the 'h' in the title to this volume." But even American patriots will find it difficult to honestly delete the 'h,' for while Miss Mayo only quotes the Abbe Dubois nine times (Mr. Field says so—I have not counted myself), Mr. Gauba quotes such authorities as Judge Ben Lindsey, the caustic publicist Mr. Mencken, and Stephen Graham, the studious author of *New York Nights* (Miss Mayo, by the way, inadvertently missed out Minney's *Night Life of Calcutta*) so often that even the diligent Mr. Field would possibly tire of counting the occasions. Moreover, there are other authorities for Mr. Gauba's opinions, all of them exclusively American—a principle of fairness which Miss Mayo did not follow. There are, for example, the *True Story Magazine*, the *Physical Culture Magazine* and that brilliant sociological study (one must not call it a novel) *Alimony*.

In fact, real American patriots should be grateful to Mr. Gauba for his book. For no less an authority than Mr. Harry H. Field, erstwhile "instructor to the 106th Regiment of the famous 27th (New York) Division, A. E. F." (*vide* Publisher's note—I am getting this documentation habit!), has said that "few thinking Englishmen would be anything but grateful" if a Hindu wrote a *Mother England*,

and, on the same principle, Americans should be grateful to the foreigner who first showed them that the 'h' had been missed out in Uncle Sam. After all Mr. Gauba (so he says) means well—and why should his book not promote that comfortable feeling of universal brotherhood and mutual tolerance so essential to international amity? Surely Mr. Gauba is a pessimist to anticipate that his *magnum opus* will be "burnt at the open stake." He is also a bit foolish, for normal people don't burn books these days which cost six rupees—and even the abnormal ones would hardly go to the trouble of giving a book an honour reserved for pagans.

So much for the attitude which Americans should adopt towards Mr. Gauba. I must not spoil his chances of being compared with Darwin or Abraham Lincoln by giving my own crude, personal opinions. In fact, it isn't necessary. You will easily guess them. You know the sort of book Mr. Gauba has written. It is, to follow the Victorian suggestiveness of Mr. Chapman (erstwhile keeper of several thousand books, some of which he weeded out, and several million bugs, none of which he weeded out), that kind of book Mr. Chapman, being Mr. Chapman, made this accusation against *Mother India* without reading it. I make it against *Uncle Sham* after reading it.

So if that kind of book amuses you buy Mr. Gauba's masterpiece today. You will relish it. It will be a good six rupees work. For Mr. Gauba has done his job well. So well, that those of his countrymen (and mine) who wish to vilify a nation because it produced a Mayo, who do not believe in mutual understanding and international co-operation, will proclaim him a national hero. But if that kind of book does not amuse you, well,!!

RUSSIA: THE WORKERS' PARADISE*

By Mr. KENNETH E. WALLACE

IT would seem as if Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had usurped the prerogative of an American tourist. We are well-acquainted with those Americans who rush through India in a couple of weeks and then produce a book, but, unlike the American tourist, Mr. Nehru is careful to explain that what he writes about Soviet Russia must not be taken as emanating from a lengthy experience of the country. He, therefore, writes warily, almost judiciously, and the result is a fair, balanced and splendidly written pronouncement on Russian affairs. And this does not cause his book to lose anything in interest or impressiveness; the more I search the works of other writers on Russia the more am I impressed by Mr. Nehru's just appraisal of the Russian situation. Indeed, it is difficult to get a clearer understanding of the whole Soviet movement and its relation to India in particular than Mr. Nehru's exposition.

Russia today is a great experiment. The eyes of the world are on her. She is to many the hope of the world. Cultured India is watching her perhaps more closely and carefully than others, for there are parallels between the two countries. Both are vast in extent, both are mainly agricultural, both have numerous minority communities. It is yet too early to pass judgment, but in endeavouring to form any opinion we should be careful to avoid the inspired accounts of an Imperialist press. Mr. Nehru recalls how a *Riga* correspondent sat comfortably in a London office and purveyed 'authentic' information apparently 'from the spot.' It is probably as necessary not to accept without scrutiny all that proceeds from Soviet sources. Still there is no doubt that even in the short space of ten years, and in the face of prodigious difficulties, the experiment has already achieved an amazing measure of success. Today also there is a better disposition

towards Russia. Recently Mr. Ford put through a big deal with the Soviet and others also are realising the great possibilities of trade with that country. As we all know (and this rather robs the last chapter of Mr. Nehru's book of its sting) the new British Government have established friendly negotiations, and it would seem as if our Indian tea authorities are about the only fools in refusing the opportunity of a large and profitable market.

In fact, too readily have some of us allowed ourselves to be persuaded by that revolution, bloodshed and Russia are synonymous. It is probably given only to the Anglo-Saxon race to achieve a bloodless revolution—even the revolutions of Cromwell or the American colonies cannot compare in this respect with those of France in the 18th century or of Russia in 1917. But if the latter revolutions entailed a great deal of bloodshed and repression, we must not forget that a government usually takes its complexion from the preceding regime (at least for a time), and neither the grandees of France nor the nobles of Russia were sympathetic, or even just, as a body. Besides, a government coming into power at an abnormal time is compelled to resort to abnormal measures till it has consolidated its position. These are things we must forgive and forget, and judge by results. A tree is known by its fruit. Now at least, "gentler methods of diplomacy are being used more and more."

And what are the results after a brief period of ten years? Americans, even those who do not sympathise with the ideal, are deeply impressed by the spirit of enterprise and idealism that permeates the Russian population today. "Anyone with a keen knowledge of pre-war Russia cannot fail to observe the complete change that has taken place in worker and peasant. . . There is no

**Soviet Russia, Some Random Sketches and Impressions.* By Jawaharlal Nehru. Popular edition. (Allahabad Law Journal Press, Allahabad.) 1929.

doubt that those who still speak about the 'instability of the Soviets' and expect a fall of the Government are nursing illusions," writes a contributor to the *Manchester Guardian*. The new aristocracy is the worker, the lowliest of whom seem imbued with an undaunted spirit and self-respect. They are carefully looked after and given many privileges. In all branches of life, people are strenuously working, writing, composing, "in fact the whole history of Russia since the Revolution" says the same observer, "represents one sustained endeavour, one huge sacrifice for that ideal (*i.e.*, to rebuild the economic life of the country on a new foundation). In the midst of the greatest destruction the country had seen for centuries the call was sounded for an economic revival, for industrialisation, electrification and the remodelling of life on a new basis, and the response to this call was extraordinary. . . . Everywhere one sees the indisputable signs of an economic revival."

These undertakings, in a country like Russia, are prodigious, and though in many instances only the fringe of the problem has been touched yet it is really admirable that in the midst of chaos so many great and important legislative and executive measures have been effected—the settlement of the constitution, matters of administration, distribution of food, the reorganisation of education, the building of museums, the establishment of scientific research and health-measures, the electrification and industrialisation of the country, even the maintenance of a national theatre (which is part of the educational scheme). I cannot tell you of all that has been accomplished in these directions, but vast progress has been made. The vigour, and intelligence displayed, and the amount of money spent, is surprising. India cannot fail to benefit by this object lesson, and of particular interest to this country should be the 'collectivist' system in agriculture—a method of agricultural co-operation.

That art is not neglected may be gathered from the energy and modern tendencies to be seen in the architecture of the country. It is in evidence in the theatre and again in the cinema (which is also regarded as an educational activity). Some splendid films

have been produced by Russia. *The Mother* and *The Storm Over Asia* have won unstinted praise in Europe, but unfortunately they have not been allowed to enter England or its dependencies.

Recently, Russians have taken liberties with the calendar, and while some wish to follow the example of those who introduced the Thermidor, the Russian innovators for the most part are more utilitarian. They have introduced a five-day week, it being left to the worker to suit himself which day to take off weekly. One benefit of this system is, I understand, that factories can be kept continuously at work, while another advantage is that not only is the strain on the worker less, but congestion in places of amusement is also relieved. There are few national holidays, except those marking particular days of the revolution, especially the death anniversary of Lenin, the genius of the communist movement in Russia, whose memory is revered with more ardour than that of a mediæval saint. We know, of course, the community attitude towards religion ("religion is the opium of the people" in the words of Karl Marx), but religion and worship is not altogether prevented, though education is entirely on secular lines. In all this we must recognise a healthy desire to cast off the trammels of tradition.

A matter of special interest to India is the Soviet policy in regard to minority communities. It is held that any backward community retards the advance of the entire people, so that every effort is made to educate and assist every community, however insignificant. Each is allowed to develop its own culture and individuality, allowed to retain its own language, and even those that had no written script have been given one. The political rights of all communities are equal, but the cultural rights of each are its own. Russia seems to have solved the minority problem.

Other features of interest are to be found in the splendid health measures taken and the reform of the jail system. In the case of the former not only are medical facilities provided free, but an immense amount of propaganda is issued; and so much has been accomplished in the improvement of national

health among a poor and uneducated people, that India might well ask why she cannot do the same. Mr. Nehru's visit to a jail was a revelation. He does not claim that all jails in Russia are alike, as he visited only one, but in this one at least the humanitarian system has been carried to a length perhaps undreamt of by some of the most ardent reformers. There is no capital punishment except for treason, the longest term of imprisonment is ten years, and the atmosphere of the jail is quite unlike the usual jail found elsewhere. So far has the idea of 'reform instead of punishment' been carried out that the prisoners may be said to be almost free and even their prison is given an euphemistic name.

It is not strange, after all the rumours that have floated round, that Mr. Nehru, upon his return from Russia, should have been assailed with questions particularly on the position of women in that country. "Have they really nationalised women in Russia?" is invariably asked. It would seem that the women there are, at least in the eyes of the state, given more recognition and rights than they have ever found elsewhere. And they have utilised these rights to the fullest extent in developing themselves. Their institutions are models of their kind, and the Palace of Motherhood in Moscow stands as an emblem of the new awakening. The women workers are specially looked after, and special facilities are given to the children. "It has been enacted that registration of marriage is established with the aim of facilitating the protection of personal and property rights and the interests of the wife and children. . . Registration is an indisputable proof of the existence of marriage." In the case of unregistered unions, these are given the same protection though definite proof of an

actual state of marriage is required. Polygamy is not countenanced. Divorce may be had upon one party claiming it. This has not led to vice (vice is strongly combated) and I should think that under the Soviet system the hard economic reactions of divorce on women as seen in other countries are entirely obviated, which in itself tends to reduce vice greatly.

I have already stated that it is too early yet to pass judgment on this great Russian experiment, but this much may be said in all fairness, that so far as it has gone it has accomplished much more than Tsardom ever did or any other method of government might have done in the same space of time. Visitors are impressed by the absence alike of the rich and poverty-stricken. The conditions may not appeal to the capitalistic traditions of an Englishman or American, who clings to many things which he regards as necessary to existence, but which to the Russian communist are only 'bourgeois' traits, which for him hold no attractions.

How far will Russia go? Asquith-wise I answer, "Wait and see." Meantime Mr. Nehru's book will help us to get a very good idea of the 'great experiment' that now holds the attention of the world in thrall. It will help us in India to realise that (in his own words), "the past is dead and gone and our immortal civilisation does not help us greatly in solving the problems of today." It will help us "to venture forth along new avenues of thought and search for new methods" to solve the many ills which afflict India today. In a word, Mr. Nehru's "Soviet Russia" is an ideal book for the man who knows nothing about Russia and the man who thinks he knows all about it. It is deserving of more energetic advertisement by the publishers.

(B) VIEWS IN REVIEWS

LATEST REFERENCE ANNUALS

Who's Who, 1930.—(Adam and Charles Black, Ltd., 4—6 Soho Square, London), 1929.

A highly meritorious work of reference is the well-known annual, called *Who's Who*. Of the current books of reference, perhaps none is more useful to the journalist than this annual biographical dictionary. This is the eighty-second year of its issue and it is a well-nigh perfect example of what it professes to be—"an annual biographical dictionary." After using it for many years we cannot recall a single instance of its giving incorrect information. It does not, however, profess to be international in its scope. Nevertheless, it does give biographies of a good many prominent Continentals. So great is the labour of compiling and printing this vast work, which comprises nearly three thousand five hundred pages of close double column type, that printing has to begin as early as August. The work opens with a useful obituary for the preceding year. This is followed by an account of the Royal family; and then come over 32,000 biographies. The biographies, though generally exceedingly condensed, are accurate and informative. They give, besides, useful and interesting information about the habits, tastes and hobbies of the large number of persons whose careers are sketched. The book is thus indispensable to a journalist. Indian names appear in *Who's Who* but the sketches of eminent Indians need careful revision by experts and specialists in current Indian affairs. Additions are also required to make the Indian list comprehensive and more useful than it is at present. Year by year *Who's Who* becomes a more absolute necessity to those whose work entails a study of all phases of British life, and it is, now as ever, an indispensable part of the furniture of any library or office.

Guide to Current Official Statistics.—Seventh Issue. 1928. (H. M. Stationery Office, Adastral House, Kingsway, London, W. C. 2), 1929.

The number of official publications issued during each year is so large that the

average seeker after information is apt to get bewildered at their range and immensity. A guide to them—such as is now rendered available in the book under notice—was badly needed. A reference to its pages shows at a glance the publications issued in 1928 and the various subjects they deal with. It will be found to be of considerable help to those seeking after official data and statistics. This extremely compact publication, a fresh volume of which is issued every year, not only gives a list, arranged under departments, of volumes containing statistical information, but also provides a detailed index of subjects, in which are indicated the exact characteristics, as regards date and place, of the statistics to which reference is made. Special devices are employed to facilitate the use of this index by even the most casual inquirer, and to enable the appropriate reference to published official statistics on any subject to be readily traced. This publication has been appearing regularly each year since 1923, which dealt with the official literature of the previous year. We have noticed in terms of appreciation the first and subsequent volumes of the *Guide to Current Official Statistics of the United Kingdom*. As a systematic survey of official statistics published in the year before, it will be found highly useful in looking for authoritative and accurate data and figures which are available in official publications alone. The book deals with the official literature of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. It were much to be wished that the Government of India issued annually such a survey of and guide to Indian blue books. It is priced cheaply at one shilling.

Whitaker's Almanac for the Year 1930.—By Joseph Whitaker. Complete edition, 6s. net. (J. Whitaker and Sons, Ltd., 12 Warwick Lane, London, E. C. 4), 1929.

That most familiar and reliable of books of reference, *Whitaker's Almanac*, appears now in two forms. There is the "complete edition" (6s. net), and also the "popular edition" (1s. 6d. net) which, at any rate, everyone must have. Inaugurated in 1868, *Whitaker's Almanac* for the current year is the sixty-second yearly edition of this

most famous annual reference work of the English-knowing world. It is justly established in popular estimation as the most useful and the most comprehensive repertory of information—well-informed and accurate—on current public affairs. It is a highly meritorious book of reference, which not only—as its title implies—contains an account of the astronomical and other phenomena, but also gives a vast amount of sound and accurate information respecting the Government, finances, population, commerce and general statistics of the various nations and states, with special reference to the British Commonwealth and the United States of America. The edition under notice has been carefully and judiciously revised and brought up-to-date and it is fully abreast of the latest important events and incidents. All matters of general interest and questions of the day are fully dealt with and the statistical data are, on the whole, wonderfully accurate. The index has been appreciably enlarged, making reference to the contents both simple and easy. The current edition will be indispensable to public men and publicists, it being the most up-to-date and complete compendium of facts and events of the world today.

The Writers' and Artists' Year-Book, 1930.—(A. & C. Black, Ltd., 4—6, Soho Square, London, W. 1), 1928.

The Writers' and Artists' Year-Book is now in the twenty-third year of its issue. It offers literary aspirants and journalist free-lances much sound and useful information, which is likely to be of considerable help to them in placing their wares with profit and advantage. Lists of paying journals, magazines, and periodicals—throughout the British Commonwealth and America—as also of art-illustrators, publishers, booksellers, literary and press agents, photographers, leading clubs and societies of authors, journalists and artists, press-cutting agencies, translators, typists, cinematographers, suppliers for printers and publishers, and much other equally useful information about addresses, scale of payment, the stage, the films, the radio, the juvenile market, copyright, agreements and serial rights, and guidance for art-illustrators and press-photographers, form the standard features of this very useful annual publication. We have much pleasure in commending it to

those connected with literary pursuits or the press. Though meant primarily for Great Britain, it will be found valuable for reference even in India. But the Indian section needs careful revision by some expert. This valuable reference annual is an indispensable possession to writers, publicists, artists, composers, editors and everyone who aspires to contribute to literature, art, music or journalism.

International Year-Book of Agricultural Statistics for 1928-29.—(The International Institute of Agriculture, Rome), 1929.

The *Year-Book* issued by the International Institute of Agriculture, Rome, is an authoritative publication, in that it is compiled in collaboration with the agricultural and statistical departments of the various countries, in which detailed data on the subject are made available. The comprehensiveness of the volume can well be realised, when it is stated that it is arrayed with figures for various countries covering the apportionment of areas and production, trade and prices of the chief agricultural products, livestock, fertilisers and other chemical products useful in agriculture. The current *Year-Book* is an improvement on its predecessors and the Institute deserves praise for the publication of an annual which is not only authoritative but also of immense value to the agriculturist, the journalist and the statesman. Now that considerable attention is being paid in India to the development of the agricultural resources of the country and a Royal Commission has already submitted its Report on the problem in all its bearings, the *International Year-Book of Agricultural Statistics* ought to find a wide circulation amongst those interested in the expansion, development and improvement of Indian agriculture. Our only friendly criticism, on this highly useful and appreciably meritorious work of statistical reference, is that considering it is a bulky volume of large size, it ought to be furnished with strong cloth binding and not merely paper covers.

The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, 1928-1929.—(The Canadian Review Company, Ltd., 121 Farnham Avenue, Toronto, Canada), 1929.

The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs was founded by Mr. J. aCstell Hopkins in

the beginning of this century, and has been edited by him since, the volume under notice being the twenty-eighth annual publication in the series. It successfully does for Canada what the famous *Annual Register*—which was founded in the eighteenth century—does for Great Britain and the other European countries by recording in detail the public events of each year. As such it is a very valuable contribution to current Canadian history. Covering as it does over 800 pages, the *Canadian Annual Review* is a mine of useful and up-to-date information regarding the political, financial, educational and the industrial conditions of Canada. Mr. Hopkins is ably assisted in his work by an influential editorial committee, whose personnel is a guarantee for the accuracy and the impartiality of the narratives chronicled in the volume. The work is fully illustrated and equipped with all the necessary appliances for ready reference. Judged by the criterion of usefulness, the *Canadian Annual Review* is indispensable to every one interested in Canada. We wish we had a similar annual publication dealing with India, but that is a consummation not likely to be realized in the near future, because (unlike Canada) India is still ruled by a bureaucracy and not by the elect of her own people; and that makes a world of difference.

The Daily Mail Year-Book, 1930.—Edited by David Williamson. (Associated Newspapers, Ltd., London E. C.) 1929.

Of the many political year-books, that associated in name with the *Daily Mail* is unique in its being the cheapest and yet one of the most comprehensive. Unlike several other annuals of its class and kind—which are only revised and brought up-to-date—*The Daily Mail Year-Book* (now in its thirtieth edition) is completely rewritten for each succeeding edition. Its contents cover a very large ground and traverse almost the whole of the current political and economic affairs of the British Commonwealth. No other year-book so fully realises that people matter even more than things, and so it gives brief but interesting biographies of over one thousand famous persons. In fact, the little red book is the essence of a library, and a most marvellous compendium of general knowledge on the public affairs of the day and a most infor-

mative work of reference. The edition under notice is fully abreast of the latest events, and deserves an extensive circulation in India, alike for its cheapness—it costs but a shilling—and general utility as a meritorious work, which covers within a small compass a very large range of statistical and other useful data.

The British Empire Trades Directory, 1929.—(Classified Commercial Advertising, Ltd., Dominion House, Bartholomew Close, London, E. C. 1), 1929.

The British Empire Trades Directory is a unique record of the commodities and requirements of the British Commonwealth. Potential buyers and sellers can easily obtain from it authentic information about the most reliable manufacturers and exporters throughout the British Empire. About fifty thousand names and addresses of merchants and manufacturers, with concise but accurate details of their manufactures or requirements, are listed in the *Directory*, thus enabling buyers and sellers to get into direct communication together. A special feature is the Trade Marks and Brands Register, compiled with a view to supply the trade marks together with the name and address of the proprietor. Another useful section is the buyer's guide. Thus this well-planned *Directory* satisfactorily solves the problem common to all "over-seas" buyers—that of the best means of getting into touch with the British manufacturers and traders.

RECENT GUIDE-BOOKS AND TOURIST LITERATURE

Murray's Handbook to India, Burma, and Ceylon.—Thirteenth Edition. (John Murray, Albemarle Street, London), 1929.

This new edition has been prepared by Sir Evan Cotton, who is well-qualified for the work. Certain re-arrangements and additions have been made which will conduce to the convenience of travellers. Particulars are supplied of the new air route to India. An account of the caves of Bagh is given for the first time, and the descriptions of the excavations at Harappa and Mohendojars have been revised. A guide to the pronunciation of Burmese names now accompanies the section on Burma; and a few hints on the pronunciation of Indian words have been inserted

in the Introduction. New maps or plans of the Imperial capital at Delhi and other places have been provided; and other maps, including the railway map in the end pocket, have been corrected. Every effort has been made to bring the information up-to-date and at the same time to keep the size of the volume within convenient limits. This statement sums up in brief the main features of the new, thirteenth edition of *Murray's Handbook to India*, which may now be regarded as having attained the dignity of a classic in the range of tourist literature relating to this country, including Burma and Ceylon. Originally issued in four volumes, it was consolidated into one compendious volume so far back as 1892, and the present reviewer having used (with great advantage in his travels) all the twelve editions issued since, is naturally prepared to extend a cordial welcome to the thirteenth edition under notice. Closely packed with sound and accurate data, systematic and skilfully-arranged, thoroughly abreast of the latest researches and events, crammed with most useful and practical information, handy, compact, well-got-up and admirably supplied with maps, plans and diagrams, *Murray's Handbook to India, Burma and Ceylon* is an almost ideal guide which no traveller in these countries can do without. Making allowance for the obvious fact that no guide to countries so vast and diverse and lands changing so rapidly as those dealt with in this volume can be either absolutely complete or accurate in the smallest detail, the fact remains that *Murray's Handbook to India* may be safely declared to be nearly perfect.

"The Queen" Travel Book, 1929-30.
— (The Field Press, Ltd, Windsor House, Bream's Buildings, London, E. C. 4), 1929.

The travel editor of that well-known lady's journal *The Queen*—is responsible for an excellent reference annual, *The Queen Travel Book*, which has now appeared in its twenty-second edition. It is a dictionary of important tourist centres in Europe and other parts of the world, giving brief but accurate information about the scenes and sights, climate and accommodation, as also notes on the traveller's library—which is a comprehensive bibliography—and a lot of miscellaneous data of great utility to tourists. It is astonishingly comprehensive, for a great deal is packed within the com-

pass of 550 odd pages of small, though clear, type. There is a liberal sprinkling of maps and photographs throughout, the book is divided into countries, the various resorts under each country being shown alphabetically, so that reference is a quick and easy matter. A highly useful feature is the synopsis of air routes at the end of the volume. The value of the letter-press is materially enhanced by the book being furnished with many well-drawn maps and numerous excellent illustrations. It deals with about three thousand spas, health resorts and sport centres and gives their climatic conditions and social attractions, as also detailed practical information about accommodation. Altogether, it is a valuable compendium of geographical and topographical information and a handy companion, which should find a place in the kit-bag of all travellers. Though not intended to be a systematic guide to world-travel, it will serve a useful purpose as an almost indispensable supplement to hand-books for travellers. Comprehensive, compact and in limp binding, in a format convenient for carrying in a great coat pocket, the *Queen Travel Book* deserves wide appreciation.

A Road Map of India.—(Map Record and Issue Office, 13 Wood Street, Calcutta), 1929.

We welcome the second (revised and enlarged) edition of the *Road Map of India*. It is a unique production in that, besides being a road map, it shows all the railways of the country and its physical features and marks out the various provinces and even districts. The statistics supplied by the Indian Road Development Committee must have been of great assistance in the preparation of this map. The roadways are classified into through routes, other main roads and roads motorable in good weather. Furthermore—what is of immense value to the motorist—it indicates the places where a halt can be made and where food and lodging can be secured, those which can provide only lodging and those which supply neither food nor lodging. Towns where petrol is available are also shown. The map warns the motorist that delay is likely to occur at certain stages of the journey and indicates whether or not facilities for continuing the journey are usually available. Although

so many details are given the map is not at all cumbersome and details about a route or place can be ascertained with the utmost ease. It is one of the best reference maps of India. Drawn on a scale of fifty miles to an inch, the map is 59 inches long and 39 inches broad and can be either hung on a wall or carried in one's coat pocket, as it is mounted on a handy folder. Above all, this most useful and comprehensive map is sold for a rupee!

The All-India Time Table.—(Railway Board, Delhi), 1929.

We noticed in terms of appreciation the first issue of the *All-India Time Table*. We welcome the second number which in excellence of appearance and finish, is even better than the first publication. The cover has been changed to a bluish tint with the title embossed in gold lettering, and for a publication of about 650 pages, the time-table seems to be a model of careful production. India is a country as large as Europe (without Russia) and a time-table embracing the whole of India cannot conceivably be turned out in a smaller size. But the work before us is both compact and comprehensive. It comprises nearly 1,600 time and fare tables elaborately indexed, and systematized for reference. It contains not only the routings and fares of 40,000 miles of railways, but also detailed accounts of the steamer and road services which are of great value to travellers and traders interested in India, Burma and Ceylon. To illustrate its wideawake character, one might refer to the inclusion of the weekly service by the Imperial Airways Limited. The sections devoted to through services, the hill stations of the country, the hotels guide, conveyance, hire in various cities and general instruction for travellers, form a mass of information which could be got together only as the result of much labour and careful verification. The Railway Board have done well to launch so useful a work of reference for travellers and they deserve well of them for their highly meritorious compilation.

The Book of Calcutta.—(The Congress Exhibition Office, Calcutta), 1929.

Though issued by the Congress Exhibition Committee as a souvenir of the very successful Exhibition which was held last cold weather in Calcutta, under the auspices

of the National Congress, *The Book of Calcutta* is a highly meritorious production of permanent interest. It deals amongst other subjects with the rise and growth of Calcutta, its economic and industrial importance, the main currents of its trade, commerce and its financial position, besides dealing with it as a seat of education, social activities and political pivot in Bengal and its contribution to the Art, Science and Literature of the great province of which it is the capital. Embellished with many good illustrations and charts, the volume will appeal to a large circle of readers—both amongst visitors to and permanent residents in the city. We have much pleasure in commending to all lovers of Calcutta this exceedingly well-planned series of studies of the various aspects of the political, social, industrial and economic life of that great city, and Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar—the very energetic Secretary of the Exhibition—deserves heartiest felicitations on his enterprize in so successfully producing *The Book of Calcutta*.

The Indian Science Congress Hand-books, 1922 and 1929.—(The Diocesan Press, Madras), 1922–1929.

In 1922 and again during the last year, Madras had been the venue of the sessions of the Indian Science Congress. On both occasions the Reception Committee had been enterprising enough to produce excellent hand-books dealing with both the scientific and scenic matters relating to Madras and South India. The 1921 edition had excellent sketches of the history of Madras, the Church of Saint Mary, "the oldest British building in India," the city and corporation, the Central Museum and the Connemara Public Library, the harbour, and of other places and objects of historical interest around Madras. The 1929 edition has equally interesting articles on the city of Madras, its architecture, the Victoria Technical Institute, the rock-cut temples at Mahabalipuram (popularly known as "seven pagodas") and the temples at Conjeevaram. We have advisedly not referred to the many articles, in both the volumes, of scientific interest. But we feel that we should draw the attention of the tourists to the excellence of the matter contained in both these volumes, which are likely to be of great interest to them, and which usefully supplement the information furnished by the ordinary guide books.

The Lantern Show of Paris.—By F. G. Hurrell. (Jonathan Cape, 30 Bedford Square, London), 1929.

Mr. F. G. Hurrell's *Lantern Show of Paris* is not a guide book but (so to say) a psychological and literary supplement to traveller's hand-books to the gayest city in the world. In the course of the foreword contributed by him, that eminent French writer—M. Andre Maurois—writes that this "charming little book has sought to seize the essence of Paris... gathered from a hundred corners of the city, at all times and in all seasons." That is perfectly true. The author writes of the smells of Paris, the chestnuts, the stream of people passing under the steel loins of the Eiffel Tower, the tatterdemalion of Montparnasse, passing in and out of the cafes, the gargoyles of Notre-Dame, the night of scents and noise and the last farewell to the City as dawn steals up over the forest of chimney-pots, as the chestnut roasters trundle home, also of the Paris that lives and breathes, in these several hundred little sketches, not the Paris that is dead, but the Paris towards which tripper and sybarite, rone and romantic, turn instinctively, when they want to sink their identity in most cosmopolitan and international city in the world. All visitors to and residents in Paris should welcome Mr. Hurrell's delightful little sketches of the scenes and sights of that great city.

LATEST LITERATURE OF TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION

Through Amanullah's Afghanistan.—By Sorab K. H. Katrak. ("Sind Observer" and Mercantile Steam Press, Ltd., Karachi), 1929.

Mr. Sorab Katrak's *Through Amanullah's Afghanistan* is decidedly a work equally interesting and informative, and a notable addition to the literature of modern Afghanistan. For penpictures of Afghanistan as it appeared in the go-ahead times of King Amanullah, and for a peep into its past history one cannot do better than peruse the present volume from the facile pen of a merchant-traveller like the author—a cultured Indian. The long and chequered history of this mountainous country has been unfolded in this book without burdening it with unnecessary detail. The author's personal experiences at Kandahar and Paghman—a shocking incident at one

and a fascinating scene at the other—have been vividly portrayed in this volume which bears on every page signs of the zeal of a tourist with an impressionable mind, combined with the tastes of a scholar. Certainly Mr. Katrak's first impressions were that Amanullah would succeed in his attempt to place Afghanistan into line with the Western peoples in the matter of social amenities, dress, and even of habit and custom. But these have all disappeared, at any rate, for some time. We are presented with a pretty and attractive picture of the summer capital and of the court. The King and Queen made a deep impression by their simplicity and charm. Yet the experiences the author had on his way down from Kabul to Kandahar rather pointed to the fact that the arm of authority was growing weaker in the face of the increasing pressure put upon the Afghan officers and police by robbers and all kinds of lawless people. While educated Indians regret the great set-back in Afghanistan, they are glad that the country has now got a stable administration. They will welcome Mr. Katrak's book as an excellent picture of a great epoch in that country.

The Last Home of Mystery.—By E. Alexander Powell. (The Century Company, 353 Fourth Avenue, New York, U.S.A.; and also John Long, Ltd., 34-6 Paternoster Row, London, E.C.), 1929.

Colonel Powell's *The Last Home of Mystery* is out-and-out an American work—in its tone and style (reminiscent of Dickens's *American Notes*?), treatment of the subject, and the publisher's puff—for which the British publishing firm can be scarcely held to be responsible. If there be a soul of goodness in things evil, so there is in the *The Last Home of Mystery*. In fact, the greater part of the book is not particularly open to objection, though there is nothing so striking or remarkable in it, as is sought to be made out in the American publisher's statement about the contents, printed on the glaring and flaring jacket of the book. It is certainly not "without exaggeration one of the most astounding travel books ever written"—except it be that this description is intended to cover the portion which is a pale imitation of Miss Mayo's *Mother India*, and which are referred to in the publisher's statement as "incredible social customs... and religious practices the contemplation

of which is enough to shock even the most sophisticated Western readers." Well, if dear, old, "Uncle Sham" is capable of being shocked at any social customs or religious practices (credible or incredible) there is clearly hope for him. But making allowance for all this bombast and fustian—so characteristic of things American—one may willingly admit that (stript of its undue sensationalism) the book is an interesting account of travels "in the curious and mysterious kingdom of Nepal," though these curiosities and mysteries have been recently fully explored by the late Mr. Percival Landon in his officially authorized and standard work (in two large illustrated volumes) called *Nepal*. The statement, therefore, that the author "was privileged to see more of the inner life of the people of India and Nepal (is not Nepal an integral part of India?) than has been bared to perhaps any other European or American visitor," can scarcely be said to be correct even in relation to Nepal, to say nothing of any other part of this country. But after all the Nepalese sketches cover but a small part of the book and there is nothing of any especial interest about the rest of the book, except cheap sensationalism and a replica of yellow journalism, which is so well developed in the land of 'Uncle Sham.' But so long as the American reading public wants such stuff one cannot find fault with American authors and publishers for supplying the demand. The book is well illustrated.

An Indian Journey.—By W. Bonsels. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., Museum Street, London, E. C.), 1929.

Waldemar Bonsels's *An Indian Journey* is a truly wonderful book, whatever one may think of its defects and limitations. The author is said to be one of the most popular writers in Germany to-day. Of mixed Danish and Norman-French descent, Bonsels—who was born in Germany (near Hamburg) in 1881—may be said to be a 'vagabond,' in the best sense of that term. His latest book—*An Indian Journey*—is an unusual book, a Waldemar Bonsels is a most unusual traveller. Emphatically he "did not go to India as one of its rulers." He is a dreamer, a curiously detached and infinitely patient observer who, surrendering himself to the strange and powerful influences of India, has succeeded in capturing the spirit of this tranquil land, with its

impenetrable silences and the terror of its jungle. For months at a time he would stay in some country dwelling, living almost the life of 'a native,' and then set out on a long journey up-country by bullock-cart, or by primitive boat up endless rivers, accompanied only by Elijah (his mongrel) his 'boy' and his cook, who "did his work with a reserved stoical calm, cheated me whenever he had a chance, and with languid lowered eyelids awaited my destruction, which he unfailingly prophesied when I detected him doing something wrong." The story that he has to tell is truly a remarkable one, for he tells us of an India practically unknown to the vast majority of its visitors, an India far removed from the gleaming palaces and sophistication of the tourist haunts. Instead, the country through which we follow him, sometimes over rough paths and often with a sense of dread, is a land of lonely villages, of brooding jungle tracts and mighty rivers. There are, no doubt, in this book many things that will seem strange to those familiar with the beaten tracks in the India of today. As pointed out by a twelve year's European resident in South India, you learn from this book "that a Malayali habitually talks Canarese, that Mangalore has a Government House, that British subalterns do police work in Southern India, that portion of the country forms the kingdom of a remarkable potentate styled the King of Shamadji, and that life in the presidency is a nightmare." Such criticisms can easily be multiplied, but they are not likely to detract from the intrinsic merits of this, on the whole, remarkable book of picturesque word-painting. The translation, presumably by the author himself, is exceptionally good, of a work which claims to have had in the original German a sale of 400,000. If the author is indeed the translator, he is a remarkable linguist. The English is not only faultless but distinguished, and the translator achieves distinction in a way few foreigners achieve it—by sheer simplicity. Altogether, Bonsels's *An Indian journey* is a work of Art.

An Avatar in Vishnu Land.—By S. Warburton. (Charles Scribner's Sons London), 1929.

Mr Warburton's *An Avatar in Vishnu Land* is a delightful account of adventure and

escapade in the Orient, while not an exact transcript of events, composed of actual experiences. The author, for many years an American jute trader in India, has an unusual understanding of oriental psychology, and the book, which is shot through with philosophy, humour, and an artist's passion for natural beauty, is not only a thrilling narrative but a revealing study of the Indian character and point of view, to which no serious exception need be taken. The adventures recorded include shipwreck and voyage by open boat to the Arabian coast; flight after accidental entry into a local harem; an opium-smuggling cruise along the coast of India, in a ship commanded by a cultivated Hindu adventuress; the love-affair, between the author's Irish partner and the Hindu woman; devious bargaining with agents at various ports, in the exchange of opium for rubies and other precious stones; pursuit by a British cruiser; escape by open boat; and a disastrous camel expedition across the desert, in search of buried treasure. Altogether it is a capital book of adventures in the East, and should specially interest the younger generation of readers, to whom much of its contents are bound to prove fascinating.

The Road to Kashmir.—By James Milne. (Hodder Stoughton, Ltd., Warwick Square, London, E. C., 1929.

Mr. James Milne—who is rather a voluminous author has recently added to the list of his works a capital book of Indian travel, called *The Road to Kashmir*. The title of the book is apt to mislead the unwary, for though Kashmir itself is described, more than half the book is devoted to India outside Kashmir. But to be frank, this part is not of any especial interest, and it is after all the Kashmir chapters on which the reader's attention is likely to be concentrated. Here the author is at his best. Now of the Valley of Kashmir gloriously sings Tom Moore in *Lalla Rookh*, and, its fame has come down the centuries. Nay, so traditional is it, as an enchanted land, that just to hear its name spoken is to hear also the exclamation, "Ah, Kashmir! I'd love to go there." Mr. James Milne, has now travelled to Kashmir, not only hopefully but achievingly, for he brings back this book. It is a lively colorful account of his adventures and

experiences, with much observation by the way, and much personal reflection. Altogether, it is a new "tale of old Kashmir," told for those who may go there, for those who would like to go there, and for those, the great multitude, who can never hope to see the Happy Valley among the mighty Himalayas. Apart from the letter-press—which is a series of glowing word-pictures—the text is embellished with (so to say) a gallery of special illustrations, which are truly beautiful and which add substantially to the attractions of an excellent work of travel to and in Kashmir.

A Week in India.—By A. Fenner Brockway. (The New Leader, Ltd., 14 Great George Street, London, S. W. 1., 1929.

Mr. Fenner Brockway—now fortunately for India, a Labour Member of the House of Commons—is one of the greatest friends of this country. He came here last cold weather and had to spend three months in a hospital after but one week's touring. "Seven Days in India"! Seven days spent in meeting Indian leaders of varying thoughts and opinions, in visiting the slums and the incredible prostitution quarter of Bombay, in absorbing some of the colour and glamour of the East, in attempting to understand India and her people, and then—a motor smash. A sentence from the doctors of three months in bed. This is the bald story of Mr. Fenner Brockway's visit to India. The real story, the vivid, bright and entertaining picture of what he saw and of the people he met is to be found in the book. It deserves to be read for its humour, its descriptions and its novelties.

Things Seen in Ceylon.—By Clare Rettie. (Seeley, Service & Co., Ltd., 196 Shaftesbury Avenue, London, W.), 1929.

Mrs. Rettie's *Things Seen in Ceylon* is the latest addition to the publisher's well-known "Things Seen," series, comprising some three dozen of these compact, handy, well-written and well-illustrated volumes—pre-eminently portable in coat pocket. The author, who knows Ceylon intimately, carefully passes in review the scenes and sights of that very famous island, describes its many attractions for the benefit of the tourist and the resident alike and gives just the information they are likely to require. Altogether, a capital little guide.

An Indian Vagrant Abroad.—By D. N. Bonarjee. (Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow), 1929.

Mr. D. N. Bonarjee is a gifted traveller, since he knows so much of the history and traditions of Southern France and Switzerland, wherein he roamed. But he has, we fear, stuffed his descriptive sketches a little too much with historical data, with the result that the account of his travels is by no means light reading. His booklet should, however, interest a large circle of cultured readers, who will find it both informative and instructive.

RECENT WORKS ON BUDDHISM

The Pilgrimage of Buddhism and a Buddhist Pilgrimage.—By Dr. J. B. Pratt. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London), 1929.

In his *Pilgrimage of Buddhism and a Buddhist Pilgrimage*, that distinguished American scholar, Professor James Bissett Pratt, presents a detailed and synthetic view of Buddhism as a whole, ancient and modern, southern and northern. It is the first time that this has been so well done. The whole Hinayana and Mahayana, from the earliest times to today, has been reasonably well covered in order to trace the development of new aspects of Buddhism and its continuity as a whole in its long pilgrimage. The point of view taken is that of the psychology of religion, and of philosophy. Particular attention is given to the Mahayana, to which very few books (read in the West) pay serious and detailed attention. In addition, an account is given together with a fresh interpretation of the original teachings of the Founder based upon the sources. Dr. Pratt pictures Buddhism as "a great traveller who is also an exile and a pilgrim driven from his native land and carrying the blessings of insight and love to the long and colorful succession of peoples and countries that fringe the Indian Ocean, the Bay of Bengal, the Gulf of Siam, the China Sea and the Western Pacific." The word "driven" is not accurate, because Buddhism was not driven from India but absorbed into the parent faith. It is certain that Sakyamuni, like Jesus Christ, did not intend to found a new religion. "It is hardly correct," as Dr. Pratt himself observes, "to picture him as an Indian Martin Luther," but if not a "protestant,"

he was at least a protestor against the various forms of conservative superstition and radical nonsense with which his times were seething. It is obvious that his object was more to rationalise and humanise the old religion than to found a new one. In this he succeeded far more than Luther in reforming Christianity as post-Buddhist Hinduism bears the impress of Buddha at every turn. It is to the great credit of Buddhism that wherever it went, it did not (like Islam and even Christianity) undermine the pre-subsisting religious culture. As Dr. Pratt himself observes, "the wise monks who guided the development of Buddhism during its first centuries in China were quick to see the character and customs and the needs of the people, and (being bound by no rigid rules and dogmas, were able to adapt their teachings and their services to the new conditions." The same was the case in Japan, and other lands, and Dr. Pratt rightly contrasts in this respect the difference in the method between Buddhist and Muslim and Christian missions. His last chapter called "Buddhism and Christianity" is a thoughtful contribution to the solution of the seeming conflict between these two great faiths. We have touched upon but a few points of interest in Dr. Pratt's book, which is a masterly survey of the subject it deals with. It is a learned and instructive contribution to the study of Buddhism in all its varied phases and aspects.

The Life of Buddha.—By A. F. Herold. (Thornton Butterworth, Ltd., 15 Bedford Street, London, W. C.), 1929.

The Life of Buddha is an excellent rendering into English of a notable work in French by M. Ferdinand Herold. The book is neither a scientific biography nor a biographical romance. The author has gone to original sources, and with no tampering touch has drawn from them the most beautiful of the old stories that set forth the acts and teachings of Prince Siddhartha, who, born some five centuries before Christ, is now known to countless millions as the Buddha. These narratives are here re-told with a fine simplicity that conveys the spirit of their theme. It is beyond question that the Lord of Compassion, who made the Great Renunciation, and went about with his disciples carrying the beggar's bowl and endeavouring to lift

the burdens of humanity, is one of the most gracious of all human figures. The delicate art of M. Herold causes him to shine out once more, and to make his irresistible appeal to every reader of this book, which is not for a scholar, but for a layman who wants to know the broad outlines about Buddhism and the glorious career of its founder. This highly interesting work is pre-eminently suited for popular reading and should enjoy a large circulation.

Women in Buddhist Literature.—By Dr. Bimala Charan Law. (W. E. Bastian & Co., Colombo, Ceylon), 1929.

Dr. Bimala Charan Law is one of the foremost Indian scholars of the present generation and his many publications display critical acumen and sound research. In his *Women in Buddhist Literature*, he has broken new ground. He has utilized for his purpose original Pali literature and the book is thus based on research of a high order. It deals comprehensively with the subject in its various aspects—marriage, slave girls, dancing girls and courtesans, female character, female education, women and Buddhism, Bhikkhuni-Samgha and lastly, prominent Buddhist women. It is thus a valuable contribution to the study of Buddhism in relation to women.

The Buddha's Path of Virtue.—By F. L. Woodward.

The Religion of Burma.—By Bhikkhu Ananda Metteyya. (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras), 1929.

We have on several occasions noticed in terms of appreciation, the volumes of the "Asian Library," as they have come out of the press, from time to time. As explained before, the Asian Library is designed for the twofold purpose of rediscovering to Indians the extent and glory of the culture for which they are responsible, and to the level of which they must rise; and of giving to the world at large a knowledge of that culture and of the elements in it which make for the regeneration and permanent elevation of humanity. The series is thus specially meant for scholars and laymen as well. *The Asian Library* is published in English, as the language through which its message will find the greatest circulation, but as far as possible the authors contributing are countrymen of the part

about which they write. Volumes are also included by eminent Western students of Eastern wisdom, who have, by long residence and study of some phase of Eastern culture, qualified themselves to speak of and for Asia. The latest additions to the series are the two volumes enumerated above. Of these that bearing Mr. Woodward's name is an excellent rendering into English verse of that Buddhist classic—the *Dhammpada*. Bhikkhu Ananda Metteyya's *Religion of Burma* is a useful collection of essays on the subject it deals with. The book should interest all students of Buddhism in Burma, to which it offers a capital introduction.

My Buddha.—By Will Hayes. (5 Maidstone Road, Chatham, England), 1929.

Buddhism: An Outline.—(Buddhist Mission in England, 41 Gloucester Road, Regent's Park, London, N. W. 1), 1921.

Both these pamphlets are highly interesting reading. Mr. Will Hayes's *My Buddha* is an appreciation of Buddhism written under the conviction that it "has a message not only for the East but for the whole world; and the Buddha is the way-shower, to be loved and followed." The other—*Buddhism: An Outline* is issued by the Buddhist Mission in England and written by Mr. J. F. M'Kechie, now known as Bhikkhu Silacara. Though a booklet of but a few pages, it is a capital introduction to the study of Buddhism. Written with great fervour by two British votaries of Buddhism, the pamphlets make excellent reading.

LATEST WORKS ON INDIAN ECONOMICS

The Economic Development of India.—By Vera Anstey. (Longmans, Green & Co., 39 Paternoster Row, London, E. C. 4), 1929.

Mrs. Anstey's husband was the Principal of the Sydenham College of Commerce, Bombay, from 1914 to 1920, during which time she lived in this country, in intimate touch with the economic conditions in western India. Since her return to England after her husband's death, she has been a lecturer at the London School of Economics. Her *Economic Development of India* is a synthetic, impartial review of the recent development, present position, and main problems of Indian economic

life. The author stresses the intimate relationship between economic and other social institutions and customs—(such as the land, family, and marriage systems), and a special chapter is devoted to the economic aspect of the Public Health movement. The development and potentialities of India's large-scale industries are considered, and close attention is paid to the relation between financial policy and economic development. An attempt has been made to estimate the relative importance of the outstanding economic problems and controversies of the day, and to discover what are the really fundamental difficulties confronting the more rapid promotion of material welfare. The book is comprehensive in its scope, wide in its outlook, lucid in exposition and makes an almost ideal text-book of the subject it deals with. We hope to be able to present a critical estimate of this important work from the pen of an expert. In the meantime, this preliminary short review will serve its object, which is to draw attention to an excellent work by one who is well-qualified for the task.

The Evolution of the Indian Income-Tax.

—By J. P. Niyogi. (P. S. King & Son, Ltd., Orchard House, 14 Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, W.), 1929.

If blessed be the man—who on the authority of Sancho Panza—invented sleep, cursed be he who invented the income-tax, the most hateful of all forms of direct taxation. And it is all the more galling that it is a tax which has come to stay in all civilized countries. Verily, it is like cancer, which follows in the wake of civilization. In India it did not exist until after the Sepoy Mutiny. It first came into existence in 1860–1865 during the regime of Mr. Wilson, the first Finance Member. The object of Mr. J. P. Niyogi's book—*The Evolution of the Indian Income-Tax*—is to trace the history of this fiscal imposition in this country from 1860 onwards, to examine the principles underlying this tax and to offer criticisms on its working and administration, derived from a comparative study of the British and Indian systems. The author is clearly a master of the subject. He has studied the original documents and records, possesses a critical acumen of no mean order and is endowed with a faculty of research, which he has

utilized to the best advantage. The result is a scholarly work which is a valuable contribution to an important branch of the fiscal policy and administration of British India. The book deserves wide appreciation.

Industrial Welfare in India.—By P. S. Lokanathan. (The University of Madras, Madras), 1929.

Next to the Calcutta University, much solid work and useful research is being done by the scholars of the Madras University. The reader in Indian Economics at this University, Mr. Lokanathan, has made a study of industrial welfare in India and his book is introduced by Dr. Gilbert Slater. In view of the Royal Commission investigating labour conditions in India, the appearance of this book is particularly welcome, for it covers the ground and only that ground which the student of the subject desires to cover. He wants to know the history of industrial legislation in India and the present position of hours, wages, women and children in factories, what is being done for their welfare by (a) employers, (b) the State; what is the present position of trade unionism in India and what are the causes and effects of strikes. He will find all that he wants clearly set out in this book. The author is neither employer nor labour leader. He is just an observant man of affairs with a taste for economics, which he has made his life's study and which he is willing to share with all who buy his book. For this reason his instructive study of the labour conditions in this country will be welcomed both by students of Indian Economics, and also by practical businessmen. It is indispensable for anyone who is concerned with promoting the welfare and efficiency of industrial workers in India. There have been several books issued of late on the industrial and labour conditions in India, but the book under review is one of the best available, as it is both sound and impartial.

Co-operation and Rural Welfare in India.—By B. B. Mukherjee. (Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta), 1929.

Professor Mukherjee of the Greer College, Muzaffarpore (in Bihar) is a well-known worker in the cause of and an expositor of co-operation, and his work is based on a series of lectures delivered by him at different centres in the province.

These popular lectures well deserved to be reprinted in a permanent form and we are glad that they are now so rendered available to a larger public. The book is introduced in words of commendation by the Rt. Hon. Sir Horace Plunkett, who is a great authority on the subject of co-operation. We have much pleasure in commending this book to all workers in the cause of village uplift and the redemption of the masses.

The Development of Indian Agriculture.—By A. Howard and Gabrielle Howard. (Oxford University Press, Bombay), 1929.

The Illusions of the Charkha.—By Anilbaran Ray. (Arya Sahitya Bhawan, Calcutta). 1929.

Indian Economic Life.—By Brij Narain. (Uttar Chand Kapur & Sons, Lahore), 1929.

We welcome the second, carefully revised, edition of Mr. and Mrs. Howard's *Development of Indian Agriculture*, which was first issued in 1927. Its popularity has necessitated the edition under notice, which has been thoroughly brought up-to-date and now offers a sound and accurate compendious sketch of a great and important subject.

Mr. Anilbaran Ray—who has suffered, for his convictions, for the sake of the country—is, frankly speaking, no believer in the *charkha* cult. He wrote a series of articles on the subject and these he has now reprinted in the *Illusions of the Charkha*. We doubt if this collection will appeal to the Charkhites, but it should be read carefully by students of the subject to be able to gain a correct view of the economic aspects involved.

Prof. Brij Narain's *Indian Economic Life: Past and Present*, is a collection including both new matter and old—the latter carefully revised, no doubt. But the book suffers from the defects of the scheme of its preparation. "The Past" is dealt with rather in brief—comparatively speaking; "The Present" is on a more comprehensive scale—of which prices, currency, population, agriculture, trade and industries, and banking and finance are the main themes. The book is useful as a comprehensive exposition of the subject as a whole.

ON THE EDITOR'S TABLE: MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE

To the practical man of affairs, the religion of the ancient Greeks is perhaps of but academic interest, but to the anthropologist and student of comparative religion, it is of the greatest value and importance. Hence the appearance of such learned and recondite books as *The Religion of Ancient Greece* by the Polish scholar Thaddens Zielinski, rendered into excellent English (Oxford University Press, Bombay) and the second, revised, edition of Miss Harrison's *Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion* (Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, London). In these two books is laid under contribution practically the whole province of primitive religion for confirmation and illustration of the origin of religion among the ancient Greeks, and the works are of extraordinary interest.

Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co. (39 Paternoster Row, London, E. C. 4) have embarked upon a new enterprise called "The English Heritage Series," the first four volumes of which are Mr. John Bailey's *Shakespeare*, Mr. Eric Parker's *English Wild Life*, Mr. J. B. Priestly's *English Humour* and Mr. Bernard Darwin's *English Public School*. Written by specialists, each volume deals with one aspect of the great inheritance of the English—social, political, literary, artistic or physical—and while basing their texts on sound knowledge, the authors try to (so to say) capture the spirit of England, rather than produce learned treatises. The result is an excellent series of books, which are equally interesting and informative. We shall watch the progress of this series with a sympathetic interest.

Of the living English essayists, one of the best known is Mr. Philip Guedalla. We are glad to find that his essays have lately appeared in collected editions in Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton's People's Library in four volumes, called *Men of Letters*, *Men of Affairs*, *Men of War* and *Still Life*. The latest collection to appear is designated *The Missing Muse and Other Essays*, issued by the same firm (Warwick Square, London, E. C. 4). All these essays are exceedingly well-written and they contain a wealth of literary material of great interest, such as would be difficult to find within the same limits or the same compass elsewhere.

Pre-Existence and Re-incarnation by Professor Lutoslawski (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., Museum Street, London) is a notable achievement. In this original, provocative and fascinating book the author challenges many of our most cherished ideas about life and immortality. Polish Messianism is in itself unknown and interesting to English-knowing readers; but his views on such subjects as sex materialism, and mysticism are more than interesting, they are provocative—not merely because they are written from the Polish point of view, but because they bear the impress of a highly original mind. His angle of approach is entirely his own, and his views of life are unclouded by the vast learning which he handles with such ingenuity of argument. This book should interest a large circle of thoughtful readers.

Three notable new editions lie on the editor's library table: *The Plays of John Galsworthy* (Duckworth, 3 Henrietta Street, London, W. C.), a complete collection of all the twenty-seven plays, brought together in a compact volume of 1150 pages, neatly printed and well-got-up; Dr. J. Holland Rose's well-known work called *The Personality of Napoleon* (G. Bell & Sons, Ltd., Portugal Street, London)—first issued in 1912—and admittedly the most instructive introduction to the study of one of the greatest of historic men; and lastly (in Duckworth's New Reader's Library) Leslie Stephen's *Studies of a Biographer*, as delightful a collection of essays as ever was written.

Mr. Janks Larvin's *Studies in European Literature* (Constable & Co., Ltd., Orange Street, London, W. C.) and Dr. Takeshi Saito's *Keats's View of Poetry* (Cobden-Sanderson, Montague Street, London) are two of the latest additions to critical literature. In his *Studies*, Mr. Larvin is concerned to examine the European literature of the last century or so, as evidence of the development of human mentality—national and international—towards what he regards as a definite crisis. He treats from within, and on comparative lines, typical themes and personalities, always treating literature as an organic part of modern life and modern mind. Dr. Saito's book is interesting as the work of a distinguished Japanese scholar. His *Keats's View of Poetry* is the first full-length critical work on an English writer by a Japanese authority to appear in English. Professor Saito,

known widely in his country as a translator and historian of English poetry, discusses the poetic insight of Keats with wide humanity and particularity, revealing alike the grace and honour of the Arts which have come to him through the long tradition of Japanese culture, and the large outlook on civilisation found nowadays in Japanese minds.

The Translation (into English) of the Holy Quran by Maulana Muhammad Ali, M. A., L.L.B. (Ahmadiyya Anjuman-i-Ishaat Islam, Lahore), is truly a notable production, as the first and perhaps hitherto the only rendering into English by an Indian Mussalman. In its present revised and abridged form it is a handy edition of the larger work (with the Arabic text), about 15,000 copies of which have already been sold. To make this valuable translation more easily accessible, the Arabic text has been omitted and the notes have been shortened. These make it more acceptable to the average reader. A feature of this translation is the new Introduction, which is an exhaustive exposition of Islam and its institutions. Altogether, this excellent translation should find a large circulation among those who cannot read the Quran in the original Arabic.

There are some books on cookery in the Eastern languages, but none (we fear) on Gastronomy, which is a special development of Western civilization. Three of the latest additions to gastronomical literature are Mr. Hector Bolitho's *The Glorious Oyster* (Alfred Knopf, Ltd., 37 Bedford Square, London, W. C. 1), Mr. C. W. Berry's *Viniana* and Mr. A. Simon's *Art of Good Living* (Constable & Co., Ltd., 10-12 Orange Street, London, W. C. 2). Mr. Bolitho's book is a comprehensive work on oyster—its history (in Rome and Britain), anatomy, reproduction, cookery, and an anthology in its praise and appreciation. Many Indians will no doubt be surprised to learn that in the West, they generally eat oysters *alive*! The other book relates to drinks. In *Viniana* Mr. Berry has set down the cream of his knowledge and experience in the form of three undramatised but dramatic conversations between a party of men supposed to be dining in company. On the first evening they drink claret, on the second burgundy, on the third champagne. The menus are given to show how food can best be adapted to the fine wines of each

evening; and as the diners progress through a succession of carefully described and graded vintages, the qualities of the wine and good stories of wine-lovers from various epochs are debated and told. Mr. Berry—who is a well-known London wine-merchant—is likely to interest a large circle of readers. Mr. Andre Simon's is a book about food; a book about drink; and, perhaps most importantly, a book about their suitable partnership; hence the name it bears. Mr. Simon discourses on various foods, and in his *Gastronomic Vocabulary* gives an alphabetical list of the various ways of cooking to which recognised labels are attached. He discourses on wines, and in his *Wine-Dictionary* tabulates all the chief growths from all wine-growing countries. Finally, he lays down the rules of taste and health which must guide the simultaneous enjoyment of food and drink.

To his well-known and highly appreciated "Message" series, our esteemed and valued contributor—Mr. A. S. N. Wadia—has lately added *The Message of Moses* (J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., London). The object of this series is to carry on a comparative study of the great religions of the world by winnowing out their leading ideas and tenets, and presenting them in a form and language immediately applicable to our own times, requirements and surroundings. As lately observed by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, "the time has come when we must cultivate world-wide spiritual comradeship by training ourselves to realize the inner core of truth in all religions" and this great object is materially advanced by Mr. Wadia's books in this series, which deal with Zoroaster, Christ, Muhammad, and now Moses. The next volume in this excellent series is to be devoted to the Buddha. Thus Mr. Wadia's "Message" series constitutes a most admirable set, which may be unhesitatingly commended to the cultured reader desirous of obtaining a truly spiritual outlook.

Mr. Ram Babu Saksena's *History of Urdu Literature* (issued in 1927) is the only work in English on the subject it deals with. It has lately been rendered into Urdu by Mirza Muhammad Askari, who is well qualified for the work he has undertaken and whose translation has been now issued as *Tarikh-e-Adab-Urdu* (Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow). The book in its new form contains 703 pages of which 531 pages are devoted

to poetry and 172 to prose. The translator has added much interesting material to the original and has profusely illustrated it with the portraits of poets and prose-writers of every period. Many of the original shortcomings of the book have been carefully removed and inaccuracies of dates and facts duly corrected. The translator has also given quotations from the poems and other writings of some of the poets and writers, which has distinctly enhanced its value and has made it interesting. In spite of, at places, straining after effect, the translation is well done and the translator is fully entitled to an appreciative acknowledgment of his arduous labours. For those who know "Urdu" (the uncouth, ugly and hideous name for the more apposite word "Hindustani") this translation supersedes the original English text, on which it is a great improvement. The original English text needs careful revision.

Messrs. Dent's famous "Everyman's Library" is growing apace. The latest additions to it (Nos. 830—836) include a reprint, in two volumes, of the eighteenth century English version of the comedies of Moliere, with a preface by Professor F. C. Green, Anthony Trollope's political novel *Phineas Finn*, with an Introduction by Mr. Hugh Walpole, Abbe Prevost's *Manon Lescaut* and Prosper Merimee's *Carmen* (both in one book) John Howard's famous work, *The State of the Prisons*, and a miniature "omnibus" volume containing five of the works of Lewis Carroll—"Alice's Adventures in Wonderland," "Through the Looking-Glass" (both these with the author's own illustrations), "Phantasmagoria," "The Hunting of the Snark," and "A Tangled Tale." In spite of keen competition in issuing cheap reprints of the classics, "Everyman's Library" still holds its own.

The Government of Japan by Mr. Naokichi Kitazawa, M. A. (Princeton University Press, Princeton, U. S. A.), is an excellent work on the Japanese constitution, and its scope and treatment are equally comprehensive. All phases of the constitutional history and law of Japan are succinctly, accurately and lucidly discussed and expounded by the learned author, who is evidently a master of the subject he deals with. His book is bound to prove invaluable to all students of Japanese constitutional law and practice.

THE INDIAN CENTRAL COMMITTEE REPORT

By SIR P. S. SIVASWAMY AIYAR, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

HAVING regard to the composition of the Indian Central Committee, it was anticipated at the very beginning that there would be at least half a dozen dissenting reports by the members of the committee. The forecast has proved to be not ill-founded. Though there is a report signed by all the members, several of them have written dissenting minutes, or separate memoranda, and the general report can only be described as, at best, the report of a very small majority. The accounts that appeared in the press from time to time of the disputes between the members hardly led us to expect even this measure of agreement. There has not been sufficient time to study all the reports, and I have only been able to glance at the recommendations of the majority.

I will refer the more important recommendations in my remarks. The recommendations of the Committee for securing the stability of ministries may be regarded as justifiable, though they may not be in agreement with Parliamentary practice. So also, their proposals for vesting certain powers in the Governors. They are right in regarding adult suffrage as at present impracticable, and they favor the extension of the franchise so as to double the strength of the present electorate. They contemplate the attainment of adult suffrage by successive stages to be automatically completed by 1961, unless the process should be accelerated by the Legislative Council. The revision of the franchise is compulsory at the end of the second term of the Reformed Councils, and can be carried by a two-thirds majority of those present at a special meeting. Their proposals for the abolition of the official *bloc* and for the abandonment of the system of nomination of non-officials, except in a few special cases, must also be received with approval. We must also commend their rejection of the principle of communal electorates, except in very few cases. The remedy they propose to meet the claims of minorities is the reservation of a propor-

tional number of seats, the proportion being based either on the population or the voting strength.

Depressed Classes

It is difficult to support their proposal for the formation of separate electorates for the depressed classes for a period of ten years in the Madras Presidency. Apart from the objection in principle to the creation of communal electorates, the proposal is open to the objection that, owing to the large numbers of depressed classes scattered all over the presidency which necessitates the creation of very unwieldy electorates and we would practically have to confer adult suffrage, the numbers to be enfranchised on the basis of pecuniary or literary qualifications in the community would be extremely small. It is also open to the criticism, to which proposals for adult suffrage are open, as entailing a vast amount of labor upon the administrative machinery for the preparation of electoral rolls and adding enormously to the cost of election. Where the people are sufficiently advanced for universal suffrage, the labor and cost involved might be unavoidable. A premature proposal of this sort carries no adequate justification. The most reasonable solution of this problem would be to confer the franchise upon registered associations or to empower the Government to appoint out of a panel of names to be submitted by such associations. The reservation of a proportional number of seats with liberty to contest seats in excess of the number has been proposed in the case of the Anglo-Indian and Indian Christian communities. A similar contrivance might have been proposed in the case of the European community also, and the proposal for a separate electorate in their case must only be regarded as a concession to practical difficulties and political exigencies.

Term of Legislatures

The proposal for the extension of the

term of the Legislative Councils to four years is reasonable. Regarding the powers of the Provincial Legislative Councils, a number of recommendations have been made on the assumption that no element of responsibility will be introduced in the central government. It is evident that, if the central government were made responsible to the Legislature and lost its bureaucratic character, the Committee would not be inclined to support their proposals for the removal of all checks upon the abuse of powers by Provincial Legislative Councils. I would refer, in this connection, to their proposal for the removal of the power of veto over the provincial legislation by the central government. The wiser course would have been to emphasise the necessity for transfer of what may be called the civil and internal portfolios to the control of the legislature, instead of weakening the central government by crippling their power of superintendence and control.

Objectionable Features

I will now refer to what I consider the most serious objectionable features of the Central Committee Report. Their proposal to vest the revenues in the provincial governments and reduce the central government to a position of dependency upon the bounty of the provincial governments with opportunity to appeal to a tribunal jointly appointed by the central and provincial governments cannot but be too strongly condemned. I am not aware of any composite state in which the central government has to depend for its existence upon the financial doles of the provincial governments. Even in states of the purely federal type, there is always a clear separation of the central and provincial sources of revenue, customs and income-tax are the two important sources of the central revenues. I can hardly conceive of a more dangerous

and mischievous proposal calculated to undermine the power and authority of the central government and to promote the disintegration of the State. It is usual enough to suggest that the Government of India being under bureaucratic control, their teeth should be drawn and they should be reduced to impotency. Those who advocate this and similar proposals do not realise that it would not be easy to restore the strength and power of co-ordination necessary for the vitality of the central government, when once it has been emasculated.

Local Armies

The suggestion that provincial governments should be allowed to raise local armies for internal security is also one open to the same condemnation and may be taken as intended to drive another nail into the coffin of the central authority. The maintenance of separate local armies by provinces would be a most uneconomical arrangement, not to speak of the numerous other objections which may be suggested. One would have thought that national defence is the one matter which it is essential to entrust to the authority of the central government. The safeguards which the Committee seem to recognise as necessary to the adoption of their proposals are futile and incapable of surmounting the disadvantages and dangers of their proposal.

The other proposals of the Committee with regard to the composition of the central government, the introduction of responsibility in the legislature, the extension of the term of the Assembly and the increase in strength of the two Chambers, are of a more reasonable character. One fundamental criticism, to which the Committee's report is open, is that it shows an inadequate perception of the necessity, in the present circumstances of our country, for a strong unitary type of government.

MEN IN THE PUBLIC EYE

GENERAL SIR ANDREW SKEEN

THE announcement made that General Sir Andrew Skeen has been compelled to retire from the Indian Army owing to ill-health will be received with great regret throughout India. At the time he was appointed as the President of the Indian Sandhurst Committee subsequently known as the Skeen Committee, Sir Andrew Skeen was the chief of the General Staff in India, and some of us who were his colleagues on that Committee entered on our duties with considerable hesitation as to how the President was going to shape. But Sir Andrew Skeen proved to be a most agreeable chairman to work with. Whatever preconceived notions he might have had as regards the future of the Indian army, he brought to bear on the problems we had to deal within the committee a remarkably open mind. As one of the members of that committee I should like to say that his great sympathy, tact and judgment contributed not a little to the unanimity of our recommendations and the good feeling that prevailed throughout. The labours of the committee occupied two years and involved the examination of nearly two hundred witnesses including military officers of the highest rank, and eminent public men all over India and educational experts and representatives of the Indian States. At the conclusion of our labours, the committee put on record that they were exceptionally fortunate in their chairman and that they could not refrain from expressing their cordial and respectful appreciation of his services to them. Sir Andrew's ripe experience, his breadth of mind and sympathetic outlook, and the patience, courtesy and skill with which he directed our proceedings made our task pleasant and very greatly facilitated the committee's accomplishment. It is unnecessary to say anything more on the subject except that he also rendered a service to India by appearing as a witness, before the Indian Statutory Commission and it is reported that he gave his support to the

views he held as a member of our committee. The report of the Skeen Committee came as a bombshell to the military and the civil services in India and England and a wave of indignation passed through their ranks. General Sir Andrew Skeen and Mr. E. Burdon, the present Auditor-General in India the two European members of the committee, it may be stated, were bitterly attacked in the British, as also in the Anglo-Indian press by the exponents of the service interests. It was alleged that these two officials had surrendered their better judgment to the machinations of the Indian politicians in the committee. This was entirely untrue, as only three out of the thirteen members of the committee could come under the category of politicians—the remaining members being either military officers or those who represented the classes from which military recruits are drawn. That the main recommendations of a report submitted by a body composed largely of the representatives of the military classes and supported by the Chief of the General Staff in India should have been rejected by His Majesty's Government and the Government of India has shown that the interests of India were again sacrificed to those of the British services. The creation of a national army in India at any time will not be possible without men of the type of General Sir Andrew Skeen and it is a matter of great regret that he has been compelled to retire from service. The King George's Military Service in the Punjab are essentially his creation,

II

MR. HAR BILAS SARDA

Mr. Har Bilas Sardar was born in Ajmer in June, 1867. His father was a Sanskrit and English scholar and was Librarian of the Government College, Ajmer. Mr. Sardar received his education up to the Intermediate standard in the Ajmer Government College and took the B.A. degree of the Calcutta University with honors in English Literature in 1888 from the Agra College and stood first

in that subject in the United Provinces. In 1889 he was appointed a senior teacher in the Government College, Ajmer. In 1892 he was transferred to the Judicial Department of the British Province of Ajmer-Merwara. In 1894 he was placed on special duty to revise the Ajmer Regulation Book, a compendium of laws and regulations for Ajmer Merwara. In the same year, on the completion of this work, his services were transferred to the Foreign Department and he was appointed guardian of H.H. the Maharwal of Jaiselmer. He reverted to the judicial service of Ajmer-Merwara in 1902. He was Sub-Judge First Class, Ajmere for several years, and later was Judge, Small Causes Court, in that place. He officiated as Additional District and Sessions Judge in 1922. He retired from Government service in December, 1923, and was elected a member of the Legislative Assembly in January, 1924, when for the first time Ajmer-Merwara was allowed to return a Member to the Assembly. He was appointed Judge of the Chief Court, Jodhpur in 1925 and while serving in Jodhpur was re-elected Member of the Legislative Assembly in December, 1926. He introduced in

January, 1925, in the Legislative Assembly, the well-known Child Marriage Bill which was eventually passed in September, 1929 and became law on the 1st of October of that year. By its enactment Mr. Sarda has rendered a great service to the rising and future generations in this country. He is the author of the well-known book, *Hindu Superiority*, first published in 1906, and of *Ajmer: Historical and Descriptive*. He has also written monographs on Rajput history, Maharana Kumbha; Maharana Sanga, and Maharana Hammir, and Prithviraj Vijaya. His historical books are notable contributions to the history of Rajputana. He has also contributed several Papers containing original research work to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* and the *Indian Antiquary* and read a paper before the First Oriental Conference at Poona in 1921 A.D. He presided over the All-India Vaishya Conference at Bareilly in December, 1924, and was president of the Postal Conference, in 1928. Thus Mr. Sarda's has been a life of many public services and of great public utility and his work as a scholar and legislator is justly entitled to appreciation.

THE NECROLOGY OF THE MONTH

THE passing away, at the age of sixty-four, of Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque, is undoubtedly a great loss to the country, although for the last seven years he had lived in retirement. But for years he had played a notable part in the political evolution of modern India, and no apology is consequently necessary for presenting to our readers a fairly long survey of his career as a public man and publicist. Mr. Haque was born on the 21st of December, 1866. His education began in his fifth year. In 1876 he passed the vernacular primary examination and got a scholarship and took his admission in the Patna Collegiate School. From his very early days he was of studious habits and the love of books which he ac-

quired early in life never left him till his last moments. He read all kinds of books, light and serious, but his chief hobby was History, particularly Islamic history, and Philosophy. In 1886 he passed the Martication Examination and took his admission into the Patna College. In the same year, he expressed his desire to go to England, and though his father consented, his uncle would not agree to it. He therefore planned to run away, even without the permission of his people. In 1887 he went to Lucknow and joined the Canning College. But his heart was not in his studies. He spent much of his time in writing poetry and articles for vernacular newspapers and in reading books other than the prescribed text-books. But during

all this time he continued nursing his desire to go to England. At last in May, 1888, he took a pilgrim steamer to Aden with but Rs. 70 in his pocket and awaited there for further remittance from home. After weary waiting for three months there, he got sufficient money and then started for England, arriving in London on the 15th of September of that year. He was received there by Sir Syed Ali Imam who had proceeded ahead and who had been there for about a year. In England he devoted his time not only to the study of law but many other subjects as well. The libraries of the British Museum, and Middle Temple were his favourite haunts. He started in London the Anjuman Islamia.

He was called to the Bar in July 1891 and—as a Beharee—was naturally enrolled as an advocate of the Calcutta High Court. He began to practice at Patna and soon made his mark in the profession. In 1892, on being pressed, by the then Judicial Commissioner of Oudh, he accepted the post of Munsiff in that province, to the great surprise of all his friends. But soon he began to dislike the work which was not congenial to his temperament. It was too narrow a field for the full play of his energies. He therefore resigned his post in April, 1896, and resumed his practice at the Bar at Chapra, and at once made a name for himself as a sound and capable lawyer. Briefs came pouring in and he came to command an extensive practice. He appeared in many sensational criminal cases and acquired a reputation as a sound lawyer, an effective cross-examiner and an able advocate.

In the great famine of 1897, Mr. Haque acted as secretary of the charitable Famine Relief Fund of the district, and did yeoman's service in that connection. He travelled extensively in the affected areas and personally supervised the distribution of relief. The hard work that he had to do in this connection and the professional business made a heavy demand on his health, with the result that his health broke down and for one year he was bed-ridden and his life was indeed despaired of. But ultimately his health improved and he began to take interest in Municipal affairs. He was unanimously elected Vice-Chairman of the Chapra Muni-

cipality and during the three years of his creditable administration, he completely overhauled the administration and considerably improved its financial condition.

But all these activities of his early years faded into insignificance before the valuable contribution that he made to the political activities of the country. A man of very large and wide outlook, Mr. Haque's sturdy independence, fearlessness, courage of conviction, and his sense of intense patriotism were apparent in everything that he did or said in matters political. In 1906 or thereabouts it was decided by the Musalmans of India to start a political association of their own with the object, as was stated in the circular issued at the time, of supporting "every measure emanating from the Government and to oppose all demands of the Congress." A meeting was called at Dacca for the purpose of starting this organisation. Mr. Haque at once saw the great harm that was likely to result from an association with such objects as was mentioned in the militant and aggressive circular that was issued at the time. With Mr. Syed Hasan Imam, he at once went to Dacca and the two succeeded in pushing into the background the proposed institution and starting in its place the All-India Muslim League with the aims and objects wholly different from those originally proposed. Mr. Haque acted as its secretary in the beginning and organised and nursed it very carefully. Later on he presided over one of its annual sessions at Bombay, held in 1915, and delivered a notable presidential address that created a great impression in the country. In the unfortunate and regrettable controversy that raged about the special and mixed electorates in connection with the Minto-Morley Reform, Mr. Haque was again put on his mettle. He stood out prominently in the controversy and opposed the unreasonable demands of the Muslim extremists for special electorates throughout most manfully and courageously. He was attacked by the bulk of the Muslim Press in India. Contumely, ridicule and abuse were poured upon him, but they did not in the least affect his patriotism. He fought and fought hard unmindful of all the consequences. He was

one of the greatest apostles of Hindu-Muslim Unity, and always preached and practised it, both in public and private. He always stood the severest test in this connection and never allowed himself to waver in the least in his unflinching faith in Hindu-Muslim Unity. Even in the worst days of communal tension and bitterness, Maulana Haque kept his head cool and while condemning the outrages he set his face sternly against any exploitation of the communal feeling.

In 1906 he removed himself to Patna for he felt that at such a small place as Chapra his activities and great energy could not find a freer play in the service of his country. He risked an extensive practice there when he joined the Patna Bar. But his fame had already preceded him and he soon became one of the leaders of the Patna Bar.

In 1908 Mr. Haque organised a branch of the Muslim League, with the sole object of making his co-religionists come out of their shell and take a part in the political life of the province and in this he completely succeeded. He also co-operated with some of his Hindu friends in organising the Bihar Provincial Conference the first session of which was held at Patna in April, 1908, with Sir Ali Imam as its President. The association of these two Musalman leaders had the most salutary effect upon the fortunes of the conference. All the Musalmans of light and leading and influence joined it in a body and Bihar presented a unique spectacle, in the whole of India, of Hindus and Musalmans working shoulder to shoulder in complete harmony, inspired by common ideals and aspirations. He was twice elected to the old Imperial Legislative Council and his work there was always inspired by a high sense of patriotism and sturdy independence. He was chairman of the Patna Session of the Indian National Congress, held in 1912, and

in that capacity he delivered a remarkable inaugural address which was widely appreciated throughout the country. He played a very prominent part in the Cawnpore Mosque affair, and it was mainly due to his efforts that a satisfactory settlement was brought about and he won the esteem and regard of all his co-religionists.

In 1917, when Mahatma Gandhi came to work in Champaran, Mr. Haque, among others, readily lent all his support to him. And in 1920, on the inauguration of non-co-operation, he readily gave up his lucrative practice at the Bar and threw himself heart and soul into the new movement. He founded the local Sadakat Ashram from where he started a weekly paper called *The Motherland*. It was while editing this paper that he offended the Jail authorities in connection with the treatment of political prisoners, for which he had to suffer incarceration for three months. Later, he removed to his village home where he lived a retired life till his death. But even in his retirement he was a source of considerable inspiration to many a worker in the field of politics. He was practically elected president of the Gauhati Session of the Congress, and it was only because he refused to come out of his seclusion that Sjt. Srinivasa Iyengar was elected. He acted for three years as Chairman of the Saran District Board as well. He found a great consolation in the study of philosophy, and spiritualism which was his chief hobby during his period of retirement. In his noble, intelligent and cultured wife he found a great support in his trials and tribulations. A distinguished Indian, a great Beharee, a staunch patriot and one of the greatest apostles of Hindu-Muslim unity has passed away in his death and his native province, no less than the country, is distinctly the poorer for it.

THE MONTH : FROM THE EDITOR'S ARM-CHAIR

IN its feverish anxiety to pounce upon political freedom—whether by way of “independence” or “Dominion Status”—the vast bulk of the “nationalist” press in the country has failed to notice the anniversary of the great social and moral revolution, ushered in on 4th December, 1829, by Lord William Bentinck, the then Governor-General of India. Not only that, but it is significant of the unchanging timidity of the mass of mankind that in the recent debates on the Indian Child Marriage Restraint Bill, exactly the same arguments should have been brought forward as were urged a hundred years ago against the abolition of the practice of widow-burning in India. When Lord William Bentinck first proposed the abolition of *suttee*, both Indians and Europeans solemnly warned him of the tremendous risk he was taking. Such a measure, it was urged, would be a grave breach of the policy of non-interference with Indian customs, it would give offence to an influential priesthood, and it would lead to Mutiny in the Indian army and riots among the civilian population. But the man who was capable of extirpating that great pest of society—*thuggism*—was not to be deterred by such specious arguments. And when Regulation XVII of December, 1829, declared anyone who connived at a *suttee* guilty of “culpable homicide,” no disturbance, in fact, followed. It was not, of course, possible to abolish in a moment and by a stroke of the pen a practice which had endured for centuries, which appealed so strongly to the mystical side of the Indian temperament, and which in the past had frequently been accompanied by a willing self-sacrifice which dignified, even if it did not lessen, the horror. But although abolished in British India, the practice of *suttee* long continued unabated in the Indian States, and in British India itself isolated instances have been reported during the present century—the latest reported case being in Behar in 1928. But the notoriety which such cases now gain in the press is alone proof that *suttee* is now virtually a thing of the past. Only so long

as it was a voluntary act could *suttee* be properly said to retain any noble aspect, and even then it was not. As Guru Amar Das (the sixteenth-century Sikh leader) made clear, the only means of expressing love for the dead: “They are not *suttees* who burn themselves with the dead. The true *suttee* is she who dieth from the shock of separation from her husband. They also ought to be considered *suttees* who abide in charity and contentment, who serve and, when rising, remember their lord.” Akbar the Great tried to prevent the practice, but the utmost he could do was to insist that the sacrifice should be voluntary, a condition with which in any country it would be only too easy to give every appearance of compliance. Needless to say, the idea of *suttee* was from the first repugnant to Europeans, and long before the passing of Regulation XVII, European officials had attempted to prevent it in particular instances. But the Government’s policy of non-interference with Indian customs had given the appearance of official sanction, and, had it not been for the courage of a truly great individual the practice might have continued unabated until the present day. It must, of course, be remembered that the practice of *suttee* was never universal throughout India, and that before its abolition there had been many protests against it from the Hindus themselves. But the records of the early nineteenth century, when in one year 706 widows were burned alive in Bengal alone, show how necessary its statutory abolition was. And the comparative ease, with which in this instance a law was translated into a fact, is yet another denial of the faint hearts who so frequently proclaim that what has been must ever be. On 4th December, 1829, Lord William Bentinck carried in the Governor-General’s Council the regulation prohibiting *suttee* and declaring all persons who abetted it to be guilty of culpable homicide. The official paper containing the regulation was sent one Sunday morning to Dr. Carey at Serampore, with the request that he would translate it into Bengalee. He was preparing

his sermon, but he put it aside at once, and spent his day upon the work of translation. Then he knelt down to thank God that he had lived to see the attainment of the object for which during all those years he had never ceased to pray. And to-day every educated Indian who understands the situation may as well pray at the providential dispensation of India, at last, being blessed with rulers who—whatever their failings and limitations in other spheres of administration—are endowed with the requisite strength of character and courage of conviction to lead India on the onward march of social and moral progress, and have done so, from time to time when the occasion (according to them) demanded definite and drastic action at their hands. At a time like the present when the use of vigorous invective against the British (as the administrators of this country) is the order of the day, it seems necessary to recall, in the interests of truth, their valuable contribution to India's social and moral progress by the total abolition of *suttee* just a hundred years back.

The "national week" is come and gone and the question is where the country stands

The Na- as the result of the activities tional Week. of the dozens and scores of the assemblages at Lahore—the Congress, the conferences, the conventions, the *sabhas*, the *anjumans* and the other gatherings under various names—and the Liberal Federation at Madras, all held during the Christmas week. In so far as the social, educational and professional gatherings were concerned, they all contributed their quota to the general advancement of the country. But not necessarily so the class or communal organizations which only served to accentuate existing differences and offered no solution for improving matters, and of the extreme type of which, mention may be made of one of them, the conference at which "Maulana" Muhammad Ali—as befitting an ex-President of the "National" Congress, and the dearly-beloved brother of Mr. Gandhi—denounced the latter by calling him a "kafir." But leaving these aside, the attraction naturally centered round the proceedings of the two chief political bodies—the Federation and the Congress. The inaugural address of the president of the Federation—Sir Phiroze Sethna—was

cast on the classical lines laid down by the presidents of the earlier generation of the Congress. It was vigorous but tactful and was a highly-reasoned and well-sustained statement of India's claims to immediate elevation to the status of a Dominion of the British Commonwealth. Naturally it gave a successful lead to the resolutions adopted by the Federation on the subject, including the acceptance of the Round Table Conference. Things unfortunately took a very different (though not unexpected) turn at Lahore. There the president deliberately declared himself to be a "socialist and republican," and consequently an avowed opponent of all who might venture to cross his path in his attempt at organizing in India a socialist and republican state—whether they be the rulers of the Indian States or the capitalists and the landed magnates in British India. Though disavowing any intention to convert the Congress to his view just at present, and speaking in creditably restrained and not hysterical or rhetorical language, he was evidently desirous of making the ruling princes, and the landholders and the capitalists as well, realize the power of his mailed fist. Whether he succeeded in his effort is open to question. The views, however, foreshadowed by him on the relations that are likely to come into operation between the Congress and the princes and the monied classes not having been adopted by the Congress in any resolution, might be left out of consideration for the present, with the observation that the president's opinion has naturally antagonized the influential classes and communities whose very existence he so boldly assailed, and that it is bound to produce before long repercussions which are not likely to improve the prospects of an "independent" India. Be that as it may, there can be no doubt that the adoption of a resolution by the Congress declaring as its objective "independence" in the sense of the severance of India's connection with the British Crown, though coupled with a resolution condemning the throwing of the bomb last month on the Viceroy's train (which resolution was very unfortunately passed after a prolonged and an unedifying discussion and only by a not very large majority) has at

last brought matters to a crisis : (a) in the history of the Congress itself, (b) in the relations between the Congress and the Government and (c) in the relations between the Congress and the other political organisations and parties. At the time of writing materials have not sufficiently accumulated to justify us in undertaking an exhaustive analytical survey of each of these three aspects—and this may, therefore, stand over till our next issue—but it is possible to indicate even now the outlines of the situation, as it seems to be emerging in our public life and activities as the result of the presidential address at and the resolutions passed by the Congress.

Though it is said to have been declared as carried, either unanimously or almost

The Political Situation.

unanimously, it is not the part of the resolution about the objective of 'independence' that seems to have troubled the hearts of many of the prominent Congressmen (who evidently voted for it light-heartedly) as compared with the portion enjoining the boycott of the legislatures—though with curious illogicality not those of the local bodies and the law courts! The reason is obvious. Sheltered under the aegis of the *pax Britannica*—which in the words of that great administrator, Raja Sir Madhava Rao (speaking as the chairman of the third session of the National Congress held at Madras, in 1887) has given India peace and order "beyond the dreams of Asiatic philosophy"—the average Congress politician does not worry himself about abstract words and phrases so long as they serve the purpose he has in view, but when he comes to deal with concrete mundane affairs, then it is a case of being (*ala* Kipling) 'another story.' If he is not likely to be at all a loser by the mere declaration of independence as the objective of the Congress, why make bones about it or raise a needless pother? But when it comes to resigning your seat in the legislature, then comes the tug of war. And so while there was practically no opposition at the Congress to the change in the objective of the creed of the Congress, there was a considerable dispute about and opposition to the legislative boycott, and this enforced

prohibition has already resulted in factions, feuds, formation of parties and other symptoms of disruption in the ranks of the Congress. A difference on the question of selection of the personnel of the Congress executive, the working Committee—abbreviated ludicrously in official Congress literature as "W.C.!"—has brought about another explosion and the formation of a so-called Democratic party in the Congress, headed by the malcontents, who were left out of the working committee. In Bengal, there is in the lowest deep a yet lower deep, and the petty rivalries and the personal ambitions of the two kings of Brentford, in the Congress party of that province, has brought things there to a pitifully distressing pass. In more than one province revolt against the Congress decree in favour of the legislative boycott had already prominently manifested itself, and it is believed that practically the whole of Maharashtra and also important sections in Madras will stand out in opposition. The newspapers have been flooded with declarations, protests and recriminatory correspondence—all which does not betoken that strength, solidarity and unity in the Congress party which one would (possibly in one's childish simplicity) expect to obtain in a body determined to oust the British Crown from the sovereignty of India, by the sole means—as declared at present—of that hitherto untried weapon for such a purpose called "non-violent non-co-operation!"

As regards the parties affected by the change in the Congress programme the

The Congress, the Government and the Constitutionalists.

one which is, in a sense, vitally affected is the Government. Not being in their secrets and no official communication having been issued so far, we do not know what view they take of the political situation brought about by the Congress. But though the British Government is one of the best organized in the world—most well-equipped and most efficient for the purposes of quelling any disorders or breach of the public peace—we feel sure that British statesmanship is not unaware of the famous story of the French king, who on saying to his Minister (after hearing the shouts of the mob outside his palace windows)

"why, Sir, that is a revolt," received from him the rather unwelcome and unexpected statement: "No. Sire, it is a revolution!" The Congress has made no secret of it that it had at last consciously embarked upon a revolution and was going to adopt openly revolutionary methods, and as if to leave not the least doubt upon the matter, we are informed that the president himself gave the lead and was joined by the chorus of thousands of throats in shouting "Long live Revolution!" Telegrams from London indicate that the significance of this new political development in the history of the Congress is rightly understood by the authorities in that country. Probably we shall be in a better position to understand the Government's attitude before long. As regards the position of the other political parties in the country outside the Congress, their attitude is by no means clear just at present and it is not, therefore, possible to predicate with any measure of correctness their future relations either amongst themselves or towards the Government. It is said that efforts are being directed by some prominent public men—notably by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru—to organize a political party of all those who subscribe to the objective of Dominion Status as opposed to that of 'independence.' But no declaration has appeared on the subject till the time of writing this survey and we shall, therefore, not pursue the matter further but await developments. There can be no doubt, however, that the Congress freshet from Lahore—howsoever disastrous it may ultimately prove—has deeply stirred just at present the otherwise stagnant and fetid pool of Indian public life. It were much to be desired that it might be possible for the Constitutional Nationalists to evolve a solid and compact party, based upon the objective of India's elevation, before long, to the status of a Dominion in the British Commonwealth. If that could be brought about, then there would be two clearcut political parties in the country with their well-defined objectives and methods of work. But it must frankly be stated that that seems to be hoping against hope just at present. Efforts, we are told, are being made in this direction and it remains

to be seen how far they will be successful in coalescing into one united whole a large number of divergent interests and factions. In this respect the Congress party have a distinct advantage over the votaries of the Dominion Status cult, in that they have (comparatively speaking) greater unity, stronger discipline and better leadership.

Whether the history of Bardoli in the Bombay Presidency will be repeated at Bandbila (in Bengal) still remains to be seen, but the struggle appears to be of a similar nature. The issue,

Satyagrah
at Bandbila
in Bengal.

however, is narrower, though the Satyagrah at Bandbila is undoubtedly civil disobedience. It is not quite certain whether it is the beginning of a general movement or an isolated instance of passive resistance. Arising out of the decision at the Lahore Congress civil disobedience is to be one of the weapons to be used in the forthcoming struggle by the Congress party, but we have not heard that it has been definitely decided to start such a campaign forthwith. It is one thing to announce a line of policy and quite another to find the materials wherewith to carry it out. The leaders who are responsible for the momentous decision arrived at Lahore have not yet shown their hand. They are still biding their time and waiting for something to turn up. Their immediate objective appears to be the celebration of the Independence Day on the 26th of this month. What will happen thereafter, what action will be taken by them later, and what course will be pursued by the Government are still matters of mere conjecture and surmise. The incident at Bandbila may be regarded, however, as the proverbial straw which shows the way the wind blows, and it is in that light that it has a significance of its own. The usual arrests have followed and bail has been refused in certain cases, and the trials are proceeding. No opinion, of course, can be expressed on the cases pending in the law courts. The atmosphere in the country is electric and the tension is not likely to be relieved for some time. We can only hope that wise counsel will

prevail with both parties to the struggle. But, well, let us wait and see.

The occasion of the golden jubilee celebration of the New English School, Poona, which took place in the first week of January,

The Nursery of the great.

has a certain All-India significance. Fifty years of useful

life is by no means a unique achievement for a secondary school in this country. But few institutions in India can claim amongst its founders and life members such honoured names as those of Tilak and Gokhale; while Mr. Vishnu Chiplunkar, a brilliant Marathi essayist, who first inculcated the spirit of ardent nationalism in Western India, was the chief founder of the school. The spirit of patriotism underlying this new venture, and the high altruistic motives of the founder quickly attracted Tilak, who was soon joined by Agarkar, the redoubtable pioneer of social reform in Western India. Mr. V. S. Apte, the celebrated author of the *Sanskrit Dictionary* and *A Guide to Sanskrit Literature* was next taken up as a life-member; and (paradoxical though it may now seem) it was Tilak's magnetic personality that brought the youthful Gokhale amidst this band of self-sacrificing workers! It was not long before they started the Fergusson College, constituting themselves into the Deccan Education Society. A further first-rate addition to the Society was that of Prof. D. K. Karve, the well-known founder of that splendid institution, the Indian Women's University (Poona). This chain of earnest workers in the cause of the spread of higher education in the Maharashtra later received accession in the person of Dr. R. P. Paranjpye. It is gratifying to note that this tradition of brilliant scholarship and self-sacrificing work in the cause of education is being diligently kept up to-day. A school with which are closely associated the names of many of the foremost political leaders, social reformers, erudite scholars, and ardent educationists in the Maharashtra is, indeed, a fountain of inspiration of which any people could be reasonably proud, and we offer our heartiest felicitations to the present authorities on this auspicious occasion in the history of their great institution.

That versatile scholar, Professor K. T. Shah, as the author, and Messrs. Taraporevala Sons and Co of Bombay,

"The Splendour that was Ind."

as the publishers have by their co-operation in the production of a magnificent work, rightly

designated *The Splendour that was Ind*, have rendered a notable service to the great and ancient land of their birth. A work like the one under notice must have been produced at an enormous expenditure of time, energy, money, labour and brain-power, as it successfully challenges comparison with the splendid Art books produced by the leading publishers in Europe and America. It may be safely asserted that no other popular, illustrated work on India either contains so much useful information so attractively and pleasantly conveyed, or so many and so well-executed illustrations on all subjects connected with this country. The publishers in undertaking this publication seem to be inspired with the distinctly creditable and patriotic motive of doing excellent propaganda by placing before the discriminating public, especially in the West, all that is noble and admirable in the culture and civilization of their "Mother India"—for while the letterpress is of a high order, it is undoubtedly the 329 beautiful half-tone illustrations, the eleven gorgeous plates in colour and the five well-drawn maps that constitute the chief attraction, the average reader, of this excellent survey of Indian culture and civilization, from the earliest times to the death of the Emperor Aurangzeb in 1707. Taking the letterpress and the illustrations together, Professor Shah's work may be justly declared monumental, which makes the dead Indian past a living present. To the man in the street, the glorious ancient, mediæval and Mughal India is but a thing of tradition. But Professor Shah in his glowing sketches gives a vivid account of the splendid achievements of India in Art, Architecture, Music, Literature, Religion, Philosophy, Science and History. To many people the splendour of Indian culture and civilization has no meaning, and to others it is thought to be something which does not matter. Both these ideas are obviously wrong. Indian's past—but rightly appre-

ciated—is full of charm, of which visions form before the eyes of the reader and mental images indelibly remain. The book under review will add many converts to the appreciation of things Indian. The Marquess of Zetland aptly says in his very instructive foreword:—"The Indian reader will find much to add to the feelings of legitimate pride with which he contemplates the good heritage that is his; while for the Western reader the book will provide a key to much that ordinarily remains hidden from him, and will furnish him with the means of viewing with added interest and a more systematic understanding the varied achievements of many centuries of human endeavours which have gone to making of splendour that was Hind." Lord Ronaldshay—now the Marquess of Zetland—has written a strikingly excellent foreword, from which we have quoted above. The whole of it is a masterly survey of the contents of this superbly got-up treatise, which deserves study and appreciation by every English-knowing Indian. *The splendour that was Ind* is thus a highly meritorious contribution alike to the appreciation and expansion of Indian culture, and as such it deserves the highest praise. Alike for its usefulness and attractiveness, it should find a place on the shelves of all decent libraries in this country, as also of those of other countries where interest may be taken in Indian studies. Viewed in another light, Professor Shah's work might justly be regarded as a manifesto of the new nationalist movement in India—which is based not on a mere false patriotism, but on a genuine appreciation of the greatness of this country in various spheres of human activities. As such it is an epoch-marking work in the history of Indian renaissance and merits the widest circulation both in and outside India. It would also make an ideal gift-book, alike on the score of its splendid text and superb illustrations; while considering the vast expenditure incurred on its sumptuous production, it is none too highly priced at rupees thirty. We wish it the great success and large patronage it so richly merits.

Indian journalism is slowly but nonethe

less steadily forging ahead; in the last week of 1928 was held, in Calcutta, the first session of the Indian Journalist's Conference, which met for a second time in the last week of December, 1929, at Lahore, under the presidency of Mr. Abdulla S. Brelvi, the very talented and nationalist editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*, at which much useful work was done. The same week saw the appearance of a new nationalist daily in Calcutta, called *Advance*, of which Mr. J. M. Sen-Gupta is the editor-in-chief and Mr. P. K. Chakrabarti, merely "the editor," but really the power behind the throne! He was formerly the editor of the now defunct *Forward*, and made his mark in that capacity, being not only highly qualified in journalism, but a man of broad outlook, catholic nationalism and great experience of public affairs. We feel sure that under his editorial control and guidance *Advance*—which is well got-up and neatly printed—will make very satisfactory progress, and from all accounts it has come to stay. Amongst weeklies we may notice the improvement in *Janmabhumi*, formerly of Masulipatam, but now issued from Madras. Dr. B. Pattabhisitaramayya, the well-known Andhra publicist and Congressman, with whose vigorous writings and views the public are quite familiar, continues to be its editor. The get-up of the paper has been improved and new features have also been introduced. We wish this sturdy exponent of Indian nationalism a long career of public service and prosperity, in its new and increased sphere of activity in the capital of the Southern presidency. Amongst new monthlies we may notice the best of them—*The Indian State Railways Magazine*—published by the Central Railway Publicity Bureau, New Delhi. It is a high-class illustrated monthly containing well-written articles on a variety of subjects, ranging from light stories, shikar sketches, descriptions of ancient Hindu and Muslim archaeological remains, to the most weighty topics connected with technical railway operating. One special feature of it is its pictorial side. Every article is copiously illustrated with appropriate photographs printed on art paper and the get-up of the magazine is most attractive.

The regular publication in the magazine of select articles on the ancient historic remains of India, scattered all over the country, will bring to the minds of the readers India's greatness in art and culture. By its publication, the Railway Board are rendering a great public service to Indian scenic attractions and Art. Yet another magazine, a bi-monthly called *Triveni* issued from Madras, for the last two years or so, under the editorship of a rising and highly qualified Andhra journalist (Mr. K. Ramakotishwara Rao, B.L.) deserves prominent mention and a very wide appreciation. It justly claims to be the organ of the Indian renaissance movement, especially in the southern provinces and States. It is produced as a magazine of Indian Art, so far as its get-up and illustrations are concerned. As regards

its contents, they are rich in covering a wide range in the cultural sphere of activities, and its articles (which are generally written by experts and specialists) should appeal to all lovers of Indian progress, more particularly in Literature, Philosophy and Art, though other activities are also surveyed from time to time, by competent writers. We hope it will be possible for its talented editor to convert, in due course, *Triveni* into a monthly. But as that is for time to come, we earnestly hope that the efforts of its energetic editor to keep up his excellent periodical as a bi-monthly will receive at the hands of the educated public—especially in Southern India—that generous response which it richly merits as the exponent of all that is best and noblest alike in ancient and modern Indian culture.

COMMUNICATIONS AND DISCUSSIONS

"UNCLE SHAM"—IS IT A TRUE PICTURE OF AMERICA?

By Mr. Kanhayalal Gauba.

I AM very frequently asked the question whether I can honestly say that "Uncle Sham" is a true picture of America. Very recently an eminent American touring India studying her problems in all its varied aspects from Mahatma Gandhi to Jawahar Lal Nehru, put this question to me in a forceful manner and said the reply ought to be published. Perhaps the question and answer should go on record as the book goes to its fourth printing in this country.

"Uncle Sham" appeared just two years after, almost to the day, the publication of the book that made Hindu impotence famous. Various replies in one form or another from eminent and non-eminent literary crusaders followed, but the world went on reading "Mother India." The more infamous Miss Mayo became in India the more famous she became in other parts of the globe. I do not pretend to know what her purpose was,

nor am I in a position to say who paid for the hundreds of free copies that went round Westminster and Mayfair; all that I can say is that the book did more damage to India's cause for freedom than it helped any destitute widow.

For two years, however, I preferred to thank Miss Mayo for indicating the filth in our drains. But then the way shown by Miss Mayo was evidently profitable and other drain inspectors appeared on the scene, all, no doubt, above sordid motive, but rather non-original. Scores of nations could benefit by a Mayo clean-up, but the street hose was confined to Bombay and Calcutta. "Uncle Sham" returned the compliment. In "Uncle Sham" the effort was equally above rupees, annas and pies, though the annas and pies have been plentiful, the central object being to render service to clean living and Christian morals.

I will be told that this is no answer to the question whether "Uncle Sham" is a true picture of America. In my opinion, it is as

true and as false as "Mother India." Thousands of Americans and Canadians believe "Mother India" is an accurate survey of Indian conditions and thousands in this country consider a faithful study of American life. The facts in "Uncle Sham" have not been disputed though many facts in "Mother India" are matters of controversy. But "Uncle Sham" is a drain report. The first copy that came from the binders was sent by the author to Miss Mayo with the inscription: "From one Drain Inspector to another." From the outset there was no attempt to conceal the purpose of the book which was to serve America well, to improve the status of mulattos and to raise the percentage of virgins.

Miss Mayo did not have the courtesy to acknowledge the book, but the American Press had. The "New York Times" in its issue of August '20, agreed: "If patriots respond to Mr. Gauba that this is a large

country and that the examples which he takes are exceptional and few, his reply (already offered in "Uncle Sham," is that India is also too large a country to write a conclusive book about."

"The Charlotte (N. C.) News" in its issue of the 1st September answered the question:

"Is it a true picture? Well, just about as true as the Mayo writing is true of India. It is true alright of a certain life that is lived in this country, just as the sexual monstrosities described in "Mother India" are no doubt, true of a life there."

I had hoped that on receipt of my companion picture to her "Mother India" Miss Mayo would have invited me to a common bonfire of our books, but she still hopes to get the thanks of the widows of India and I hope to get the thanks of Jesus Christ. Meanwhile the booksellers display us side-by-side.

THE TAJ: A POEM

By Mr. H. W. B. MORENO

Do I now wake, or still in soothing dreams
Do I behold, tower and dome and spire,
Raised by some mystic hand in tongues of fire,
Piercing night's lurid sky with glowing beams?
In slumber soft, a monarch proud I swayed,
And worshipped true of all my consorts—one;
Then with the myriad rays the sinking sun
Casts on the cloudlets, I a mansion made
Beauteous for her, that even spirits blest
Drew near to view;—but when my curious eye
The Taj surveyed, 'twas mine on earth imprest.
So loved the great Moghul and dreamed, while nigh
In stone the builder chiselled his behest,
Beauty enshrining love that cannot die.

The first part of the paper is devoted to a general
 discussion of the problem. It is shown that the
 problem is of great importance in the theory of
 functions. The second part is devoted to a
 detailed study of the problem. It is shown that
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The Hindustan Review deserves attention from British readers as showing the trend of thought—philosophical, literary and political—among the educated classes of India.—“Truth” (London).
 The Hindustan Review is of especial value as lifting the brain cap of India and letting us see the thoughts that are moving in her educated mind.—The late Mr. W. T. Stead in the “Review of Reviews,” (London).
 The Hindustan Review is representative of the higher intellectual life of India and enables us to learn the thoughts that are agitating her cultivated circles. Its articles are of especial value from a political and philosophical point of view and it occupies among Indian periodicals a position analogous to that of the “Nineteenth Century” or the “Fortnightly Review.”—“United Empire.” (Monthly Organ of the Royal Empire Society, London.)

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MAHATMA GANDHI AND RELIGION*

By SRIJUT SATIS CHANDRA MUKERJI

I
 HAVE been asked by Mr. Rajendra Prasad, one of Mahatma Gandhi's devoted followers and self-sacrificing fellow-workers, to write for the Gandhi Number of *Nye Veje* (The New Road), a magazine published from Dugaard Strand in Denmark. Among the articles suggested to him by the promoters is one bearing the caption, “Mahatma Gandhi and Religion.” I propose to take up that subject but will deal with it only in reference to what I conceive to be the most vital or fundamental element in Mahatma Gandhi's character.

The interest in Gandhi's creed and movement in the Continental countries of Europe seems to be spreading with marvellous rapidity. But what seems to us of India to be a good augury and a matter of high

moral significance is that even the smaller countries of Europe are being drawn to India under the spell of Mahatma Gandhi's saintly personality, when nearer home there was Lenin with his doctrines of violence, class-hate and class-war to antagonise Gandhi.

The practical interest shown in certain circles in Denmark in the life and teachings of Mr. Gandhi is evidenced by the fact that among the promoters of this magazine is the translator of Gandhi's Autobiography from English into Danish. The magazine, I understand, circulates among the youthful population of that country. That the youth movement in Europe has turned its eyes towards Gandhi for direction and enlightenment seems to me to be one of the most hopeful features of the European situation,

* The article was originally written for the Gandhi number of a Danish Magazine, *Nye Veje* (New Road) and a Danish version of it was published in October last. The Magazine circulates largely among the youth and people interested in the Peace Movement. Its editor, Mr. Axel Pille, has translated into Danish the first volume of Mahatma Gandhi's Autobiography, which is in the press, and is now engaged in translating its second volume, as also Mahatma Gandhi's book entitled, “Self-Restraint versus Self-Indulgence.”

otherwise so depressing. Gandhi, on his part, takes a special interest in the spiritual upbringing of the youth of all countries, and it is a fact that one chief reason why he was so very anxious to proceed to Europe during the winter months of 1927-1928 was to have opportunities of personal contact with European youths and of being able to be present at their meetings and at their international conference.

There is thus a double obligation laid on such among us as have either watched Mr. Gandhi at close quarters and have felt his inspiration, or have on the spot studied his movement; or have participated in his work, to place at the disposal of our European Confreres and especially of the youths of Europe that knowledge and that enlightenment which they might specially possess. Nevertheless, it is clear that any detailed knowledge, or any appreciation founded upon such knowledge, about Mahatma Gandhi cannot be adequately conveyed through the pages of a magazine. An appreciative study of the Indian hero, in order that it may have a compelling inspiration, must be made in close juxtaposition with detailed references to facts and events of his life, his doings and his achievements. In this circumstance, a magazine article, short or long, or even a series, would fall far short of the minimum of requirement. For the purpose, therefore, original books should have to be studied, dealing at length with the vital aspect of Gandhi's life and work. But no book of the kind has been published in India such as could be recommended for study by European youths, except perhaps two somewhat bulky volumes of very recent date from the pen of Mr. Krishnadas. The author was the Private Secretary of Mr. Gandhi during the fateful years of 1921-1922 when the Mahatma, like a colossus, bestrode the entire world of Indian politics. Krishnadas's works are original and authoritative. They very correctly represent the views and ideas of Mr. Gandhi, give an inside view of the great Non-Co-operation movement of which he was the sponsor and director, and furnish us with an understanding outlook on the Mahatma as a dynamic personality in the realm of action.

Having said what, I conceive, may be taken as a brief foreword to the subject of Mr. Gandhi and his life, I propose to bring out as concisely as I can, the particular aspect of that life which comes under the title of this paper. But the point for us to remember is that Gandhi's religion is not to be summarised or compressed into a few articles of faith; nor could it be confined merely to its personal aspects. For a real exposition of Gandhi's religion in all its varied features, one must survey it from a wide, comprehensive standpoint. For Gandhi is nothing, if he is not, by his whole make-up, a universalist, or an internationalist, if you please, although he chooses to pose before the world at large as if his whole work was confined within the limits of his native India. Therefore a magazine article would hardly do justice to Gandhi on his religious side; for there is always the risk of misinterpretation or misunderstanding in any attempt to review him from a narrow standpoint. Nevertheless it is possible, I take it, within the limits of space at my disposal to present him in that essential character of his which distinguished or rather contradistinguishes him from all other workers in the field of religion. But if so, it would be a mere introduction to the study of Gandhi's religion in all its manifold activities and applications.

The thing which distinguishes Gandhi from everybody else, including professors and teachers of religion, is that he makes no distinction of religion as a thing apart from life. Whence it follows that from his point of view, the secular and the religious in life must not remain separated and contradistinguished one from another; but that, on the contrary, religion must permeate, pervade and transform life and its varied activities. Thus Gandhi would spiritualise the politics, education, commerce, social life and the economic and industrial activities of a country; and thus inform each with a high common purpose and make of them a unity expressing itself in a manifold diversity. If, then, the unifying factor of religion be given the go-by and a wall of separation be put up between the secular and the religious

in life, then, according to Gandhi, religion is made to abdicate its high position, is relegated to a backseat and ceases to perform its true function, the function for which it exists.

Not only that; but activities that draw no sustenance from the spiritual nature of man, but derive all their energy and motive-power from the non-spiritual side of man's composition, are bound, after running their allotted course, to end in disaster and ruin. Therefore, says Gandhi, to bolster up a materialistic civilisation as a thing of beauty and joy forever is wilfully to blind oneself to the doom which must inevitably overtake it. Therefore, Mahatma Gandhi's declared verdict on modern civilisation is that it is "A nine days' wonder," seeing that it must inevitably decline and decay by the very law of its being. Matter cannot sustain itself by itself ever so long. It can only sustain itself by the power of the spirit and no civilisation boasting only of its material triumphs and glories can stand the test of time.

The second thing to remember about Gandhi's religion is, as will be seen, a mere corollary from the first. Not only should secular activities be pervaded and permeated by the spirit of religion; but Gandhi would seek in a way to wipe out the distinction between the secular and the religious. For, according to Gandhi, if we are to be truly religious, we must not feel that our daily lives could be split up into two separate categories which either antagonise one another, or pursue parallel paths. In other words, Mahatma Gandhi points out, if we have to live our lives, our living must be truly religious, not only at the core, but also, and for that very reason, at every point on its wide circumference. That is to say, the moment an activity gets divorced from religion or is relegated to a separate or subordinate category, that very moment, one begins to live a double life. And it is a life which more often than not, pulls in opposite ways and takes one farther and farther away from the centre of one's being. And so having lost one's anchor, one is dragged along down the slope of life, a process which ends in self-contradictions, in discord and destruction.

III

In the modern world, everywhere the idea rampant about the relation between religion and worldly activities is that the two represent independent forms and categories of life and must not be mixed up each with the other. In other words, the prevailing opinion is that the religious man aims at something peculiar to his own mental and moral needs. While, on the other hand, the man pursuing worldly activities is dominated by an aim which is different, and this, it is contended, must not be allowed to be interfered with, controlled or regulated by the claims of the religious life. It is argued that secular life and its activities have a sufficient dignity and worth of their own to be capable of a course of evolution which is honourable by itself. Therefore, it can and must stand on its own legs and needs no extraneous aid from religion.

Gandhi's view, as I understand it is, that secular life whether national, international or individual, so far as it is not levelled up or buttressed by the forces of religion, must inevitably in process of time pursue the downgrade path, ending in disaster and ruin. It has no virtue or strength of its own to sustain it for long. Therefore, if a secular civilisation is able to pursue its course for any prolonged period of time and is helpful to humanity, it will be found that this is because that civilisation was able to assimilate into its structure those higher qualities of life which lie at the root of all religion. In other words, secular activities unregulated, undisciplined and uninformed by those factors of higher life which go into the basic constitution of all religion are essentially factors of disintegration, *i.e.*, of conflict and separation. That is why the secular civilisations of the past, in so far as they represented the material or non-spiritual side of human nature, whether working in groups, or in nations, or in imperial aggregates, have had their day and are no more. And history also records that civilisations based on theocracy, because of their alliance with and dependence on monarchies, republics, or empires became so tainted and corrupted by irreligion that they have had similarly an inglorious ending.

to the teeth and are still arming themselves and have become almost incapable of disarming. They have progressively become weak at heart and cannot allay their fear of each other, unless they find themselves buttressed up by the forces of resourceful violence. That is why Gandhi feels that the modern nations of the West have been fast losing their moral and spiritual foothold, notwithstanding all the triumphs and glories of their present-day civilisation. That is why, to borrow the phraseology of the Christian churches, they are daily drifting away from the true Christian ideal and are being swallowed up by "paganism" and "heathenism." That is why Imperialism has reared its head under the over-mastering impulse of territorial greed and cupidity; and political domination and economic exploitation of the ill-equipped and disorganised races of the earth by the armed powers of the West have followed in the wake of this paganism of the spirit. In other words, cowards at heart, they have also proved themselves to be bullies. That is why the Imperialist States are conjuring up from time to time visions of a "Yellow Peril" or of an "Asiatic menace," or even a menace from the native races of Africa. And so having lost their vital spiritual instincts, these Powers as already pointed out are seized also with a mortal fear of their co-equals, for they have no faith in each other. And the result is that they have all to get ready for the coming Armageddon, notwithstanding all the Pacts, Leagues and Alliances of Peace that have come into existence.

VII

It is thus that Gandhi feels that the spirit of aggression pervades the whole of the political and economic systems of Imperialistic nations of the West. And if he has declared that the British system of Imperial rule in India is "Satanic" in substance though not in form, it is because that system is marked and marred by the same spirit as obtains in the West. Mahatma Gandhi therefore desires above all things to give a new orientation to the life of the world, and of the West in particular, because of the

invasion of the East by the West to bring it back to its true bearings and to stop the process of its internal decay and putrefaction that has already set in. And his teaching is that the arrest of this process would not be possible unless the remedy adopted went to the root of the matter. And so neither formal and pious declarations of principles and ideals of national and international conduct; nor even pledges and pacts of the sort would ultimately stand the test, if these were not reinforced by that internal strength which would be an antidote to all external weakness. These pledges and pacts may contain within them the germs of "great possibilities" as Gandhi himself recognises. But the essential thing to remember is that they will ever remain as mere possibilities and never fructify, unless and until the civilised States of the West losing faith in external strength, choose to turn back and pursue the path that leads to the development of their internal strength.

So Mahatma Gandhi's message to the world at large is the development of this internal strength of men, peoples, and nations. For such strength, as already pointed out, would be a true antidote to that spirit of helplessness, cowardice and craven fear that must needs enter as a permanent element in the composition of peoples who have no other strength than the strength of the sword, and no other faith than faith in the power of the sword. And his further message is that the affairs of life have to be so treated and utilised that instead of breeding internal weakness and fear, it may only evolve, evoke and unfold internal power and strength in men, peoples and nations.

Therefore Gandhi insists, as already pointed out that if the Western world has to be lifted out of the groove into which it has fallen and from which it calls out to be saved, it must change its whole angle of vision and envisage life in the new orientation. Gandhi does not preach that the world is all illusion or *Maya*; nor does he preach as a substitute for life's activities, a life of contemplative retirement which is the life of the recluse. What, however, he undoubtedly preaches is that life's activities have

to be pursued in a different way although pursued unceasingly as at present. And also, Gandhi holds firmly to the view that when civilised man has learnt to look at life and its affairs as a means to one supreme end, namely, the developing of that internal power and strength of which he is the external possessor and which belongs to him by native right,—the strength, in other words, of his native manhood, whether looked at from the individual, the national or the international point of view,—then, the present nightmare which sits upon him will have vanished.

VIII

And so we have arrived at the rock-bottom facts upon which the whole philosophical structure of Gandhi's religion, in its widest outlook, rests. We have shown that Gandhi's religion is the religion of strength. We have also shown that this strength is no borrowed strength, *e.g.*, military strength, arms, ammunition, capital, man-power, etc. We have shown also that it is such strength as is inherent in man (although requiring to be opened out); because it comes from what Gandhi calls the "permanent element in human nature."^{*} Nor can such strength be said to be derived from one's declaration of faith in a certain creed; nor from assent given to certain doctrinal propositions laid down in the scriptures. For the strength comes from the inside through the development of "the permanent element." And lastly we have seen that this development frees man from bondage to the power of material strength and cures him of the essential weakness that clings to one who looks only to the outside for strength and power.

Therefore it is this "permanent element" in man's composition, Mahatma Gandhi declares with the utmost emphasis, that "must find full expression" in the manifold activities of man and redeem them from futility, error and mischief. If this "full expression" is denied to it, Gandhi points out, neither would the world be freed from the clutches of perpetual weakness and fear,

nor would man be able to come face to face with his Maker. On the other hand, if this "full expression" be the objective of life and its activities, then there would be established a true correspondence between man, the world and the Divinity that shapes our ends. The pursuit by man through life's activities of this permanent part of his nature, therefore, in Gandhi's eyes is the most vital thing for him. For its result is shown not only in the unfoldment of that strength which can give a challenge to the power of brute violence. But it is equally true as Gandhi points out, that by such pursuit the whole of the impermanent, that is to say, the material side of human nature would get transformed and purified. It is thus, says Gandhi, that truth would stand revealed and the soul of man having found itself would find also its Maker.

Gandhi's understanding of religion is thus founded on this wide outlook and can be approached only from this higher standpoint. It is a view of religion which is synthetic but neither exclusively Hindu, nor Muslim, nor Christian; for it applies and appertains to all the different religions. It appears, therefore, that the intolerance of sects and creeds arises because of the initial omission to take note of and appreciate religion in the higher or the universal aspect. And this synthetic view of religion, which unites all particular religions, furnishes a clue not only to the solution of the conflict between religion and religion; but it furnishes also, as Gandhi has shown, a means of redeeming the life of the world and its secular activities. And it redeems by making these a means of discovering the true sources of the internal strength and power of man,—by discovering, in other words, "the permanent element" in his composition.

IX

Gandhi is a Hindu of Hindus, and if we must seek to study his Hinduism, we can only effectively and usefully do so by studying and appraising in the first instance his view of religion in its synthetic aspect. For there is always considerable danger, according to

^{*} Vide "Young India," 12th May, 1920: Article— "Neither a Saint nor a Politician."

Gandhi, in the pursuit of any particular religion, without constant reference to the higher or universal aspect of all religions. Therefore in his pursuit and understanding of the type of religious life prescribed by the particular religion to which he owes allegiance, he continually harks back to the bedrock facts of the higher, *i.e.*, the universal aspect. He would therefore call upon the Hindu, the Muslim and the Christian, to understand and appreciate the injunctions of their respective scriptures in the light of this higher context. In doing this, Gandhi feels that he is not only not misleading the votaries of the different religions, but he is helping them to be more faithful to their own faiths. In other words, in Gandhi's view, by his so doing, he would be helping them to become truer Hindus, truer Muslims or truer Christians, as the case may be. Gandhi's constant insistence on distinguishing between the universal or synthetic aspect of religion and the particular aspects that have found expression in the different creeds and scriptures of the world, has been for him most fruitful of results. It has saved him from falling into many of the pitfalls that beset the path of the orthodox religionist, who with all his sincerity, is liable to be led away by the letter of the law. It has also saved Gandhi from imbibing the deadly poison of religious bigotry and fanaticism which has sounded the death-knell of many a devout soul. It has also saved him from being infected with virus of religious communalism which sets up a perpetual barrier between man and man, poisons the sources of a common life in a composite community and mocks at the doctrine of the brotherhood of man and of a common human family. And so his humanity has not suffered, because of his wide outlook,—because he has never permitted himself to exalt his own particular religion, or any other particular religion, above the higher, the universal aspect that transcends and yet explains all particular religions. And it is because of this that he sets his face also against proselytisation of any sort, feeling that man cannot grow from without, by subscribing

to any articles of faith, but that he must grow from within and thus realise himself, that is to say, his own soul and his Maker.

Further, it is because Gandhi has in the pursuit of his religious life learnt to entrench himself behind the universal aspect of religion that he has been able all the more to appreciate and comprehend the particular aspects that have found expression in the various creeds and scriptures, and to give them all due allegiance and reverence. And again, because of his wider outlook on religion, Gandhi has been able to bring out into clearer relief the special truths and ideals that underlie the religion to which he owes his particular allegiance,—the religion of Hinduism which, he declares "I love dearer than life itself."^{*} And lastly, it is because of his grasp of the universal aspect of religion that Mahatma Gandhi has been able to propound the ways and methods of the application of religion to life and thus to place before the world a new goal and a new method of constructive effort to reach that goal. For, Gandhi asserts with reiterated emphasis, man's life must not be for him a means of self-degradation, whether individual or collective; but it must serve the higher purpose of lifting him on to the upward path, and be rescued at the same time from those processes of decay and putrefaction that inevitably set in when life pursues its own wayward path uncontrolled and unregulated by religion.

X

It was my purpose to lay before the readers of this *Review* the universal aspect of religion on which Gandhi builds up the whole fabric of his life's activities. It is to this aspect of religion that he refers when he insists that politics, or indeed, any other part of life's activities, must not be divorced from religion. And if we find Gandhi devoting himself with so much zest to the spiritualisation of politics, "it is only because," as he himself says, "politics encircle us like the coil of a snake from which one cannot get out, no matter how much one tries."[†] And so he continues, "I must therefore wrestle

^{*} Vide "Young India" for 6th October, 1921: Article—"Hinduism."

[†] Vide "Young India" for 12th May, 1920.

with the snake, as I have been doing with more or less success consciously since 1894; unconsciously, as I have now discovered, ever since reaching years of discretion." And again, "Today the system of Government is so devised as to affect every department of our life. It threatens our very existence."^{*}

Nevertheless, in Gandhi's own words, "the politician in me has never dominated a single decision of mine."[†] Thus, in answering certain complaints as to why he went out of his way "to introduce religion into politics," he pointed out that it was no religion in particular that he had requisitioned to his aid. It was neither Hinduism, nor Islam, nor Christianity, nor, for the matter of that, any other particular religion. Therefore, the charge laid against him must fail. It is from this wide point of view that we must try to understand Gandhi when he says,—"I do not believe that religion has nothing to do with politics. Politics divorced from religion is a corpse fit only to be burnt." In order, however, that he might

not be misunderstood, Gandhi takes care to explain in positive terms the character of the religion which he seeks to apply to that domain of life's activities which is regarded as political. And he explains by pointing out that it is the universal aspect of religion and not any particular aspect of it that he has sought to introduce into politics.

Thus,[‡]—

"I have been experimenting with myself and my friends by introducing religion into politics. Let me explain what I mean by religion. It is not the Hindu religion which I certainly prize above all other religions. But it is the religion which transcends Hinduism, which changes one's very nature, which binds one indissolubly to the truth within and which ever purifies. It is the permanent element in human nature which counts no cost too great in order to find full expression and which leaves the soul utterly restless until it has found itself, known its Maker, and appreciated the true correspondence between the Maker and itself."

SECOND CHAMBERS FOR INDIA—I

By MR. S. K. SARMA, B.A., B.L.

FOR the first time, and in conformity with the practice of most democratic countries, the Government of India Act of 1919 provided for the constitution of a second chamber as a limb of the central legislature. There is no question of going back upon it. It has also been specifically provided that the first Statutory Commission should consider the question of extending its benefits to the provinces. The reports of all the various

provincial committees which have been called upon to aid the Statutory Commission in the investigation of the problems besetting it, are not before us and may not be released for publication till some time.[§] We may not therefore know how far public opinion, representing the loyalist group of co-operators, has sought to influence the Commission on this question; much less can we know the opinions of the members of the Simon Commission

^{*} Vide "Young India" for 25th August, 1920.

[†] Vide "Young India" for 12th May, 1920.

[‡] Vide "Young India" for 12th May, 1920: Article—"Neither a Saint nor a Politician."

[§] Some of them have since been published, but we are yet to see the report of the Central Committee of the Assembly.

on this important branch of their studies. So far as present indications show—judging from the reports of the numerous bodies which have pestered the Commission with their oral and documentary evidence—it may be safe to surmise that there is no pressing need for second chambers felt by the provinces and their constitution may not be recommended. But there is many a slip between the cup and the lip and Sir John may yet take his vengeance upon Indian publicists and thrust upon them this odious excrescence of modern and mediæval democracies even as he himself was thrust upon this country by the cruel hand of a school-mate.

The question of second chambers for the provinces will, however, depend upon the functions that may be left to them in the reshuffling that will naturally and must inevitably take place as a result of the practical working of the reforms during the last ten years. It is absolutely impossible to believe that we are on the high road to a federal system of government in which the component provinces will have secured definite standards of autonomy. Further decentralisation and further growths of independence between the provinces and the central government would satisfy the hopes and aspirations of none better than the school of retired Anglo-Indians whose mouth-piece is the *Manchester Guardian*; and unfortunately there is also a school, powerful though it is, of Indians who are shouting loud at the precious word autonomy, without realising what it means. But happily enough indications have been given to us by Sir John Simon as to the way in which his mind has been moving. If the observations that he let slip while in India—and he has been keeping num after he reached England—were intended to be more than mere feelers, he may be credited with fashioning his recommendations on the model of the British North American Act. We know that MacDonald wanted to establish a complete unitary system for Canada, but was prevented from doing so by the particularising Quebec. All the same, the Canadian Government is as weak a federalism as possible and if that is the sort of system Sir John Simon is thinking of, we may be sure that not only is there no likelihood of provincial auto-

nomy being emphasised, but there are good reasons to believe that some important functions of the central government will receive greater emphasis than those of provincial governments.

It stands to reason that with an attempted system of provincial administrations the need for a second chamber will not be greatly felt whereas with a full-blown federalism the larger provinces at all events may like to embellish the seat of government with two houses of legislature. And when one discusses the scope and limitations of a second chamber, one has naturally to take note of the possible work that the legislatures may be called upon to perform. I have indicated my own preference with sufficient clearness to the re-transfer of the management of public finance to the central government and the powers of taxation to them; and so far the criticisms that have been levelled against my proposals in *Towards Swaraj* are anything but reasonable or sustained. Most of the critics have disposed of them with a passing comment though none with a sneer; and have felt themselves constrained to keep an open mind in view of the non-committal attitude of the All-Parties Conference. The Nehru Report has attacked the problem of the franchise more particularly than any other and practically ignored that of functions. That is to be left to a committee of experts after the attainment of Dominion Status. A more fatuous way of disposing of a crucial question cannot be imagined. For, upon the solution of this fundamental problem may possibly lie the fashioning of the structure of the new constitution.

Even assuming that there is going to be no violent disturbance of the functions of the provincial governments, the need for a second chamber either as an ornament to the legislature or as relieving the tedious labours of the popular house is not made manifest. The crowning glory of the second chambers everywhere is to delay, to distract, but not to depose the authority of the lower house and where the sovereignty rests with a superior body capable of overruling subordinate legislatures, a further instrument to cut down their scope and activities does not seem to be called for. If the residuary powers

are left in the hands of the provinces, as a certain section of Moslems want them to be, and if the revisional powers of the central government were to be zealously watched and controlled with a view to their extinguishment, something may be said to clothe the constitution with the additional apparel of a second chamber. But nowhere has the weakening of the central government found a cordial echo and the Canadian model is distinctly against it. The centrifugal forces have even during the last few years lost considerable vitality and in matters which have received the stamp of provincial autonomy, the tendency is annually growing to take concerted and uniform action. The periodical conferences of Ministers have a higher purpose than to give them a holiday; they are calculated to give them a profounder outlook. They are a tribute to the centripetal forces which have enslaved them, happily for their mutual benefit and advantage.

The question as to where the residuary powers should rest, whether in the central government or in the provinces, was one of the vital points of difference between the Moslem leaders that met in Calcutta last Christmas and the All-Parties Conference; and may possibly not be capable of easy adjustment till we clinch the problem a little more closely. It is not to be disposed of on a *priori* reasonings especially when a brand-new constitution is to be evolved; but it may be settled with a clearer grasp of what those powers are likely to be. So far, there has not been any definite approach to define them. Almost all the functions that administrations may be presumed to tackle are scheduled and appropriated, some to the central government and some others to the provincial governments. None of the vital relations between the State and the subjects appears to have been omitted in the categories of the functions assigned to them. And no Moslem constitutionalist has endeavoured to point out wherein there has been any serious omission. One is rather inclined to believe that the persistence is rather due to the fact that where federalism has taken a firmer root, there residuary powers have been left with the component States. The most typical example is the United States of America

and, within the British Empire, the Commonwealth of Australia. But it has got to be remembered that in both these countries sovereignty as such vested with the States originally and a federal government was superimposed upon them only as a political necessity. There was a surrender of certain definite rights to the federal governments, the residue remaining with the States, a feature singularly lacking in the evolution of our constitutional requirements. When residuary powers are said to have been left with the States, it is only another way of stating the obvious, which is the preservation of the independence of the States except where it is definitely curtailed. The independence of the provinces in India is an absurdity.

It is not necessary to pursue the matter further than to remark that till we know the worth and value of the residuary powers which it may be advantageous or otherwise to retain with the central government by a clearer definition of them, their transfer into the hands of the provincial administrations is a needless departure from the established method which is scarcely likely to commend itself to the Statutory Commission. The Canadian model again is against it. Which is saying a great deal to Sir John Simon. Every democracy, whether parliamentary, congressional or federal, has for some reason or other felt the necessity of maintaining a second chamber; but there has been no uniformity as regards the various units forming the federation. In Canada most of the provinces are unicameral, Quebec and Nova Scotia being the principal exceptions. In Australia on the other hand all the States are bicameral with the solitary exception of Queensland. The cases of the United States and Switzerland will not help us very much, for there the States and the Cantons are predominantly individualistic and separatist, but are held together by a common bond of national existence. The same reasons which have justified the preservation of residuary powers with the States also account for the maintenance intact of the institutions originally in operation. Federalism has not helped them to remove the cumbersome machinery; in fact it was not its purpose to do so. Perhaps it would have interfered with the

organic life which they wanted to develop. Whatever it be, there has been no question of bringing into existence a second chamber in the provinces after federalism has been imposed upon any country.

The question that practically concerns us is the constitution of the second chamber to the central government. Here again we have to consider, what are the functions which the second chamber is to perform. In the Montagu-Chelmsford Report the Council of State was intended to serve as an instrument for securing legislation in matters which the Government of India might consider essential. It was naturally enough expected that the popular house may set itself up as a body antagonistic to essentially bureaucratic measures and the Council of State was to be their stay. In that the Government of India have been fully justified. The Joint Parliamentary Committee desired the Council of State to be only a revising body; but it has uniformly played second fiddle to the bureaucracy. The powers of revision have been rarely exercised with judgment or discretion and in all vital matters it has proved reactionary. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report had a vague and dim idea that it might also prove a liaison body between the Government and the Ruling Princes. This expectation has not been fulfilled. The problem of the Native States has been taken on hand a little prematurely and events have shown the wisdom of leaving them till the constitution of India has been settled. The theatrical efforts of the Ruling Princes to escape from the authority of the Government of India and to set themselves up as superior powers not amenable to whomsoever may have the running of the central government indicate the unnatural bias they have against a parliamentary democracy that may get into power in British India. They would be subordinate to the military officers that man the Political Department, but would not negotiate with the natural leaders of the country. It is not surprising therefore that as a liaison organisation between them and the Government of India, the Council of State is still-born.

The chief purpose or purposes that actuated the bringing into existence of second

chambers in other countries vary considerably and one would not like to copy them in India. If democracy has succeeded anywhere and has brought the best of results, it is in Switzerland. But Switzerland is a peculiar country and the political lessons it teaches are not likely to be copied anywhere. A conglomeration of distinct nationalities with various religious sects, it has developed a national sentiment and a sense of political consciousness unparalleled in Europe from the dawn of history. Its council of state consists of 44 members, each major canton having two members and demi-canton one. In Canada the senators are nominated for life, the original number of seventy-two being increased to ninety-six. The upper house in Canada is but a pale imitation of the House of Lords without its hereditary character. But in Australia the house is elected, each state being represented by six members, half retiring triennially. The most typical illustration of the main purpose of the second chamber in federal constitutions is to be had in the United States, where the senate has acquired a power equalled only by the senate in republican Rome. Each State has equal representation in the senate; the senators are elected by the people; the senate has a continuous existence as in Australia and has certain wide powers of patronage, impeachment and of treaty-making. But the American constitution is a congressional government; if not parliamentary government where the executive sit in the parliament and are amenable to the vote of the majority. The only country of importance which has a parliamentary government and yet maintains an upper house is France, the home and fountain source of liberty, fraternity and equality.

It will be found from a careful study of second chambers that various and divergent reasons have conspired to bring about the constitution of an upper house. In federal systems and, where a number of states have amalgamated for a common purpose, the main reason is the assertion of the equality of each State. That purpose is predominant in the case of the United States, Australia, and Switzerland. Elsewhere, as in England,

the upper house is a growth of centuries, one of the estates of the realm. Modern governments that have copied England have done so because they found it necessary to check the growth of ill-conceived and hasty legislation. A purely parliamentary democracy is apt to forge legislative fetters which mature wisdom might reprove. Either the party in power may be goaded to do so by a fit of fury among the voters when they seek to placate; or seek to purchase their goodwill as did the ancient Romans by a free distribution of corn among the idle needy. An upper house will give time to cool, to reflect. This theory of a parliamentary democracy getting always out of control and pressing ministers to thoughtless deeds may be ignoring the steadying influences that work in society. It may be true sometimes, but if it is true always, it is the strongest possible argument against democracy. Democracy is damned the moment it begins to act with social injustice as its motto. Nowhere have we a better or a more ampler illustration of the ultimate soundness of democracy than in Australia and New Zealand where a succession of corrupt labour administrations has cooled the ardour for perpetuating social injustice and class oppression. There is such a thing as the swing of even the political pendulum.

Whatever may be condition elsewhere, the two causes underlying the constitution of an upper house are absent in India. The provinces are not presumptuous enough to suggest that they are equal entities who must be equally represented in a federal India-to-be. There is nothing be-

tween Bombay and Assam to claim equality in wealth, population, area or the enterprize of their subjects. The claim has not been put forward. Nor do we require a second chamber because the popular house is apt to be hasty. We are not in sight of a parliamentary democracy, however perversely grotesque may be the ambition of the All-Parties Conference to introduce universal suffrage. Universal stupidity and universal suffrage cannot go together; and till at last a respectable minority have developed a sense of political consciousness, it cannot be a practical proposition. Much less can there be an occasion for a revising body to put a spoke in the wheel of the revolutionary activities of the popular house. For many a long year to come the elected chamber of the people will move on conservative and well-trodden lines. We are not likely to make experiments. If that is so, this second reason also falls to the ground. If we should have a second chamber—and we must—the reason is entirely different. It must be found in the class divisions and the total lack of a political and civic conscience among the people. And the constitution must be so devised as to satisfy that need. How that may be done will be dealt with in another issue. Meanwhile let me remind those who have schemes on the anvil of the wise warning of Lord Morley: "There is no branch of political industry that men approach with hearts so light and yet that leaves them at the end so dubious and melancholy, as the concoction of a second chamber."

JOHN GALSWORTHY AS DRAMATIST

By MRS. E. ROSENTHAL, F.R.G.S., A.R.C.M.

THE collected plays of John Galsworthy have recently been issued in one substantial volume by Messrs. Duckworth* and the publishers are to be congratulated upon the speed with which they have worked, for "The Roof," the last of the twenty-seven dramas was only produced in London on November 4th, 1929. The dramas represent an output of some twenty-three years, and each one is as fresh in its appeal as the day on which it was completed.

Three V's characterise Galsworthy's humans, vitality, veracity and virility, and there is not a puppet amongst them. The playwright is an expert at stagecraft, and obtains his effects by masterly simplicity and the suppression of all extraneous detail. His skill as a dissector of human nature and his many-sidedness find ample scope in his plays which commemorate every branch of human suffering, and every incident of which gets across the footlights.

Amongst the best-known items of the collection are "The Silver Box," "The Skin Game" and "Old English." The first-named aroused much discussion when produced in 1906, for it demonstrates the suffering inflicted by the highly respectable and unimaginatively prosperous upon a down-and-out working couple. When drunk, Jones, the char lady's husband steals a silver cigarette-box valued at £5-10-0 from the house of John Barthwick, M.P. Jack, Barthwick's son, also when under the influence of alcohol, purloins a woman's purse. Jones is sentenced to one month's hard labour, and leaves the court exclaiming:

"Call this justice? What about 'im? 'E got drunk! 'E took the purse but (in a muffled shout) it's 'is money got 'im off—Justice!"

"The Skin Game" is another signpost standing at the parting of the ways indicating the struggle between conservatism and

progress. Galsworthy reveals dispassionately the cruelty concealed beneath aggressive respectability that stops at nothing when self-preservation is at stake—and dogs its enemies in order to gain its own ends. Both in "The Silver Box" and "The Skin Game" it is the smug self-righteous wife and mother who is the pursuing fury. In the latter play Chloe Hornblower is the victim of Mrs. Hillchrist's hatred. Chloe is one of the world's most tragic women. After a murky past in which she drank suffering to the dregs, she has married Charles Hornblower and to her own amazement has fallen in love with him. Consequently, she makes him a good and faithful wife and her only ambition is to bury her pre-nuptial career. Mrs. Hillchrist, however, in her desire for revenge because the Hornblowers have threatened her husband's ancestral home, exhumes that past which Chloe is so anxious to forget, and this inhuman act of the respected British matron leads to Chloe's attempted suicide.

Galsworthy's portrait gallery is exceedingly varied, and amongst the many likenesses that it contains one of the most striking is that of Sylvanus Heythorp in "Old English"—a gentleman of the old school with unforgettable personality. His affection for the younger generation leaves a pleasant taste, when compared with the vinegary virtue of Adela his spinster daughter who, as her father puts it, is 'hard as wood'—one of the many so-called 'good' women whose sourness renders them a curse to themselves and their relatives. The death of old Heythorp is the most arresting scene in the drama and casts a shadow, for one feels the world to be poorer by the passing of "the grand old fightin' gentleman. The great old sinner he was" as Molly the Irish maid describes him.

Very different in texture is "The Little Dream," an idyll tender, ethereal, with an

* *The Plays of John Galsworthy* (Duckworth, London), 1929.

almost Ibsenesque mountain, open air, tang about it. Seelchen or "Little Soul" picks at Life's varied banquets, and then having learnt their taste, would to the edge of the world. The peak of the "Great Horn" mountain calls to her:

"Wandering flame, thou restless fever,
Burning all things, regretting none;
The winds of fate are stilled for ever—
Thy little generous life is done,
And all its wistful wonderings cease!
Thou traveller to the tideless sea,
Where light and dark, and change and peace,
Are One—Come, little soul, to Mystery!"

What more exquisite summons could a seeker after truth desire?

"Justice" the succeeding drama in the volume is a very different proposition. This tragedy reveals the rocky facets of the law against which many a human, vigorous, both physically, and mentally, has been buffeted to destruction. Small wonder that the poor mediocre lawyer's clerk Falder, who forges a cheque, is crushed to powder by "the rolling of the chariot wheels of Justice," and solves the problem of his miserable existence after release from prison by committing suicide. Both Falder and Ruth Honeywell, the tragedy queen of his love, are really decent human material, though not perhaps the stuff of which heroes are made. Nevertheless they are deserving of joy, and the pathos of their downfall is infinite.

The author's stage directions are a key to his characters. Take, for instance, the description of Michael Strangway as he should appear in Scene I of "A Bit 'O Love":

"Michael Strangway, a clerical collar round his throat and a dark Norfolk jacket on his back, is playing the flute before a very large-framed photograph of a woman, which is the only picture on the walls. His age is about thirty-five; his figure thin and very upright and his clean-shorn face thin, upright, narrow, with long and rather pointed ears; his dark hair is brushed in a coxcomb off his forehead. A faint smile hovers about his lips that Nature has made rather full and he has made thin, as though keeping a hard secret; but his bright grey eyes, dark round the rim, look out and upwards almost as if he were being crucified. There is something about the whole of him that makes him seem not quite present. A gentle creature, burnt within."

At the first glance we can ascertain that tragedy is eating into Strangway's soul, and therefore the manner in which his character stiffens towards the end of the play is pecu-

liarily commendable and deserving of admiration. Although deserted by the wife he adores, he resolves to carry on with the business of life, and his final prayer must stir the hearts of all who read:

"God, of the moon and the sun; of joy and beauty, of loneliness and sorrow—Give me strength to go on, till I love every living thing!"

"Loyalties" is an exciting tragedy woven with admirable technique around a theft committed by a guest at a house party. The potency of class clannishness is double underlined in this play—a clannishness that leads to unjust dislike of De Levis the wealthy Jew victim of the theft. The Jew makes good however—once he has been proved right he does not wish to pursue the matter further or take revenge on the criminal. The thief, Captain Dancy, who did splendidly during the war, is cursed by the modern spirit of unrest. He is one of those "people who simply can't live without danger . . . They're all right when they're getting the D.S.O. or shooting man-eaters; but if there's no excitement going, they'll make it—out of sheer craving."

The last two dramas in the volume, "Exiled" and "The Roof," maintain the high standard of the earlier works. The former was produced at Wyndham's Theatre on June 19th last, and deals with strikes, the coal crisis, the Tote, and other up-to-date topics. The mere mention of the word Tote caused Bender the bookmaker to break a blood vessel, while railing against it and to declare:

"They'll run 'orses by machinery next; they'll 'ave waxwork jocks; shouldn't be surprised if they 'ave india-rubber grass. There's no 'uman nature left in anything."

The conversation runs as easily as well-greased wheels, and the dialogue scintillates. The heavy prosperous business magnate is represented to perfection by Sir John Mazer, purchaser of the home of the old aristocrat Sir Charles Denbury. Mazer has succeeded by his get-rich-quick-policy in becoming a king of industry. He puts his creed in a nutshell when he exclaims:

"The only men who can help this country to get on her feet again are men who'll look ahead and drive ahead. My father began as a working man; he looked ahead and drove ahead; and so have I, and if you think you're going to be any better off by getting rid of men like me, you're going balmy."

His flunkey secretary Miss Card is "a singularly ladylike person, made up to a certain shortage of her uncertain age." Played by Mabel Russell, Miss Card assumed a drawl and gentility inimitable. The play is rich in pithy sayings. For instance, East's definition of himself as the "Cerebos" rather than the salt of England is worth remembering, so is the query of the Commercial Traveller:

"Why can't these politicians drop their Parties and put their heads together. We want a national policy, same as in the War."

"The Roof" is a remarkable illustration of Galsworthy's peculiar blend of wit, tragedy and comedy, and is a stagecraft *tour de force*. All the scenes are laid in a little Parisian hotel, and the first six are supposed to take place simultaneously within the space of half an hour, while in the last scene all the characters congregate on the roof, owing to a fire that is gutting the lower stories. The tolerant philosophy of Gustave, the waiter with the patient smile, is as refreshingly indulgent

as the Paris to which the English flock, which is not France but where "suddenly their blood is surprised—it march queequer," where people come to see how love works, or "for a little rest from being married." Equally human is the viewpoint of the novelist Lennox who, a few minutes before his death, laments that he hasn't known everything about everybody he ever met, hasn't "written half enough books, or half good enough," hasn't "loved half enough women," and for whom "love's the sheen on the wings, the scent of the rose, the flavour in the soup."

The danger of fire brings out the best in all the hotel guests, and makes a man of young Fanning who is pining to know not so much how to be a bad lad as to see what sort of bad lad he would be!

There is infinite good reading in this collection of Galsworthy's plays and the volume should find a place on the shelves of all book-lovers, for it is of a lasting fabric that endures beyond the fads of passing fashions.

LEGAL STUDIES IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA*

By "A LAWYER"

"*PRESENT-DAY Law Schools in the United States and Canada*," by Mr. A. Z. Reed, is the fourth extended volume in a study of legal education begun by the Carnegie Foundation in 1913, under his general direction. The previous volumes were *The Common Law and the Case Method in American University Law Schools*, by Mr. Josef Redlich, in 1914; *Justice and the Poor* by Mr. Reginald Heber Smith, in 1919; and *Training for the Public Profession of the Law*, by Mr. Reed, 1921. The author's point of view is that of the student of government, and layman, rather than of the practitioner or law teacher. As part of his preparation for the work, he

personally visited, just before the War, every law school then in existence in the United States, and, in 1924, all of the Canadian law schools.

The fundamental weakness that Mr. Reed finds in the system of legal education and admission to legal practice in the United States to-day is that its formal organization has ceased to correspond to the facts of professional life. The activities in which individual lawyers engage differ from one another quite as markedly as do, for instance, the various branches of the healing arts; but while medicine, dentistry, professional nursing, etc., are separately organized, the

**Present-Day Law Schools in the United States and Canada* (Carnegie Foundation, 522, Fifth Avenue, New York City), 1929.

theory of the law is that all lawyers are, or at least ought to be, prepared to become responsible members of a single undivided profession. This conception of the lawyer as a general practitioner of every branch of the law grew up naturally in a pioneer agricultural community, where the law was relatively simple and the amount of legal business slight. The inherent conservatism of the profession has perpetuated a theoretical unity that cannot be realized under the conditions of a highly specialized commercial age. The influence of selective bar associations and of diversified types of law schools, in dividing lawyers into socially disconnected and separately recruited professional groups, has converted the tradition of a unitary American "bar" into little more than a legalistic fiction.

In the preface to the Bulletin, Dr. Henry S. Pritchett, President of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, writes as follows: "Intelligent men appreciate clearly that the lawyer is a member of a public profession, that he has responsibilities which can be effectively discharged only through a due appreciation of his public relation. . . . The people have a right to ask, in view of the privileged position of the lawyer, that every effort shall be made by the profession to maintain a high standard of character and of ability amongst its members. . . . Not only the bar but the whole body of the people have a direct interest in the conduct of law schools and in the process of law teaching. . . . The author points out the transitory character of institutions, and of points of view, that most lawyers and law teachers had been inclined to accept as more or less permanent and inevitable. This attitude is in large part a necessary consequence of the conception that fit methods for training and testing lawyers constitute, at bottom, a problem of government as well as of education. Few of us would deny that our faith in our country's future transcends our pride in its present achievement. Democracy would not be working toward higher ends if we imagined that we had already solved all of its problems."

The development of American legal education since the Revolution may be

roughly divided, Mr. Reed finds, into four periods. At first, rigorous bar admission requirements "crystallized the training within the traditional sphere of the lawyer's office, and thus retarded the development of law schools." A general relaxation of standards, which followed this, had its origin in two sources: democracy plus *laissez-faire*. "A younger generation, and a new social element, forcing itself into power . . . demanded its share in all governmental privileges, including those of the lawyer. . . . The right of all economic classes to enjoy the lawyer's special privileges seemed to them a principle of no less importance under a democratic form of government than the older principle that those who enjoy governmental privileges shall be competent to discharge them. . . . *Laissez-faire* philosophy facilitated the process, in that it lulled the community into the belief that it was as needless as it was difficult, to substitute other requirements for those that were abolished. It provided a plausible answer to the objection that lowered bar admission requirements necessarily meant incompetent lawyers." The third period, which lasted from the Civil War until about 1890, Mr. Reed calls a "Creative Period." It was marked by a reaction, not against democratic philosophy as such, but against its formerly associated spirit of ignorant optimism and *laissez-faire*. "A much greater sense of the value of consciously directed social effort" led to the invention of new machinery and methods, in the field both of bar admissions and of law schools. By contrast, the recent history of legal education is mainly one of attempts to consolidate and spread existing gains, through the machinery provided by the American Bar Association and its offshoots and affiliated organizations. "A loosely coordinated system of voluntary association constitutes the organization upon which the legal profession now depends for the formulation and advocacy of an improved system of legal education. . . . It has operated primarily as an instrument for selecting, from among existing practices, those which are best suited to the development of competency and character in the legal profession, and as an agency for urging

their more general adoption. Within these limits it has rendered an important service. . . In proportion as the organization dedicated to this purpose becomes perfected, it will exercise still greater influence over future developments."

The volume shows that of a total of 176 degree-conferring law schools, 38 are maintained by state universities or colleges, 2 by municipal universities, 21 by Roman Catholic, and 50 by Protestant or non-sectarian endowed universities or colleges. In addition to these 111 schools that have contact, more or less, close with a college of liberal arts, 12 are connected with colleges or schools of business or commerce, 17 are maintained by the Y. M. C. A. or K. of C., and 36 are frankly independent. The universities or colleges that maintain law schools are shown to have an independent annual income, other than that derived from tuition fees or use of educational plant, ranging from little or nothing to over six million dollars. Some institutions are accordingly in a position to spend large sums rely upon legal education, irrespective of how many law students they have, while others rely upon law students' tuition fees to support the law school, or even other departments of the university. In 1890, out of a total of 61 law schools then in existence, only 7 had a course as long as three years. For admission into the school none required any college work, few demanded even a high school education. In 1927, largely as the result of the activities of the American Bar Association and of the Association of American Law Schools out of 176 schools, 166 had a course lasting three years or more, and 100 had at least a nominal requirement of two college years for admission. The number of schools that combine these two characteristics, and also claim the entire time of their students while in the law school, grew from 2 in 1900, to 70 in 1927.

Corresponding to the general improvement that has been effected in law schools of the type specially favoured by the Association of American Law Schools, there has been a striking increase in schools conducted at night, or at other hours convenient for self-supporting students. In 1890 these "part-

time" schools constituted less than one-third of the total, and had an aggregate attendance of less than one-fourth. To-day, part-time schools exceed full-time schools, both in number and in attendance. Including schools of a "mixed" type, part-time law students now constitute over 58 per cent of the total. Mr. Reed points out that "the supervising associations have not been so successful in dealing with the problems created by the rise of part-time instruction as they have been in lengthening the course." A firm believer in night law schools, he nevertheless shows the evils that result from the notion that they either are, or can be made, "equivalent" to good full-time schools. Quoting the language used by a Special Committee on Legal Education, headed by Elihu Root, in 1921, "the democratic necessity for afternoon and evening schools compels a lifting of these schools to the highest standards which they can be expected to reach," Mr. Reed goes on to say: "When this task is undertaken by those who both appreciate its importance, and at the same time realize that, as regards organization, methods, curriculum, and other educational features, standardized qualifications that have been developed elsewhere are not necessarily appropriate here, we shall be on the high road toward developing a group of part-time law schools far better than any that we now have, more uniform among themselves than they are now, and yet increasingly different from institutions that command the full-time of their students."

As a basis for classifying law schools, the volume recognizes the total amount of time that students are expected to devote to their education, whether before or after they enter the law school. The following six groups are broadly distinguished: Full-time schools that require, after the high school, a total of—(i) More than five academic years (14 schools); (ii) Five academic years (56 schools); (iii) Four or three years (6 schools); (iv) Part-time schools (70); (v) Mixed full-time and part-time schools (20); (vi) Schools having a course of less than three years (10). Within each group the schools are listed to show the numerous subordinate variations that exist as regards their entrance requirements, the length of their

course, and the greater or less extent to which their schedule of classroom hours serves the convenience of self-supporting students. It is recommended that attempts be made to control the content of the preliminary college years, by instituting supplementary entrance examinations. It is shown that the enormous complexity of American law, coupled with the tradition of an undivided profession, makes some sort of elective system desirable for schools that can afford this expense. The volume discusses the varying amount of instruction that is offered and required by full-time schools, what portion of the curriculum is prescribed, and the rules, under which "credits" are computed in order to satisfy the remaining requirements for the degree. A detailed study of the working of the elective system at Harvard leads to the conclusion that "the exaggerated freedom of election now in favour offers too great opportunities to the 'slacker,' without any corresponding advantages to earnest students. These considerations have convinced the writer, not by any means that the principle of election should be abandoned, but that it should be more sparingly utilized than it now is in many schools." Reasons are given for regarding the very large "mixed" law schools that are situated in or near New York City as essentially part-time schools that have established separate divisions for full-time students, instead of merging this minority in the general mass, as do part-time schools in general. Most Western "mixed" schools differ from these in lengthening the course of the part-time divisions, with the result usually of greatly reducing the total attendance.

The relative simplicity of Canadian law, and the greater stringency of Canadian bar admission requirements, are noted as greatly simplifying the problem of legal education in the Dominion. None of the ten law schools feels obliged to disintegrate its curriculum by introducing the elective principle. Self-supporting students complicate the situation, by encouraging either an unduly short academic year, or a spurious office clerkship served concurrently with law school study. A deficiency of full-time teachers shows itself in a tendency toward skimping or postponing part of the instruction, or placing an unduly heavy burden upon individual instructors. The circumstance that these latter are recruited partly from this country, and partly, through the operation of Rhodes' scholarships, from Oxford, Mr. Reed regards as fortunate. He says: "The vital spirit which is the most conspicuous feature of Canadian law schools to-day . . . will enable these youthful institutions to profit by experience in emulating the virtues, and in avoiding the faults, of legal education in other countries."

Following the four hundred pages of text summarized above, two hundred pages are devoted to detailed information as to the number of lawyers and the principal features of bar admission systems and of law schools, presented separately for each state and Canadian province; comparative tables showing number of law schools and of law school students; analyses of law school curricula; standards of supervising Associations; rules as to selected administrative problems; a bibliography; and a full index. It is a most valuable book.

LORD BIRKENHEAD IN DIFFERENT ROLES : A "CRITICAL" APPRECIATION

His Lordship as a Debater and Controversialist

By "A WATCHER FROM THE GALLERY"

IN introducing to the public *The Speeches of Lord Birkenhead*, his admirer, Lord Hugh Cecil, opens the preface contributed by him to the collection as follows: "Lord Birkenhead's speeches . . . have long been admired . . . Their supreme merit is lucidity. To be sure they sometimes exhibit rhetorical ornament and they are often incisive, but even these ornaments and edged phrases depend not a little on the gift of lucidity which has always been at Lord Birkenhead's command." Thus the friend and admirer. "Ephesian" naturally goes much further. He writes in his usual hyperbolical language. "Lord Birkenhead combines to a remarkable degree the rhetorical virtues of distinguished men while avoiding their defects—Lord Cecil's grace without his fatigue, Mr. Churchill's vehemence and humour without his harshness, Mr. Lloyd George's power of conciliation without his hysteria, Lord Balfour's subtlety without his evasiveness, and Lord Oxford's classical polish to which he adds spontaneity and vigour." Thus the incense-burner at the shrine of his demi-god, to whom Lord Birkenhead is evidently Demosthenes, Cicero, Burke, Sheridan and Bright all rolled into one—the greatest orator that the world has so far produced! Let us, however, listen to others not less competent to judge, but unbiassed in their mental outlook. In an excellent survey of modern parliamentary oratory, called *Westminster Voices* by Mr. James Johnston, published not long ago, this is how the author deals with Lord Birkenhead's oratory: "Lord Birkenhead has not the glory of words. He can heap phrase upon phrase, but he never produces anything that could be called beautiful. One cannot imagine him hushing an audience into silence by a passage of entrancing loveliness, nor can one picture him lifting an audience into

the diviner air. He cannot minister to the noblest feelings or evoke the highest passions. Pity, sympathy, devotion, exultation, admiration finds no expression in his speaking." Now, this is very different from Lord Hugh Cecil's eulogy, emphasising or rather over-emphasising "lucidity" as the supreme test of Birkenheadian oratory—to say nothing of "Ephesians" rhapsodical rodomontade. As a matter of fact impartial critics are agreed that Lord Birkenhead's public speaking is not remarkable for any of those gifts—referred to in the passage quoted above—which we have learnt to associate with the great orators, but it is so only for gross offensiveness to opponents, savage satire, unparalleled effrontery, undisguised coolness in baiting and (above all) a prodigal polemical contempt for all others than himself. It would be easy to pick out dozens and scores of examples of each of these serious faults, as a public speaker, from Lord Birkenhead's speeches.

Not long back, the British newspapers devoted a good deal of attention to the methods of controversy adopted by Lord Birkenhead, in the House of Lords, where he said that Lord Arnold had adopted an air of arrogant superiority which he found "intolerably offensive," and contemptuously added that he (Lord Arnold) had never established any ascendancy in the business community and had never produced evidence that he was capable of making ten dollars on Wall Street! He proceeded to castigate Lord Arnold's "muddy process of thought"! A speech by the late Lord Oxford was criticised by him as not likely to have any more influence than if it had been delivered at the Oxford Union! The late Lord Haldane was described by this very gentlemanly controversialist as a "black-leg to an honourable profession," because he (Lord Haldane)

suggested that in certain cases barristers need not always be employed, and solicitors could often appear in court to better advantage. A few days earlier Lord Birkenhead had charged Lord Danesfort with "maundering imbecilities"! The only reply in kind to these attacks came from the late Lord Haldane himself, who described the then Secretary of State for India as "like one of those strange animals in the Zoological Gardens which display a power and violence which is quite foreign to the place where they sit." He went on to say that "Lord Birkenhead's weapon had always been a bludgeon—a very formidable weapon, but one which only had the effect of irritating, when used against people like Lord Oxford and Lord Arnold." Lord Birkenhead's "pleasantries" were not reported in the *Times*, and the *Morning Post* suggested that the omission was either out of a strange reverence for the Secretary of State for India, or out of an excessive solicitude for the feelings of readers. The *Daily News* thought that Lord Birkenhead was trying to regain the position in the country that he had lost by a reversion to the manner of his irresponsible salad days. It added that, if so, "all who value the House of Lords for the fact that its chief protagonists do combine dignity with statesmanship, cannot but re-echo the words of Mr. Chesterton and say firmly to Lord Birkenhead 'Chuck it, Smith!'"

Such unfavourable comments on his methods as a foul-mouthed controversialist left Lord Birkenhead unmoved, judging from Lord Beaverbrook's assurances of his imperviousness to newspaper attack. In his booklet, called *Politicians and the Press*, the latter has a good deal to say incidentally of the ex-Secretary of State for India. Lord Beaverbrook is good enough to bracket Lord Birkenhead with himself in the matter of unsusceptibility to newspaper attack. He observes that the onslaughts and insinuations to which Lord Birkenhead has been subjected in some newspapers "have been the bitterest known to me in all my experience of reputable British journalism. In perusing some of these articles one might imagine that one was reading the American yellow press, which, unlike the reputable organs of Great

Britain, does not hesitate to insinuate accusations against the private life of political opponents." He goes on to say that he resents this kind of attack and has never tolerated it in any newspaper under his control. He adds, in order evidently to keep the balance true, that Lord Birkenhead's indifference to criticism is "offset by a considerable susceptibility to flattery"! Now that is a distinctly pleasing assurance. It would seem, however, that when Lord Birkenhead is criticised in his capacity as a jurist, he does not regard the matter with entire indifference. More than one newspaper noted the fact, after the publication of Lord Beaverbrook's booklet, that Lord Birkenhead had sat to hear a case in the final Court of Appeal, and the suggestion had been made that this was not fitting for a Cabinet Minister, other than the Lord Chancellor. The *Daily Herald*, as might be expected, was particularly insistent in condemning this act. Thereupon Lord Birkenhead sent to that paper a truculent reply, suggesting at the outset that if the editor assumed the task of discussing technical matters he would do well to equip himself with some elementary technical knowledge! The letter suggested that these activities, which were not undertaken for pleasure, did not call for censure. "But I admit" Lord Birkenhead added in a closing sentence "that they are hardly reconcilable with the principle of 'ca canny' of which I understand you to be so warm an admirer." In writing thus to the *Daily Herald*, the then Secretary of State for India gave but one more example of his vulgar methods in public controversy, and his intimate familiarity with the slang of the "slum pubs."

But it may frankly be admitted that there is another view which may be taken of Lord Birkenhead's controversial methods. This was set forth some time back by Mr. James Douglas in the *Sunday Express* in the following terms:—"This is a dismally squeamish age, in which the art of manly invective and masculine vituperation has been emasculated by mealy-mouthed courtesy and cowardly urbanity. Our public life is drab and dull because we are afraid to give and take the hard blows that shatter apathy and

demolish indifference. Therefore, I scornfully decline to swell the chorus of Heeps and Packsniffs who groan over the polished truculence of Lord Birkenhead. The truth is that we all secretly gloat over his flouts and gibes and jeers. They rend the leaden sky like forked lightning. Even the quivering victims who are struck by them benefit by the rude shock. It is good to be electrocuted now and then, and Lord Birkenhead is the most deadly electrocutionist in politics or out of it. He is like a live rail on which it is dangerous to tread. The faintest provocation taps his highest voltage." Verily, for Lord Birkenhead, Mr. Douglas is a Daniel come to judgment. But I very much doubt if his lordship will be quite happy on his being declared "the most deadly electrocutionist in politics or out of it."

Of the many instances which could be quoted in support of the view propounded by Mr. Douglas, a few may be mentioned by way of illustration. The House of Lords was somnolently listening to a dreary debate on the Liquor Bill. Lord Buckmaster innocently quoted an allusion by Lord Balfour of Burleigh to "slum pubs." "Slum what?" cried Lord Birkenhead. "Slum pubs," replied Lord Buckmaster. "What is a 'pub'?" blandly inquired Lord Birkenhead. Lord Buckmaster retorted: "Oh, well, if the noble Earl does not know what a 'pub' is, he can hardly expect me to instruct him." Whereupon Lord Birkenhead rebuked him for inviting the Lords to "descend to the nomenclature of the gutter," and advised him not to "borrow from the ebullitions of younger peers which add little to the dignity of this House." He then poured a flood of daringly irrelevant irony on Lord Buckmaster's "personal perambulations" and "promenades" in the vicinity of "slum pubs," and maliciously suggested that, after all, they could "only be an episode in his life"! So here is an excellent example of a Birkenheadese, which is apt to revive jaded interest in party polemics. Hard words break no bones, and they dissipate the lethargy of the electorate. They shock us into at least momentary attention, and Lord Birkenhead is the man who is generally out for a revival of political insolence and insult. In the grand old days

of the Grand Old Man, Disraeli execrated Gladstone as a "sophisticated rhetorician intoxicated with the exuberance of his own verbosity": To go further back, Daniel O'Connell derided "Dizzy" as "the lineal descendant of the impenitent thief." Lord Birkenhead almost alone in the present generation preserves the good old tradition of verbal swashbuckling, though now and then Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Churchill vie with him in the noble art of polemical pugilism, or what used to be known as "limehousing." But in bitterness of tongue, foulmouthed invective "breathing the ferocity of tiger coupled with the voracity of vulture," no British public man can cope with the gentleman, whom an old lady mistook (by reason of his initials) as an unblushing spinster, for said she: "Who is this Effie Smith. I don't think she can be a modest girl to be talked about so much!" Poor old thing! She did not know that "Effie Smith" and "modesty" are contradiction in terms.

I wish Lord Birkenhead could always be provided with foes worthy of his steel, for in that case he would not be driven to use the bludgeon on placable men like Lord Arnold who, he declared in the House of Lords, had "never produced evidence that he was capable of making ten dollars in in Wall-street"! It was this hitting below the belt which galvanized even the placid Lord Haldane into comparing him with animals at the "Zoo," which are obviously out of their natural element on the bench on which they sit. On another occasion Lord Birkenhead (then out of office) lashed Lord Salisbury and Lord Selbourne with contemptuous sarcasm. "I will not say that they were the twin brothers of the movement (for reforming the House of Lords). They were the Dolly Sisters,"—two American young ladies on the music hall stage! When Lord Birkenhead (then F. E. Smith) was contesting the Southport division, he thus described his opponent: "I have seen a photograph of Mr. Woodcock, and I have never seen anything like it in my life. I think he should have found a place in a menagerie. I would not trust Mr. Woodcock with a flea if I had one." (Not surprising after

this, that Lord Haldane was thinking of the "Zoo" in his retort.) This is not perhaps "the nomenclature of the gutter," but it is the sort of full-blooded invective that would be understood even in those "slum pubs" of which the noble Earl has happily never heard! I hope these few examples of Birkenheadian style will make readers of the *Hindustan Review* admire, if not emulate, the lusty arrogance and robust effrontery of Lord Birkenhead.

One more instance of his gross vulgarity is offered by his biographer, who recalls that in June, 1926, his hero (in opposing a measure to allow peeresses to sit in the House of Lords in their own right) delivered himself of a diatribe as follows: "Let women come forward on their merits, not as nominees of chance and as mere conduit pipes established in the hopes of making a permanent male succession." It is not to be wondered at that such crass unmannerliness evoked very great acerbity of feeling in cultured circles. Now one may admire Lord Birkenhead's unmeasured contempt for his adversaries, but deplore his undisputed sovereignty in lethal sword-play and which—howmuchsoever, in vogue in the days of Lord Brougham—has fortunately now passed out of fashion from controversies in public life, its only fashionable exponent today being the Rt. Hon'ble the Earl of Birkenhead, ex-High Lord Chancellor, and ex-Secretary of State for India! There is a danger though that in these refined days, his offensive powers may languish through paucity of practice. He may, like many old champions, grow fat and inefficient, though I am sure he will never fall so low as to become, like them, the landlord of a "slum pub," and a pensioner on bibulous idolatry.

But enough of Lord Birkenhead and his Birkenheadese, for enough is as good as a feast. I cannot do better in concluding this survey than quote the following extract from an editorial article in the *Pioneer*, which appeared when that paper was at the height of its popularity, under the editorial control of Mr. Wilson: "Stirred to a noble passion, roused from his usual judicial calm, the Right Honourable the Earl of Birkenhead, His Majesty's Secretary of State for

India, has been speaking in the House of Lords on the all-absorbing subject of beer. It takes a great subject to move a great man to historic periods and to resounding oratory, and no one who is acquainted with Lord Birkenhead can be surprised that his lordship was unable to restrain himself when the subject of alcohol was being debated! In the course of his remarks, he referred to the recent case of Mrs. Merrick, who has two daughters, one of whom is married to Lord Kinnoull and the other to Lord De Clifford. Lord Birkenhead's reference to the convicted mother-in-law, was made when one of the sons-in-law was present. This nauseating personality and sarcasm has been cabled to India. A man who can indulge in such ill-bred behaviour is not a fitting person to hold any office of responsibility in His Majesty's Government, and should certainly not have a decisive word in the future of over three hundred millions of His Majesty's subjects. It is difficult to see any reason for this gratuitous insult to two members of the Upper Chamber. No man is responsible for his relations. Perhaps, however, we do Lord Birkenhead an injustice. It may be, of course, that the prim and puritanical, abstemious and ascetic Secretary of State for India was moved beyond control at the thought of the daughters of a night club queen, allying themselves with the bluest blood of the kingdom. It may be that the Earl of Birkenhead, as the head of the ancient and illustrious house of Smith, felt that the dignity of the House of Lords was irremediably damaged. It may be that the mere suggestion that there existed in London a possibility of buying a drink after the legal hour stirred him to righteous anger. It may be even that the casual recollection that night clubs could exist led him into a betise for which, in his calmer moments, he may be sorry. But somehow or other these suggestions do not seem adequate. It has been rumoured, and rumour is ever a lying jade, that, in the few moments of relaxation which Lord Birkenhead snatches from his all-absorbing study of Indian affairs, he has been seen upholding the prestige of a Minister of State and the British Raj in institutions not essentially

dissimilar, in kind, to those which Mrs. Merrick has conducted in the past. It has been whispered (and, of course, no credence could be attached to such whispers) that there have been times when the mental and bodily exhaustion of an overworked Secretary of State has had to seek refreshment in a solitary brandy and soda after the hours of midnight. It cannot be that the ancient blood of a Smith revolts at the thought of the descendant of a Merrick upholding the dignity of the Upper Chamber, for Lord Birkenhead has always paid lip service, at least, to the principle of democracy. No, the reason is a more fundamental one. Lord Birkenhead cannot overcome himself. On a previous occasion he dubbed Lord Salisbury and Lord Selbourne 'the Dolly Sisters,' and it was thought that the indignation with which this insult was received would have taught him a lesson. But some men can never learn. They are so wrapt up in their own conceit that they become a law unto themselves, in which ordinary decent conduct is submerged by a ruthless desire to assert their own unpleasant personality. As we read this latest exposition of the gentlemanly soul of Lord Birkenhead, we are irresistibly reminded of a couplet with which some unknown poet celebrated the historic achievements of Mr. Lloyd George during the war. The poem ended :

"And still more strange than any myth,
He made a nobleman of F. E. Smith !"

In the inscrutable dispensations of Providence, everything in this world comes to an end, aye, even a critical survey like mine of Lord Birkenhead's "phenomenal" career, and I am now bringing these studies to a close. I have discussed the life of that alleged superman in three different capacities—administrator, journalist and debater and controversialist. I have advisedly refrained from discussing the noble Earl as the Lord High Chancellor or F. E. Smith as an

advocate—this for the obvious reason that the disquisitions on these themes are bound to be technical, while I am a mere layman, not versed in the mysteries of law or the codeless myriads of precedents. But while it is beyond all doubt that F. E. Smith was a distinguished and successful lawyer at the Bar, Mr. Justice Darling's double-edged compliment to him was true to life, when that witty judge declared that he always liked to have a complex legal case opened before him by Smith "because it is so interesting to discover which of the two fresh minds will grasp the facts first." And so I must now leave Lord Birkenhead at the height of his successful career trying to make a fortune in the City of London. Curiously that noble Earl, expressed his view of the matter in a letter to a correspondent, to the effect that "one grows weary of the modern cult of success"! This declaration of "the most successful man of the century" evoked the following sarcastic verses from "Lucio" in the *Manchester Guardian* under the title, "A Humble Birkenhead," with which I would close this survey :

How we must have all misjudged him,
And his main, or ruling, chance !
(Or else something must have budged him
From his more familiar stance.)

Anyway, he now despises
Lures that draw the vulgar crew—
Not for him 'the glittering prizes'
That he praised in '22.

Not for him the vile attractions
Of the power, pomp, and pelf.
Not for him the base reactions
Of a mind concerned with self ;

Not for him the dull and dreary
Creed that smaller fry profess—
One is saddened, 'one grows weary'
Of the cult of mere success !

And at least one thereby offers
A most unexpected blast
To the vile and various scoffers
Who have jested in the past ;

For most certainly the oddest
News this later world has read,
Is an F. E. Smith grown modest
And a humble Birkenhead.

TREATMENT OF PRISONERS: A PLEA FOR REFORM

By DEWAN BAHADUR P. KESAVA PILLAI, C.I.E., M.L.C.

I BELIEVE things have considerably changed for the better in the British Prisons and to some extent in the prisons in British India since the time of Michael Davitt, the Irish patriot, who suffered penal servitude for a political offence, and who left it as his deliberate opinion that 'all individuality is mercilessly suppressed in the prison. No prisoner is allowed to do anything except with the permission and in sight of the warder. He is the object of constant and ceaseless vigilance from sentence to liberation. He is closely watched when at prayers in chapel. He is under the warder's eye while in his cell and never for a second lost sight of while at work. He is made to feel in very particular, routine life of silence and labour that he is treated not as man but a disciplined human automaton. The human will must be left out of the prison gates.'

With an infamous convict-warder system which obtains nowhere else in the civilised world, the lot of the Indian prisoners should have been worse than that described by Michael Davitt.

I believe that hunger strikes and grim defiance of the law and authority by young men to get a fair and equitable treatment are impressing the Government in this country with the urgent need to consider the advisability of classifying prisoners, and revising their rules for the treatment of under-trial and convicted prisoners according to the classification.

Hitherto no distinction has been made between prisoners convicted of political offences and ordinary prisoners convicted of anti-social offences.

I would quote Havelock Ellis on "The Political Criminal to emphasise the justice and wisdom of bringing the political offenders under special class: "There is the political criminal.' By this term is meant the victim of an attempt, by a more or less despotic Government to preserve its own stability. The word 'Criminal' in this expres-

sion is usually a euphemism to express the suppression of a small minority by the majority. The aims of the 'political criminal' may be anti-social, and in that case he is simply an ordinary criminal, but he is not necessarily guilty of any anti-social offence. Consequently the 'political criminal' of our time or place may be the hero martyr, saint, of another land or age. The political criminal is as Lambroso calls him 'the true precursor of the progressive movements of humanity' or, as Benedikt calls him the 'Homo Nobilis' of whom the highest type is Christ. From any scientific point of view the use of the word crime to express a difference of national feeling or of political opinion is an abuse of language. Such a conception may be necessary to ensure the supremacy of a Government, just as the conception of a heresy is necessary to ensure the supremacy of a Church, the prison for political dissentients corresponds to the stake for religious dissentients" (*vide* 'The Criminal' by Havelock Ellis).

POLITICAL CONVICT, A HERO

It is obvious that the stigma of imprisonment for political offence is passing for an undoubted claim for honour and distinction among the people of the country and a political convict is now a hero. The greater the indignity heaped upon him the higher he rises in the popular esteem. The self-immolation of a political prisoner, however misdirected and mistaken it might appear, confers on him the undying glory of sainthood while invoking involuntary tribute of admiration from even those that stand to scoff.

It should be borne in mind that India has comparatively less crime and criminals than Ireland, Scotland and even England. This was admitted by no less a person than the Under Secretary of State for India, the Master of Elibank, in a speech he delivered in England in 1912. Yet the classification of prisoners into divisions has not been made in

India as in England. No doubt the Indian law had laid down 'simple' as distinct from 'rigorous' imprisonment, but it does not go far enough to ensure discriminate treatment and it is more often than not that indiscriminate punishments are meted out by petty salaried, untrained and inexperienced magistrates who are largely recruited from among accountants, revenue inspectors and clerks, and such others.

'A judge in England may send a man to the 1st or 2nd Division by adjusting punishment to the nature of the offence and his character.

'Prisoners sentenced to a period of incarceration in the 1st and 2nd divisions have special privileges which do not fall to the lot of the ordinary prisoner of the 3rd division.

'In the first place, 1st division prisoners are kept apart from other classes of prisoners, and by the aid of a little money they can generally make things more comfortable for themselves.

'By the sanction of the visiting committee a first division prisoner may on payment of a small sum fixed by the prison commissioners, occupy a room or a cell specially fitted and furnished with a suitable bedding and other articles in addition to the ordinary furniture of the common cell, and furthermore if his taste is fastidious, he may, at his own cost, use his own private furniture and other utensils, subject, of course, to the approval of the Governor.

'The 1st division man is, moreover, not forced to attend to the cleaning of his room or the making of his bed, but he may give an assistant to perform any of these duties.'

LIQUOR ALLOWED IN JAIL

'Then he may spend his days in glorious idleness if he so desires. At his own expense, he can order in books and newspapers while he may refresh himself at intervals by drinking malt liquors, fermented liquors, cider or wine. During twenty-four hours, however, he must not drink more than one pint of the former and only half a pint of the latter.

'If he desires to work at his own trade, and he can obtain his own implements, he may lay up a fine "nest egg" for himself during his confinement, for should he be

maintaining himself in food which he is allowed to do, provided that it is not of a luxurious character, he receives the whole of his earnings on his release. On the other hand, if he is supplied with implements and is not maintaining himself, then the cost of the same is deducted from his earnings. Should a first division prisoner be employed on the industries of the prison he shall be entitled to earn such remission of sentence and gratuity as the rules allow.

'By being allowed to wear his clothes, another boon is conferred upon him, but should he forget where he is in residence the fact is forcibly brought home to him by only being allowed to receive visitors once a fortnight, and then they must come in a batch. He is only allowed to write one letter and receive one letter each fortnight but these privileges may be extended on application to the Visiting Committee.'

SECOND DIVISION PRISONERS

'The privileges allowed to 1st division prisoners are greatly modified in the case of those sentenced to serve in the 2nd division.

'While it is plainly stated in the rule that 1st division prisoners are to be kept apart from other classes of prisoners, the rule as regards 2nd division inmates is qualified by the phrase as far as possible.

'Then as regards food, while the 1st division prisoner can order in what he pleases, provided he pays for it, the offender in the 2nd division must take the favour provided by the prison authorities. If this period of imprisonment extends over four months, the quantities of food are slightly increased in the case of women and juvenile offenders.

'Then the 2nd division prisoner must do his own cleaning up, no hired assistance being allowed while he is afforded facilities for earning such remission of sentence and gratuity as the rules allowed by being employed at work of an industrial or manufacturing nature. He is not given his choice; he must work, which no doubt many will prefer to do as no newspapers, books, etc., are mentioned in the rules.

'While the 1st division offender is allowed to receive visits from friends at least

every fortnight, visits paid to the 2nd division men are restricted to one in each month, while he may only send or receive one letter during that period."

THE OTHER DIVISION

The term "3rd division" has evidently been used in recent cases to distinguish between the sentences. As all prisoners sentenced to serve in it have to conform to the ordinary prison rules, no special privileges being allowed over and above the provisions made for them, 1st and 2nd division offenders must conform to the 3rd division. "The complete separation of the first offenders from the habitual criminals which commenced in 1897-98 by the establishment of the 'Star Class,' is rapidly stepping what may be called the manufacture of criminals by the state of manufacture which not many years ago was one of the most flourishing industries in the country."

The writer speaks of the "Star Class" in the following terms:

"In our convict prisons there exists a very excellent plan entirely in accordance with rational principles of forming what is called a "star class of convicts," that is a "special class of those not versed in crime." The authorities "cannot speak too highly of the general tone and behaviour" of those men, "their decidedly good disposition," "keen anxiety to gain a knowledge of some sort of trade," sense of "the moral degradation in which they have placed themselves," etc. Their industry and freedom from prison offences are so marked and the special reports on the subject have been so uniformly to the same effect, that it is no longer necessary to call for such reports."

A MENACE TO SOCIETY

It is now an established fact "that modern prison with its momentous routine of solitary confinement, varied by bad company is fruitful of nothing but disaster to the prisoner and to the society on which he is to set loose, such mitigation of its influence as may be found is chiefly due to voluntary charitable agency," and 'the prison is an incubator for those who are young in crime, a place of torture for those who possess the finer feel-

ings of humanity, that is precisely the class of people, usually who ought not to be sent to prison; but to habitual offenders, the confirmed recidivists, precisely the class of people on whom the prison ought to work as at once a reforming and deterring influence, it is simply a welcome and comfortable home.'

If the Government had only introduced the classification of the English prison system, this question of special division would not have risen and a lot of trouble and suffering would have been avoided.

Though they would not abolish the baneful convict-warder system which is prohibited in English prisons by the rule that no convict should be placed in authority over another convict or separate the offence of a governor or superintendent from that of the prison doctor, in the administration of an Indian prison, they have introduced some of the wholesome changes made in the English prisons.

They have established reformatories, Borstal schools, and some classification of prisoners regarding diet, and are trying to keep the habituels separate from casuals.

If they had only introduced the English classification of prisoners into three divisions described above and followed a similar method of treatment, there would not have been much room now for complaint.

RACIAL DISTINCTIONS

Racial distinctions made in Indian prisons add to the public resentment which is widespread and intense.

'The prison as formerly established' we are told by the competent authorities, 'was based on the now explored idea' that the crime is an abstract and uniform entity, the special characteristics of the criminal himself being a negligible quantity, thus the prison was not adapted for individualisation or even the classification of criminals.' It is now recognised 'that all treatment of offenders must so far as possible be individualised and directed not so much towards the crime as towards the criminal.'

The Government have by the force of events thought of introducing in India a special division and the local government have made their rules. The Madras rules are

good enough except where they would confine the selection to people sentenced to simple imprisonment regard being used to the status, education and character of the prisoner with the remark that regard may also be had to the nature of the offence committed. The rule needs modification.

I would place under the special division all people convicted of offences which do not involve moral turpitude and sentenced either to simple or rigorous imprisonment, of course, regard being had to the status, education and character of the prisoners, as entitled to special treatment. Where prisoners are convicted of offences which may be technically construed to involve moral turpitude such as usually occur in the village among ryots in the assertion of right for produce of lands, it should be left to the convicting magistrate or judge to decide.

Whenever a prisoner feels aggrieved at the order of the magistrate or judge refusing to place him under the special division, he should have the right of appealing to the Government, through the District Magistrate.

I think the Madras rules regarding accommodation, clothing, newspaper, interviews, performance of menial duties, furniture, private cooking and eating vessels, may be improved in the light of explicit Bengal rules Nos. 3 and 15. Rule 3 says, 'the cells allotted to special class prisoners shall contain as their normal equipment, a chair and a table, a light for use at night till 10 p.m., enamelled feeding utensils, one or two blankets, as may be required, and a mosquito net. In addition to this equipment the prisoner may provide, at his own expense, such other furniture, bedding and utensils as the superintendent may approve as consistent with his ordinary habits and the accommodation of the jail.'

Again Bengal Rule 15 lays down 'Separate latrine accommodation shall, if possible, be allotted to special class prisoners. Prisoners may, however, provide a chamber pot and a commode at their own expense.'

Bengal Rule 17 regarding latrine parade is perhaps meant for ordinary prisoners. They need sympathetic revision. It is laid down that every latrine should contain compartments in the proportion of 1 to 6 of the

number of prisoners to use it, and the washing place contiguous to each latrine shall have one compartment to every four latrine seats. It means that six persons should sit side by side and ease themselves without, and it is sure to shock and kill finer feelings of decency. The time of 5 minutes allowed is too short to be satisfactory even for a young and healthy person.

REPELLENT TO INDIAN SENTIMENT

Bengal Rule 18 provides separate bathing places for special class prisoners 'if necessary.' It adds, the prisoners will go in batches. This may apply to the ordinary prisoners. Even then, they become 'cattle' to borrow the expressive phraseology of Jhabwala the Meerut state prisoner as they are obliged to bathe within a given time stark naked which is repellent to Indian sentiments.

The rules of classification of prisoners in Bihar and Orissa appear to be reasonable. They separate all persons convicted of political offences from ordinary prisoners. Rule 4 lays down that it must be clearly understood that every prisoner sentenced to rigorous imprisonment and every prisoner sentenced to simple imprisonment on whose descriptive roll the words 'Special Division Prisoners' have not been entered will undergo rigorous or simple imprisonment, as the case may be, in accordance with the jail code. It is clear that prisoners sentenced to rigorous imprisonment, may be classified as 'Special Division Prisoners.' This should be provided in the rules of other provinces also.

ESCORTING OF PRISONERS

Escorting prisoners in public highways and bazars, especially under-trial prisoners hand-cuffed on foot with guns and swords should be avoided. It is a grim parade. The habitual will not feel it, but it will be a torture for prisoners of finer feelings and bitter trial to relations and friends and in these days of political ferment the sight will excite public sympathy for the prisoners and resentment against the Government and very often tends to make heroes of the prisoners.

I may perhaps refer to one or two instances relating to female prisoners who

are escorted and guarded by men, and when they are convicted, they are escorted by men to Central and District Jails. There must be a female warder in each Sub-Jail and a female warder should accompany a female convict when she is escorted to a prison.

Cases of outrages in the Sub-Jails and outrages while being escorted by policemen are not altogether unknown. There was a suicide of a woman prisoner by drowning in order to escape from the intended outrage by police escort. Why? It is on

Government record that a woman prisoner in a Central Jail was found to have become pregnant long after she was in Jail.

I would conclude my observations with my conviction that the present prevailing British system of dividing prisoners into three divisions should be introduced in Indian prisons. There will not be much room then for public complaint or criticism. There is no question of their unsuitability to the Indian climate or temperament as the political institutions are said to be.

THE PROBLEM OF THE INDIAN STATES

By MR. A. RAMAIIYA, M.A., F.R.E.S.

FROM the point of view of the political future of India no problem is more baffling to the Indian politician or the British administrator than the place the States should occupy in the future constitution of India. Unlike other countries the peculiar difficulty with regard to India is that we have here to bring together and harmonise two entirely different systems of government and administration, that of British India where the administration is carried on strictly constitutional lines, and with the development of self-governing institutions, steady progress is made towards responsible government, and that of the states where the characteristic feature of the administration is the personal rule of the princes whose "rights, privileges and dignities" are guaranteed to them by the British Crown, the acknowledged suzerain over the whole of India. Geographically the country is one indivisible whole and the peoples are all bound to one another by the closest ties of family, race, religion, and culture, and only separated by artificial political barriers which do not however stand in the way of social and commercial intercourse or the exchange of ideas. Under such circumstances it is inevitable that the people of the states who are fired by the same ambitions and aspirations as the people of British India

should be affected by the gradual advance of the latter towards responsible government.

When, in May, 1927, a representative group of the Indian princes asked for the appointment of a special committee to examine "the relationship existing between themselves and the Paramount Power and to suggest means for securing effective consultation and co-operation between British India and the Indian States and for the settlement of differences," it was expected both by the people of British India and the 'subjects' of the States that, if any inquiry should be directed it would include not only an examination of these things which the princes wanted, but also a survey of the general character of the administration that prevailed in the various states and a recommendation as to the feasibility of some sort of federal union between the States and British India, as prognosticated by the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. But the terms of reference of the actual committee that was appointed were very narrow in their scope and did not even touch some of the vital issues in the case. The terms were: "(1) to report upon the relationship between the Paramount Power and the Indian States with particular reference to the rights and obligations arising from (a) treaties, engagements and sanads, and (b) usage, sufferance

and other causes; and (2) to inquire into the financial and economic relations between British India and the States, and to make any recommendations that the committee may consider desirable or necessary for their more satisfactory adjustment."

It will be seen from this that neither the character of the administration in the states nor their future political relations with British India were specifically directed to be inquired into by the committee. Of course the committee might by a liberal construction of their terms of reference have inquired into these matters also, but far from doing so they went to the other extreme of taking a rather too narrow view of their task, and treating the states as for all purposes identical with the princes confined themselves to an enquiry merely into the legal position of the princes and the economic and financial claims advanced by them on behalf of the states against British India. By doing so, they declined to hear any others than the princes with regard to the subject-matter of their inquiry and thus denied themselves the opportunity of ascertaining the views of the people of the States and British India on the important questions raised before them. Whatever might have been their reason for taking that course so far as the inquiry related to reporting on the relationship between the princes and the British Crown, there was absolutely no justification for shutting out evidence in connection with the fiscal issue, as any recommendations of theirs in this connection would affect British India also. The report of the committee on this subject which is evidently based on their own personal views and the *ex-parte* representations made on behalf of some of the princes will not therefore be binding on British India and would seem to require revision under a fuller inquiry. In fact the committee themselves have recognised the intricate nature of the questions involved and recommended their investigation by an expert body. They say: "We recommend that an expert body should be appointed to enquire into (1) the reasonable claims of the state or group of states to a share in the customs revenue, and (2) the adequacy of their contribution to imperial burdens." Though they want only the customs duties and the

burden of defence expenditure to be investigated it will be fair for all concerned if the other matters of common concern are also examined by the expert body instead of the parties affected relying on the report of a committee, made without a full or proper investigation.

With regard to the other subject investigated by the committee, *viz.*, the relationship between the princes and the Paramount Power, it must be admitted that the report contains a very able and well-reasoned analysis free from all political prejudices. Their main conclusions are: (1) the British Crown acting through the Secretary of State and the Governor-General-in-Council for India, is supreme over the whole of India; (2) while ordinarily the states enjoy a large measure of independence in respect of their internal affairs, there is and can be no limitation on the right of intervention of the Paramount Power in all affairs, which will have to "exercise the functions of paramountcy in accordance with changing political, social and economic conditions." As a corollary to this right, there is a duty on the part of the Paramount Power both to protect the princes against rebellion or insurrection on the part of their subjects and at the same time to insist on the princes remedying legitimate grievances of their subjects even to the extent of asking them to introduce constitutional reforms.

A doubt had been recently raised by the Nizam of Hyderabad as to the exact relationship in which a prince like him stood to the Paramount Power; and though the extravagance of his claims was completely repudiated by Lord Reading as head of the Government of India in conjunction with the Secretary of State for India, there was a feeling among the princes as a body that their legal position should be examined by an impartial committee of inquiry. It was well for India that the committee which was appointed was able to come to the same conclusions as Lord Reading in his reply to the Nizam.

Though the specific term of reference to the committee called for a report upon "the relationship between the Paramount Power and the States," it is a matter for surprise that the committee should have simply identified the states with the interests of the princes and declined to inquire into the conditions of

administration and progress of the various states. They say in their report "it was quite clear that our terms of reference did not cover an investigation of their (the states' peoples') alleged grievances and we declined to hear them." But to an impartial reader it must appear that such an interpretation is unduly strained and unjustified by the nature of the case. The whole history of the relationship between the princes and the paramount power discussed with admirable brevity and clarity in the report of the committee itself, shows that the paramount power is vitally interested no less in the proper internal administration of the states than in their external relations. The Viceroy's letter which is approvingly quoted there, states the position thus: "Misrule on the part of a Government which is upheld by the British Power is misrule in the responsibility for which the British Government becomes in a measure involved. It becomes therefore not only the right but the positive duty of the British Government to see that the administration of a state in such a condition is reformed and that gross abuses are removed . . . The immediate responsibility for the government of the state rests and must continue to rest upon the Gaekwar for the time being. He has been acknowledged as the sovereign of Baroda and he is responsible for exercising his sovereign powers with proper regard to his duties and obligations alike to the British Government and to his subjects. If these obligations be not fulfilled, if gross misgovernment be permitted, if substantial justice be not done to the subjects of the Baroda State, if life and property be not protected, or if the general welfare of the people and country be persistently neglected the British Government will assuredly intervene in the manner which in its judgment may be best calculated to remove these evils and to secure good government."

It cannot be said that the states possess except in a few cases modern systems of administration, and the committee themselves recognise that in many of them even the rudiments of good government are wanting. The grievances of the states' peoples ventilated in their written statements submitted to the committee show in unequivocal terms

that, judged by modern standards of civilised administration there is nothing but misrule or rather absence of good government in most of the states. The paramount power having been recognised to be responsible, ultimately though it may be, for the general welfare of the states, it was incumbent on the committee to have ascertained and reported on the character of the administration that prevailed in the various states. They say that in the course of their tours they endeavoured to do so, but they visited only fifteen states, and even there depended only on the information furnished to them by or on behalf of the ruler and did not listen to the representations of the subjects. The failure to acquaint themselves with the system or systems of administration prevailing in the states is a great defect in their inquiry, telling a good deal on the value of the report.

The famous announcement of 20th August, 1917, made by the late Mr. Montagu as Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons, stated, "the policy of His Majesty's Government with which the Government of India are in complete accord is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." The idea underlying the announcement was later on indicated in the Report on Constitutional Reforms to be based on the hope of the future formation of some sort of federal union of the whole of India. The report of the States Committee whose terms of reference did not, as we saw, cover the subject, would seem to go out of the way in para 58 in dictating as it were to the Simon Commission that no suggestion should be made with regard to the future constitution of India so as to comprise the states also.

One defect, very serious from the standpoint of the people of the states as well as British India, in the mode of investigation adopted by the committee, is that they viewed their business as a matter of personal concern of the princes, treated the states as their

personal estates, and did not recognise the existence of the people therein or their aspirations—an attitude utterly unjustified by modern political principles. The committee evidently did not perceive what their recommendations, if adopted, would lead to. Suppose the peoples agitate for constitutional monarchism within the states and federal union without. If the princes are unyielding and as a consequence rebellions break out and dispeace and disorder prevail in the states, is the British Government to take cudgels against the people and support the autocratic power of the princes? Or is it to investigate the grievances of the people and compel the princes to take to constitutional government and enter into federal relations with British India? The cry everywhere in the Indian States as evidenced by the states' peoples' conferences is that, misrule in the sense of arbitrary lawlessness on the part of the princes prevails in various states, and the Paramount Power should help the establishment of constitutional government in all of them and the formation of a pan-Indian federation or confederacy for the whole of India. The States Committee admit that there is an obligation on the part of the paramount power "to demand that the princes shall remedy legitimate grievances and to prescribe the measures necessary to this result." They also recognise that while the paramount power will be bound to protect the princes from attempts on the part of their subjects to eliminate them and substitute another form of government, it will be equally bound to suggest such measures as will satisfy the popular demand without eliminating the princes. This clearly admits the right of the states' peoples to have constitutional rule. But have the States Committee suggested any means to attain this? There is not a word in the report even advising the princes to adopt some sort of constitutional government. Their statement in the report that no case of popular demand for constitutional rule has yet arisen in the states is quite gratuitous, and contradicted by the loud cries of the states' peoples in their various conferences throughout India. Perhaps the committee want an open rebellion in each state to prove the popular claim. The

indifference of the committee in this respect is utterly un-British and unstatesmanlike, and exhibits ignorance of the actual influences at work.

It is imperative on the part of the British Government to see that at least the elements of constitutional government are adopted in all the states. The suzerain rights of the paramount power in this respect are unquestionable. The duty of protecting the princes from internal dangers carries with it also the duty of compelling them to remove the causes that give rise to such dangers. It is a defect of British responsibility that they should have so long allowed many of the Indian princes to have their own ways of governing their people in any manner they liked. It may be said that complaints of misrule are not heard, but the fact is ignored that the only way in which they can come to light is in many a state completely blocked by arbitrary exercise of the powers of confiscation of property, arrest, and punishments and the suppression of the press and freedom of movement. The British Power in India, including its political agencies localised in some of the states, is entirely in the dark as to what is being done by way of "Palace policy" in each state. Information as to the actual experience of life in the states goes to show that even in some of the so-called progressive states with constitutional forms of government, justice in many cases is bought and sold, imprisonments resorted to at the pleasure of the ruler without regard to the apparent legal system nominally in existence, *nazrs* and other illegal exactions levied in the form of compulsory gifts, public servants including judicial officers appointed and forced to resign their offices at pleasure, and many other acts of arbitrary rule and tyrannical conduct too numerous to be detailed here are resorted to in the ordinary course of administration. When even in the progressive states, the state of things is thus unhappy, it needs only imagination to conceive the gloom and unhappiness that prevail in those in which modern methods of administration have not even been adopted in name. The first duty therefore of the British Power in India is to insist upon the establishment of

a form of constitutional monarchy in all the states, which will guarantee to their people a system of administration in par with, if not superior to, the system obtaining in British India. The paramountcy of the British Crown necessarily extends to the discharge of this duty when it is admitted to extend to protecting the princes from molestation by their subjects.

The problem of immediate importance for India as a whole is not so much the grant of further responsible government to British India though that is the objective towards which efforts must be directed, as the establishment of proper political relations between the two Indias. It is a great defect of Indian politicians that they do not devote sufficient attention to this aspect of Indian politics. The Nehru Report of Indian constitutional reform submitted to the Indian All-Parties Conference proceeds no further than barely mentioning that the future constitution of India should be of the federal type. No practical suggestions are given for the framing of a federal constitution with due regard to the varied political, economic and social conditions of the states and the place the princes should occupy in it. To simply ignore the princes is not practical politics. A really useful inquiry might have been undertaken either by the Statutory Commission or the States Committee, but neither has been asked to undertake the task, with the result that the relations between British India and the states are left completely uninvestigated.

India is a geographical whole and British India consisting of about two-thirds of the country has been brought together, thanks to British rule, into a political whole. The Indian states roughly occupy the remaining one-third of the territory and their varied size and character are simply amazing. They extend from Hyderabad with an area of 82,000 sq. miles, a population of $12\frac{1}{2}$ millions and a revenue of $6\frac{1}{2}$ crores of rupees to minute holdings of a few acres in extent and yielding an income of a few hundred rupees. There are on the whole 562 states of which about 60 % are mere states and jagirs, 108 are given the right of representation in the Chamber of Princes in their own right, and

about 127 elect 12 representatives to represent them in the Chamber. Some of them are economically, politically and administratively advanced while others are patriarchal or feudal in character, still lingering in a mediæval atmosphere. The only feature common to them all is that they are outside British India. It is really a baffling problem to bring these heterogeneous parts into some sort of political union with British India. So long as the princes exist (and in justice to them it must be said that they have a right to exist) it is unthinkable that the whole of India can be brought together under any kind of unitary government. The federal idea, therefore, naturally suggests itself both to the amateur and the professional politician. Even here the difficulty is how to adjust the relations satisfactorily to both British India and the numerous states. Until some sort of constitutional government is established in all the states there will be no effective representation of them all in any All-India legislative body that will have necessarily to be established for dealing with matters of common concern for the whole of India. Whether the states are reformed within or not, it is not however necessary to wait. The first step towards a federation of India may now be taken by the establishment of an All-India Federal Council or Central Council (by whatever name we call it) for dealing with all subjects of common concern for British India and the states, for example, customs, tariff, defence, posts and telegraphs, currency, etc. It will have to be a representative body consisting of representatives of both houses of the British Indian Legislature and representatives from the states (who may be either the princes themselves or their deputies at their discretion, or where legislative councils existed, representatives elected by such councils). In apportioning the number of members there is however a special difficulty on account of the fact that British India consists of two-thirds of the territory and four-fifths the population of the whole of India, and any representation given to British India on the basis of either population or area will only mean that she will have a permanent majority in such Council and thus defeat the very object of an All-India Legislature which is

intended to give effective representation to the various states besides British India, in matters of All-India concern. The best course will be to give to British India a fixed representation of, say, 40 % and distribute the remaining 60 % among the states on a combined basis of population and political importance. With regard to the smaller states the same procedure may be adopted for their representation as is now followed for the representation of their rulers in the Chamber of Princes. This proposal does not involve the abolition of the Chamber of Princes which may continue to exist if the princes so desire, for safeguarding the privileges, rights and dignities of their class, and for otherwise furthering their personal interests. Further as the States Committee have recommended, a small Executive Committee representative of both the states and British India and responsible to the All-India Legislature, may also be created for administering All-India matters, in the same way as the Executive Council of the Government of India is now functioning for British India.

This first step towards a federation of India should not be taken in the interests of the whole of India, whether the princes will consent or not. The Paramount Power as trustee for the good government of the whole country, has the undoubted right and duty to help the formation of a united India. The princes cannot possibly have any objection

to this, if they recognise the modern fact (unfortunately unrecognised by a good many of their order) that the government of the states as well as of every other country in the world, exists primarily for the good of their subjects and not for their own personal benefit. The only way in which they can be made to realise this position is by compelling them to establish constitutional government in their states, and bringing the states into closer union with one another and with British India, by the creation of a pan-Indian legislative and executive organisation to deal with matters of common concern for the whole of India.

Since writing the above, the Indian Statutory Commission has been empowered to examine also the methods by which the relationship between the two Indias may be adjusted, and make recommendations as to the best way in which the States can be reconciled with a constitutionally advanced British India. But the Report of the Commission will necessarily be defective in this respect, inasmuch as no fresh evidence is to be taken or enquiry made in this connection, and as the commission is to arrive at conclusions based on their own pet views and on the material already gathered without reference to this subject. Hope will therefore lie only in the promised joint conference and not in the opinionated suggestions of the Simon Commission or the narrow views of the Butler Committee.

THE MISSING LINK

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

EVOOLUTION as a method of progress and the gradual development of species and genera is now an accepted doctrine and not open to challenge. The Origin of Species and the Descent of Man as propounded by Charles Darwin are also scientific conclusions deduced from an array of facts and a marshalling of evidence that cannot be lightly set aside by any seriously-minded person. If

Darwin's theory is to be successfully opposed there must be a great mass of irrefragable evidence behind the argument. The Bible or any holy book of any religion must be revered, but it is not scientific evidence. When it is said that God made man in his own image it is a beautiful figure of speech, but it is either allegorical or rhetorical, because God has no image and

he does not make anything. When it is asserted that God made the universe it is meant that the laws of God made the universe. As a logical inference from the evidence patiently collected by Darwin he came to the conclusion that man is descended from a creature midway between an anthropoid ape and a human being.

That is the Missing Link. For many years people never tired of speaking of it and even searching for it. To orthodox religious people such an outrageous theory was scarcely short of *lese-majeste* for man claims almost a divine origin from their point of view, and the foulest abuse of a man is to call him a monkey. Still the humour of this startling theory, though very humiliating to those who styled themselves the lords of creation, had a fascinating appeal and the quest for the Missing Link went on with unabated zeal for fully a generation. It was not appreciated that if such a link existed it snapped and was lost very long ago and cannot be found. Scarcely two years ago it was quite seriously proposed to attempt to forge the missing link afresh, and thus bridge over the gulf between man and his very remote ancestor. It was proposed that a body of scientists should penetrate the heart of Africa and carry on experiments abhorrent to every sense of decency but perfectly legitimate from a scientific point of view. The idea was to capture alive full grown female specimens of the gorilla, the chimpanzee and any other large anthropoid apes, impregnate them artificially with the active sperm of man, and keep them in captivity to watch the result. It was even stated that the gorilla resembled the negroid type of the human race and the chimpanzee approximated closer to the European type of humanity. It was never suggested to reverse the experiment for it would have been both impractical and criminal. The ingenious scientists who mooted this proposal doubtless thought that the experiment, if successful, would discover the Missing Link. Nothing further was heard on this subject, and it is not known whether the proposal was vetoed and snuffed out by the authorities, or the failure of the experiment was anticipated and hence it was abandoned.

In all probability, such an experiment would produce no result, and even if successful it would bring forth a monster incapable of reproducing a progeny. At best, it would be a hybrid and, as such, sterile.

If man thought more of others and less of himself he would realise that, admitting the truth of the Darwinian theory there must be a thousand missing links if there is one. If every link of the chain that makes the origin of species a complete and unbroken whole were intact there would be living specimens of every form of life since the beginning of creation, but we know for a positive fact that this is not so. There is death for the species as well as the individual. This old world holds the living along with the dead. Races of men have perished and become extinct as surely as creatures of a lower order of intelligence. If it is held that the elephant has been evolved from the pig it is difficult to say which first came into existence. According to ancient Aryan mythology one of the earlier incarnations of Vishnu was a boar that ripped up the earth and held it suspended upon its monstrous tusk. That might have been a mere figment of the restless imagination of the ancients, but the earth has yielded up from its bowels the fossilised remains of huge creatures which shook the earth with their footsteps, or wallowed in the slime of the receding sea in the hoary centuries of the past. The mammoth and the mastodon, the giant ancestors of the elephant, the megatherium, the pterodactyl, the dinosaur and the dinothorium were all creatures of a huge bulk, and their size can only be reconstructed and imagined from their skeletons. Even among birds the dodo and the great ank and several other species are extinct. All around us the links are snapped and missing, and we merely pick up the chain to find that it leads nowhere.

Each section of created life has a distinct place by itself. There are certain species between which interbreeding is possible, but the process of procreation can be carried no further, because hybrids do not breed. That useful and sturdy animal, the mule, has a donkey stallion and an equine mare for its parents, but mules have never been

known to foal. There was wild excitement once when a story got abroad that a mule mare had foaled in Patiala, but enquiry proved that it was nothing more than a mare's nest. Animals and birds may be improved by cross-breeding, but nature draws the line at hybrids, which cannot propagate their own species. There was a cross between a tiger and a lioness at Jamnagar in Kathiawar, but it is merely a freak and not the progenitor of a new family. All hybrids, male and female, are invariably barren. Not only is life a mystery but the creation of so many multiple forms of life is a baffling mystery. The doctrine of the evolution of various manifestations of life may be sound in theory but it is not capable of practical demonstration, nor is it possible to trace back the beginning of all life to its ultimate source. The bare statement that man is descended from an anthropoid ape does not clinch the matter, for the ape must have had its own ancestry and the origin of the first progenitor must inevitably remain shrouded in mystery. The simpler creed of direct creation of man by the Maker of all things and the later creation of woman as the bone of his bone and the flesh of his flesh may be opposed to all physiological laws, but it is certainly less complex than inquiry and speculation that can yield no final and definite results.

The one positive truth remains that the human species, scattered all over the world, is one, and if the different races were so minded mixed races could spring up in every continent. Such mixtures have taken place everywhere but not to such an extent as to produce a new race. The West Indians, the quadroons and octroons, the Eurasians in Burma and India are all of mixed descent; so are most of the population of Asia and Europe. The claim of superiority by any race over any other may be based on intellectual and other grounds, but when one comes to the bedrock of anatomy and physiology the Andamite, the Pigmy of the African forest and the Bushman have precisely the same physical constitution as the highly organised European, and they can interbreed and multiply without any difficulty. The contempt of the white for the black does not at all

make him a higher being for all men belong to the genus *homo*, and there can be scarcely any doubt that they had a common ancestry climate, surroundings, conditions of life and other causes have divided the human family into different races but the original constitution is the same and the link that unites the human race is stronger than the elusive and missing link of the ape-man ancestor.

The other theory of the Survival of the fittest must also be accepted with reservations. For fittest read strongest and it will be nearer the mark, for fitness alone implies other qualities besides strength. There may be instances in which the frail may be fitter to survive than the ferocious. Primarily, of course, the law among all living creatures is for the strong to prey upon and destroy the weak. The instinct of the cannibal who feasted upon his vanquished victim is in hard reality no more repulsive than the cannibalism of the eagle and the tiger, though the distinction is in favour of the bird and the beast rather than the man, for dog does not eat dog, nor the tiger another tiger that it kills in a duel. Man cannot be more savage than a savage animal or bird, but man has been known to eat man as fish eat fish and snakes eat snakes. For the rest, the extirpation of one human race by another does not indicate that one is always superior to the other. The doctrine of the survival of the fittest takes no account of qualities other than physical and intellectual. The Jews were ruled and oppressed by both Egyptians and Romans, who, according to the prevailing standard of fitness, were superior to the Jews. As a ruling race the supremacy of the Jews was sandwiched between the fall of the Egyptians and the rise of the Romans. The Egyptians and the Romans have disappeared but the Jews have survived to this day. Tested by time fitness is a comparative quality and decadence is the lot of even the fittest. When the Gauls overran Rome the Romans had become feeble and enervated, but even then they were intellectually superior to the barbarians. Apart from the struggle for existence the progressive movement cannot be perpetually maintained by any race. In course of time a race that survives the

original ancestral race is not fitter than the older race. For instance, the modern Greeks and Italians cannot for a moment be compared with the ancient Greeks and Romans, nor are the Copts and the Fellahin the inheritors of the destiny of the ancient Egyptians. Even the fact that a race rules over another does not make the ruling race superior to the ruled in all respects. The present rulers of India are certainly inferior to the ruled in spiritual powers. This doctrine of the survival of the fittest is misleading if it conveys the impression that the constant struggle that is going on will result in the emergence of races of men and genera of animals always superior to those that have been displaced or exterminated. There is a law more potent than the law of struggle and that is the tidal phenomenon among all living beings, the inevitable rise and fall among the most advanced human races, and the dead inertia of stagnation and lack of movement among the lower races of men. The Bheels and the Gonds and the Santhals were here when the Aryans came, and they are almost precisely where they were four or five thousand years ago. They have survived not because of their

fitness but because of their immovable inertia. Had they come in contact with another civilisation like the Maoris and the North American Indians they would have been long ago exterminated by the 'firewater' and the 'thunder tubes' of the invaders. In India the primitive inhabitants were let alone, elsewhere they have been wiped out. On the other side of the picture we see that nations which vaunted most of their greatness and prowess have become either decadent or extinct. The qualities that make for the longest survival are not wholly comprehended in the European conception of fitness. India is not quite like the nations of the west, but India has not only survived but is well on the way to a fresh rise to power and individual existence. The real danger here is the too close approximation to western ideals, for that means ultimate extinction. Greece and Rome still dominate the whole of Europe and America, and Greece and Rome have not survived. If it were possible to ally intellectualism with spiritualism then alone a nation can have a fairly long lease of life through the ups and downs of fortune.

THE EURASIAN PROBLEM AND ITS SOLUTION

By Mr. CEDRIC DOVER

MR. KENNETH E. WALLACE accuses me of 'close collaboration' in the production of his recent book on the Eurasian Problem.* Conventional modesty therefore should prevent me from reviewing it. But, apart from the fact that I am not conventionally modest, in this particular case I am not offending the dictates of what people are accustomed to call 'good taste.' For, though I have had the pleasure to be of some assistance to Mr. Wallace, it could hardly be said that my collaboration was close, or

that I have revised the book with 'meticulous care.' Those diligent reviewers who find in Mr. Wallace's book the few misprints which occur will please remember this!

With this prelude let me deal with the book itself. I think it is the finest book on the Eurasian Problem that has yet been written. From the viewpoint of printing, (which was done by an Indian press—the Modern Art Press, Calcutta) it is as near perfect as a book published in India could be. From the viewpoint of subject matter, I

* *The Eurasian Problem: Constructively approached.* By Kenneth E. Wallace, with a Foreword by Lt.-Col. A. A. E. Baptist, M. B. E., and Appendices by Cedric Dover, Thacker Spink & Co., Calcutta, 1930. Pages 1 to 176 and I to XIII. Price Rs. 2/4.

can sincerely say that no vital aspect of the Eurasian problem has been left untouched within its covers. Mr. Wallace's name will go down in Eurasian history as that of the first Eurasian to write a detailed work on the community and its needs from the viewpoint of "constructive idealism." Moreover, he sees the community clearly and he sees them whole—and the only way in which the community can be seen clearly and whole is as a social unit throughout the East. Those who know the trend of the world today will understand what I mean. They will realise that the Eurasians are the real harbingers of internationalism; that "in this new Eurasian race lies the peace and development of the world, and a security of the kind that the League of Nations could never give." I will not waste time on those who do not realise this: they have my sympathies.

The arrangement of the book is practically faultless, but a certain amount of "padding" could have been removed with advantage. It opens with a description, which is a little too involved and rhetorical perhaps, of the people, the three chapters which follow being more or less devoted to a discussion of the interactions of pride and prejudice and the need for psychological adjustment. Mr. Wallace points out how much the community has been maligned by ignorant Europeans and quotes the opinion of Canon Cole who wrote: "In wading through what has been written about Eurasians, what strikes me very much is the ingenuity in word and phrase which has been expended in describing the dreadfulness of their characters. Surely if anyone's wickednesses have been clearly and artistically explained to him, it is the unfortunate Eurasian's."

In analysing the peculiar complex caused by the inter-action of pride and prejudice in the Eurasians of India, Mr. Wallace writes: "A natural desire to be on the side of the dominating people gave rise to a pride in European descent and at the same time fostered a prejudice against Indian descent, the cue being taken from the ruling people. From this state of mind a number of complexes follow: first, an anxiety to overlook Indian blood and a conceit that Indians are necessarily inferior; second, a blind loyalty to the

European that has stood the test of the most unjust treatment at his hands, or received in return the half-loaf that has really only served to emasculate the community by encouraging an attitude of dependence; and third, no small resentment against the European, when, in view of this traditional dependence, the latter fails to help as the Anglo-Indian thinks he should. There is, therefore, on the one hand a tendency to hate the Indians, and on the other a turmoil between dependence on, and resentment against, the European. On his part, the Indian reciprocates the hatred against him, while the European generally learns to despise the Anglo-Indian. When the attitude of the European is coupled with the constant assertion or implication of superiority, a distressful inferiority complex results in the Anglo-Indian. The same remarks apply in greater or lesser degree to Eurasians throughout the East." And Mr. Wallace rightly asserts that "No man whose mind is not rightly ordered can hope for success. No people that is psychologically muddled can hope for success."

In pointing out how Eurasians may build in themselves a rightful pride, Mr. Wallace says: "It must be constantly emphasised that, while there is much to be proud of in Western civilisation, the ancient civilisation of the East is also something of which Eurasians may well be proud. A greater knowledge of Eastern civilisation requires to be given; acquaintance with Eastern literature (even through the medium of translations) and philosophy requires to be inculcated, to balance the otherwise preponderating, and not always commandable, influences of the West. A sound knowledge of their own history is essential, for it would show Eurasians that, even in a short historical existence, they have gathered great traditions that merit the respect of others. It would also show that the stigma of bastardy loses its sting when it is recalled that European alliances with Eastern women in other days generally had the sanction of society."

As a biologist myself, I am particularly gratified that Mr. Wallace believes that "from the biological standpoint too (and this knowledge is very essential to Eurasians)

it is evident that the contemptuous term half-caste is in reality a compliment..." And he is right when he says that "it has even been claimed that mixed bloods are not only not intrinsically inferior to the so-called pure races but are at least potentially superior—since greater adaptability is always a proof of superiority—to them..."

There is abundant scientific evidence to prove the superiority of mixed or hybrid peoples. Quite recently, for example, Dr. Shapiro made an elaborate anthropological and ethnological study (*Memoirs of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum*, XI, No. 1, Honolulu, 1929) of the Pitcairn and Norfolk Islanders, who are the hybrid descendants of the mutineers of the 'Bounty.' In summarising his work he says: "This study of race mixture on the whole rather definitely shows that the crossing of two fairly divergent groups leads to physical vigor and exuberance which equals if not surpasses either parent stock... This conclusion regarding the physical vigor of the Norfolk hybrids applies also to their social structure, which on Pitcairn was not only superior to the society instituted by the Englishmen themselves, but also contained elements of successful originality and adaptability." Dr. Shapiro's Memoir is therefore yet another proof of Lord Oliver's contention (which Mr. Wallace quotes) that a half-caste is "potentially a more competent vehicle of humanity."

The fourth chapter, which concludes the psychological study of Eurasians, presents a plea for the adoption of the term Eurasian, which only a few years ago was officially relinquished for that of the illogical pseudonym Anglo-Indian—a name still used more or less only in the official despatches of the Government of India and by the Eurasians of India themselves. Those who need proof of this statement have only to read recent books on India, those by Indian such as C. S. Ranga lyer not excepted, while even in the daily press, both bureaucratic and nationalistic, they will find that the term Anglo-Indian is still restricted to the members of European society in India. And even those who do adopt the term Anglo-Indian with reference to Eurasians effect the insulting compromise of adding the words 'new style' in parenthesis after it!

A good deal of space has been devoted in the book to this nomenclatorial discussion, and Mr. Wallace has also reprinted an article of mine on the same subject. What importance attaches to a name (asks Mr. Wallace) to merit so much discussion?—and provides the answer himself. In a word, he points out that the adoption of a filched cognomen by the Eurasian community in India is an effect of the psychological muddle which he discusses, and that the first essential to the readjustment of the Eurasian mentality is the adoption of a logical and universally descriptive name, which will include those mixed bloods who have descended from Asiatic fathers. He says truly that "the term Eurasian has by now lost much of the odium that clung to it and it remains with us to destroy it altogether," and he concludes a very straightforward discussion with these stirring words: "I am accordingly convinced that, from the psychological standpoint and any other standpoint, except that of tentative parochial politics and egotism, it is far better for the Anglo-Indian to revert to the name Eurasian, and in taking his stand with the rest of the large and increasing Eurasian race to form with them a grand confederation of Mixed Races of Europe and Asia—a confederation whose motto will be 'Onward, and ever onwards.'"

Having prepared his readers for the assimilation of really constructive suggestions, Mr. Wallace proceeds to give them the mental food they require. He discusses education—and education as modern educationists understand it—not only in the school and university but in the home as well. And he demands a real effort on the part of parents "to keep abreast of the times if the child is to have a safe guide, philosopher and friend rather than a heavy-handed father or a nagging mother. Parents must read more, an exertion which should not be too difficult. They should endeavour to see more of the world outside their homes; they should meet more people; they should, in short, take every opportunity of enlarging their minds. Militant advocates of reform among us suggest more energetic methods than this mere exhortation to effort—methods such as the distribution of tracts, house-visiting and

public lectures on matters of domestic concern, and there is certainly ample scope for social workers of this type."

Mr. Wallace's suggestions for the proper education of the community are so numerous that it is impossible to deal with them here, but I may say that they follow the best principles of modern thought. It is only natural therefore that he should incline to the belief that education should be free from religious interference and that secular instruction is incomparably superior to that imparted by sectarian institutions. He expresses the opinion that "the zeal of our religious schools often degenerates into mere child-grabbing and the expenditure of too much time on religious instructions and observances—time which might be more usefully employed in other directions. In fact, their natural tendency is to sacrifice catholicity of view to narrow religious dogmas—and the bigoted Eurasian is the result."

He feels that "It should not be too difficult, at least in the more liberal religious schools, for them to relegate the mystical side of their curriculum to Sunday classes, and other extra-school discourses, as is done in the United States." And he believes that "the ideal should be the secular school, with morals substituting religious instruction—an ideal which Japan has fortunately attained." I may add, for the benefit of those who are impressed by the opinions of official committees, that the educational views expressed by Mr. Wallace are more or less supported by the Hartog Committee's report on education in India, which he has very ably summarised in the last appendix to his book.

Having discussed the sort of education which Eurasians need, Mr. Wallace goes on to describe the means by which we may not only secure that education but alleviate our immediate economic distress. His views are not original; they are more than that. They are strictly commonsense views—the views in condensed form of a generation of sound economic and bio-sociological thinkers.

He admits frankly that "the immediate distress of the present unemployed cannot perhaps be completely alleviated, for even England has not been able to solve her unemployment problem, but we need not aban-

don hope." So he describes the various methods, mostly of a co-operative nature, by which the unemployed who are still employable may be trained to take their proper place in the social scheme. He recognises that "political factors must also be considered," and rightly points out that "the success of the community lies in sympathy and co-operation with other communities...and a realisation of themselves as people of the country, co-sharers in its tribulations as well as in its fortunes. In this attitude will Eurasians find more assurance and security for the future than all that statutory safeguards—an acknowledged political error as any historian knows—may provide." And he adds significantly: "These are facts to which Eurasian politicians must be alive. Expensive political stunts and personal bickering are a waste of resources." So far as the conduct of Eurasian politicians in the legislatures in India are concerned, he remarks satirically but truthfully that "they seem to have nothing that can be called a policy, unless it be considered policy to be for the most part a silent annex of the European groups in the Councils and to vote with them in season and out. The future points to the need for more consistent tactics requiring Anglo-Indian representatives to attach themselves to parties of the country with clear-cut issues, to fight elections on these issues, and to take a lead in constructive legislation."

Other questions related to a radical improvement in the economic position of the community are not neglected by Mr. Wallace, the essence of his recommendations being the need for co-operative effort. It is recognised that this cannot perhaps "be regarded as a panacea for all the ailments that beset Eurasians, but it can accomplish a great deal as the experience of other countries shows." The usual methods of co-operative effort, such as insurance, co-operative societies, co-operative housing and living, and efficient labour organisations, are therefore discussed and shown to be really practicable.

The principle of co-operation is even extended by Mr. Wallace to educational improvement, but his most striking suggestion is the possibility of instituting a self-imposed

educational cess, for he realises that "granting the value of patriotism, it is nevertheless in the nature of men to try to evade their responsibilities and herein lies the weakness of any voluntary scheme that requires to be undertaken on an extensive scale. Some power to compel men to shoulder their responsibilities is, therefore, necessary." He recommends that the tax should be as light as possible, and thinks that the Eurasian community in India could easily bear a tax of three pies in the rupee, "which will yield an annual return of over half a crore of rupees." He is more optimistic than I am about the benefits which this sum of money would confer on the community, but there can be no denying that it would be the first step to economic independence. The Hartog Committee's report seems to show that the suggested cess would at least give the community free primary and secondary education—"a fact which is so striking that we should insist on the right of taxing ourselves."

Mr. Wallace is not content with applying the principles of co-operation merely to schemes of a purely communal nature. He devotes a chapter to the need for inter-communal co-operation, in which he pleads for the sympathy and encouragement of other communities in India. It is a legitimate plea—unlike so many of our Eurasian leaders, Mr. Wallace is no beggar. He accordingly concludes this chapter with these words: "But while we need help—while we ask for help—we do not want charity, the cold charity that leads to parasitism and emasculation. We do not want kindness vitiated by a patronising manner. If it is help we need, it is help we will repay; for the right type of help is co-operation and co-operation means mutual benefits and mutual progress. And even if we cannot be actively helped—we can at least always be given a square deal."

One of the most important chapters in the book is that on the women. For the fundamental improvement of any community depends on a radical improvement in the position and outlook of its women. I would wish that every Eurasian woman be given an opportunity to read this chapter: it should be widely broadcast. Our women will find that Mr. Wallace has many hard things to

say, many things even which they will regard as revolutionary and irreligious, but sooner or later they will learn that the things he says cannot be disputed. Mr. Wallace himself recognises that these modern tendencies "may be looked at askance by the older generation, who are often apt to forget that modernity and virtue are not incompatible." He points out that the defects of Eurasian women, as of Eurasian men, are attributable to inadequate education and blames the parents of Eurasian girls for having "no other ambition for their daughters than a smattering of the R's and a contracting of an early marriage... They seem to be obsessed (he continues) with the exploded idea that a woman's only place is the home, especially if it is a 'good' home, a home where their daughters may grow physically and mentally fat. They forget, or they do not realise, that an ill-educated woman is a burden on the community, that if she is deprived of parental control she invariably tends to marry at an early age when she is in every respect unfit for marriage, when her choice of a husband is usually a man as unfit as herself, a man who is incapable of assuming the responsibilities involved, or who finds later that she is a hindrance to his ambitions. More often she is induced to contract a mere *marriage de convenance*, but one way or the other the union usually turns out to be a *marriage d'inconvenance*."

But Mr. Wallace is not merely destructively critical. He presents a scheme for the education not only of girls but of those who have passed the school-going age. "For this purpose (he rightly says) we shall need propaganda, lectures on the efficient management of the home and care of children, and 'mothers clinics' and advisory bureaux which will give sound medical attention and advice. We must also have more opportunities for health-giving recreations; we must do more to encourage the recent interest in women's sport." All this, however, needs women workers "and in social work, which is not incompatible with marriage and proper attention to the home as so many women have proved, Eurasian women are unfortunately exceedingly backward." This criticism is regrettably true today. I sincerely hope

that no writer of the next generation will be able to quote it with equal truth.

With his remarks on women, Mr. Wallace practically concludes the first part of his book. The spirit of his writing will appeal to every Asiatic, while no thoughtful European could take exception to it. He insists that Eurasians must regard themselves as true sons of the country to which they belong, that they must regard the interests and ambitions of that country as their own, and that this does not involve the sinking of their cultural identity. Indeed, the whole book shows that the Eurasian community is growing rapidly—and the identity of a growing community cannot be sunk. In fact, even the infusion of individuals (especially Indians) who do not belong to the community but pose as Eurasians, which so many Eurasians regard as a factor inimical to the cultural growth of the community, is proved by Mr. Wallace to be a factor which is adding to its numerical strength. He points out, and every bio-sociologist will support him, that "the growth and virility of a mixed race depends to a large extent on the influx of individuals of other communities. Constant inbreeding is always weakening."

So much nonsense has been talked by Eurasians, even those who ought to know better, about the injurious effects of 'foreign elements' in the community that I would draw particular attention to Mr. Wallace's very philosophical remarks on this subject. The very marked resentment which almost all Eurasians feel against these foreign elements is regrettable evidence of the universally low educational standards of the community, for there is really no economic or biological reason which may excuse it. It would almost seem as if the Eurasians in India have found in the poor native Christian a convenient peg on which to hang their own defects.

In laying down the book (which has by the way a useful bibliography deserving of attention by students, though the references

leave much to be desired in the way of uniform citation) one is inclined to the opinion that the Eurasian problem is hardly a problem at all. At least it is a very simple one when compared with the problems of the other communities and nations of the world. Had it been studied even a generation ago as judicially as Mr. Wallace has studied it today it would no longer be a problem at all. At the present moment, however, Mr. Wallace's book will not solve the difficulties of the Eurasian community, for it is too much to hope that a representative body of Eurasians will follow his precepts without further propaganda and work. What we need, therefore, is an Eurasian commission, which will investigate the situation and the possibility of applying Mr. Wallace's suggestions on a communal scale—a commission which will provide a scientific and statistical analysis of the community, as a first step in a programme of reconstruction which will stand the test of time. The need for a comparative statistical survey of the community should be apparent to every thinking Eurasian, and I hope the fact that no Eurasian seems to have considered the matter as yet may not be construed as evidence that Eurasians cannot think!

In concluding, I must refer to the brilliant and sympathetic foreword which Lt.-Col. A. A. E. Baptist has contributed to the book. At a time when our older leaders seem to be devoid of vision it is particularly encouraging to find Mr. Wallace's intensely modern views supported by so well-known and respected a person as Col. Baptist. Col. Baptist asks: "Are there no leaders with vision and a grasp of affairs to get the community through the next few difficult years?" He feels "there must be." And I feel that he will not be universally thanked for his prophecy "that it will be among the younger men and women of the community that such leaders will be found." But history proves that the masses are never appreciative of the truth. And *The Eurasian Problem* seems to show that Col. Baptist is a true prophet.

THE PROBLEM OF THE PACIFIC

By MR. A. N. SUDARISANAM, B.A.

[T is a commonplace saying that the next great war will be fought in the Pacific. Apparently there is some reason for this belief, for unlike the Atlantic and other oceans, the Pacific is alive with islands large and small, in possession of different powers among whom conflicts may arise. But the common statement should not be construed to indicate that the nations see the inevitability of war and are arming themselves for the fray. The last great war was to a large extent foreseen as irreconcilable jealousies had become a permanent feature of European life and all known means of settlement had failed except the arbitrament of force. The Powers involved in the East, on the other hand, shape their relations, chastened by the thought of the last war. They scent danger in the future but prepare for it by limiting not multiplying their strength without bounds. They seek to equalise odds but do so on the basis of lesser not larger forces. Between the requirements of war and of peace, the difference may be but little in regard to the nature and magnitude of the armaments, but the absence of the spirit of aggressiveness is a factor of vital significance. In spite of restless activities therefore in the Pacific, it is permissible to hope that the crisis is far off beyond reckoning. The regions of the Pacific, are after all not so cramped as to keep alive jealousies as in Europe. Neighbourhood, so fruitful a cause of war on land or in narrow seas is happily limited only to small sectors of the great ocean. The rivals also know that there can be no fight to a finish in that vast expanse.

II

Political complications arise mainly out of economic expansion. This statement is true of the Pacific without any qualification. The West dominates the East with a large share for Japan also in the exploitation. America by forcing open the gates of Japan, opened the eastern markets for western goods and

thereafter Eastern Asia has been the happy hunting ground of America, Britain and France. China, Japan, the Philippine islands, the Dutch East Indies, not to mention others have a population respectively of 400, 56, 12 and 50 millions of people, whose modernisation would require all that the energy of America and Europe would produce. Apart from the immense strides made by commerce already in the East, the potentialities of the future are incalculable and form the lure for which the manufacturing countries are willing to risk their peace. In 1925 Japan supplied 31.05 per cent; Great Britain 28 per cent; U. S. A. 18 per cent of China's imports. In that same year 24 per cent of China's exports went to Japan, 21 per cent to Great Britain and a similar amount to U. S. A. If we consider America's contact with the East, then besides what she sends to China, she is responsible for 27.4 per cent of Japan's imports; 24.6 per cent of Australia's and 15.6 per cent of New Zealand's. America is rapidly reducing Great Britain's superiority in commerce, though on the whole, all of them advance owing to the development of the East. Japan, already a well-developed industrial nation, monopolised the eastern markets during the war, owing to the preoccupations of the other nations. Advantages secured then serve her in good stead even now.

The post war problem is the race for securing raw materials even more than the competition for markets. Monopolies of raw products is one of those causes of the present day international jealousies, which have to be watched with anxiety. The U.S.A. consumes four-fifths of the world's supply of rubber nearly all of which is grown in Malaysia and the Dutch East Indies, neither of which is an American possession. The Philippine Islands, the granary of tropical products for the U. S. A., is estimated to possess 1,500,000 acres of rubberlands in an undeveloped condition. America further takes sugar from Hawaii, Philippines and Dutch

East Indies ; raw silk from China and Japan and minerals such as tungston, antimony from China. In 1926, 33.1 per cent of U.S.A.'s total imports came from Eastern Asia and Oceania.

Thanks to India, only to a slightly less extent is Britain dependent for her raw materials upon the Pacific countries. The Dutch East Indies are her chief source of oil supplies and of sugar and the preservation of Dutch control of the Indies is of direct interest to Britain. In no other way can she be independent of America which is the storehouse of oil. Except for this, Britain's trade in the raw products of the far East are the same as U.S.A.'s and just as important.

Japan is poor in natural resources, particularly in mineral wealth, which have all to be imported from China mainly and other countries. The average excess of her imports over her exports is in the neighbourhood of 300 millions yen in value, although since the days of her economic regeneration, she has been an industrial nation and has increased rapidly exports of her finished goods. Determined to be a manufacturer, she still lacks the primary necessities of her industries such as coal, iron, steel, oil and cotton except to the extent of less than 5 per cent of her needs. She imports foodstuffs also to the value of 1,750,000,000 dollars a year.

Not content with the purchase of raw materials, the competing nations have gone further and entrenched themselves strongly in the far East by their financial investments to control the sources of supplies. The foreign investments in China alone are: Britain 1,750,000,000 dollars ; U.S.A. 160,000,000 dollars ; Japan 1250,000,000 dollars.

The opening of the Panama Canal in 1914 may be said to be the decisive factor in shifting the centre of interest from the rest of the world to the Pacific. It curtailed distances, it diverted traffic, it upset balance of naval strength—all on a considerable scale. The voyage from Great Britain to Eastern Australia was made shorter by 1000 miles and to Western Canada by 5,600 miles. Similarly, the distance between New York and the north-west ports of U.S.A. is less by 10,000 miles. Likewise the South American republics on the west coast have been made more accessible.

Both American trade and fleet have been made mobile. The tonnage of cargo carried through the canal rose from 4,800,000 in 1915 to 26,000,000 in 1926, outstripping that through Suez in 1924. In 1900 U.S.A. sent 74.6 per cent of her exports to Europe ; in 1926 only 48 per cent went thus, the rest being diverted to her western customers. These are the beginnings of the diversion of trade from other quarters into the Pacific. Remarkable developments are yet in store. Panama is the eastern gateway of the Pacific as Singapore is the western and whichever nations hold these wield an economic and a military weapon of vast potency.

III

By controlling the commerce of the East the West has really placed herself at the mercy of the East for her economic well-being. She is, hence, faced with the problem of reinforcing her strength politically in the Orient. Freed from pre-occupations elsewhere, the European and American nations are out to consolidate their new empires in the East. A noteworthy fact is that anxieties have arisen when there are fewer powers involved in the Pacific than at any time in the 19th Century. Great Britain, America and Japan having eliminated the rest, hold the fate of the East in their hands and between them the political problem is to maintain the balance of power.

The beginnings of political rivalry may be definitely dated from the time of Russian and Japanese aggression in China. Russia ice-bound and blocked in the north and held back all along her land frontier, marched East in search of open ports and met Japan in her attempts to establish an empire in China, also for very needy purposes. The conflict that ensued ended in the collapse of Russian strength at vital points and the advent of Japan as a first class power. The Great War accentuated the process so as to eliminate completely the naval influence of Russia and correspondingly confirm her rival's mastery of the seas. Germany disappeared too and left the legacy of her islands to Japan. Japan gained by the transfer to herself of hostile strategic centres in her neighbourhood.

Britain holding already Singapore, Australia and many islands of the Pacific,

planted her foot firmly in the heart of that region by her conquest of Hongkong in 1842. Hongkong was made the base of the British China squadron, the nucleus of an armament which is now to be shifted to Singapore. Until the rise of Japan, Britain's only source of anxiety was from Russia and from disturbed China, for which contingencies, a detachment of the great British fleet was ample. Japanese victories over Russia removed for Britain the greatest menace in the East and paved the way for the Anglo-Japanese Alliance (1911-1923) which ensured her peaceful commerce and quietened Australian fears of an invasion by Japan. Britain's complacency was soon to disappear at the advent of new factors, viz., the rivalry of America and the American-Japanese friction. She is now called upon to enter a naval competition in the Pacific as great as ever existed in the Atlantic.

America's first militant strike in the Orient was her biggest. By her acquisition of the Philippine Islands from Spain in 1898, she achieved the double task of eliminating a European power and replacing it by herself. The Philippines comprising 7,000 islands with an area of 115,000 square miles, are to the U. S. A. what India is to Britain, a storehouse of raw materials and a strategic base of operations. The latter was disclosed promptly in 1900, when U.S.A. despatched troops from Manila to China to join the European Powers in suppressing the Boxer rebellion. On that occasion was established America's right for a voice in settling the politics of the far East. Thereafter she has been instrumental in moderating foreign ambitions in China. America befriends China to a larger extent than other foreigners and is a source of embarrassment to Japan in particular whose expansion on the mainland is imperative for her very existence. It was through the initiative of U.S.A. that Japan was driven out of Shantung and Siberia, the prize of her opportunist aggression during the great war. American bankers compete with Japanese for the monopoly of financial interests in China. Alaska the north-west out-post of U. S. A. is 3,500 miles from the Japanese mainland. The line of naval bases from there to Hawaii and then

to the Philippines set a limit to the expansion of the Japanese Empire. To crown all, the anti-Japanese laws of U. S. A. demonstrate to Japan, that her relations with America must always be a delicate affair.

IV

The rivalry in the East at present has no parallel in Europe itself, the hotbed of quarrels for centuries. The Great War reduced eastern Europe to a conglomeration of petty states, whose main interest is to make their sovereignty secure within the borders assigned to them. France and Italy are not effective competitors in the Orient. But Great Britain, America and Japan, in their regenerated existence have to settle their programme of development supremacy in the Orient for any single power is an impossibility and no one aspires for it. But every competitor has a few advantages which the others seek to neutralise by their own. Likewise they are urged by irresistible necessities to plan action which bears the semblance of wanton aggression.

For lack of space, raw materials and markets, expansion is a matter of necessity to Japan. Her density of population per square mile of tilled land is the highest in the world being as much as 2,547 as against Britain's 2,116 and U. S. A.'s 186. The Japanese have colonised many of the islands and are waiting to spread themselves still further. Her food problem is even greater than England's. Reference has already been made to her need of materials and markets. The tonnage of her merchants and warships exceeds 4 millions, which shows a rate of increase surpassing many other nations. Her intentions and methods are suspects in the eyes of her rivals, from whom it is that she borrowed her ideas of aggression. Japan is a complete mistress of the North-East Pacific inclusive of the China coast where she holds important ports besides Korea. Her southernmost outpost Formosa Island is 65 miles from Philippines (U.S.A.) and about 100 miles from Hongkong (British). Her zone of influence extending 3,000 miles south is a wedge driven into the zone of U. S. A. extending from the American coast to the Philippines. Proximity is Japan's chief advantage which is what her

rivals dread in her. She used that to advantage in securing strategic gains during half a century.

American possessions in the Pacific are comparatively few, but her interests are vast. She has increased her naval strength to safeguard those interests and to utilise it requires all those aids such as naval bases, cables, wireless without which armaments are of no value. In 1913 Britain owned 144 per cent of the world's steamer tonnage and U. S. A., 3.86 per cent. In 1926 the figures were 32.25 and 19.94 respectively. At this rate America can outbuild the armaments of the strongest nation and not feel the drain upon her resources as other competitors might. On 1st February, 1929, she had more battleships than the British Empire, over twice as many destroyers, submarines and mine-sweepers. Her programme of ship-building will place her on a par with the British Empire. Strategically too the United States are favourably situated, but the new unrest calls for additional bases. The mainland of America is in the centre of the ocean world and her fleets can traverse the two oceans with equal facility. The Panama Canal had made her fleet mobile so that the resources of the east coast can be transported with ease to the Pacific regions. Central America and Mexico are in Uncle Sam's grip and the Panama itself can be converted into a base. Hawaii, Gnam and Manila are centres of great value with other landing places. Samou in the South and Alaska and Aleutian Islands in the North are in commanding positions. Her strongest as well as her most valuable point is the Philippine Islands which lie between British and Japanese possessions. America owns no cable communications along this border. She more than the other nations is in a transition stage in the Pacific.

Britain's strength in the far East was never in doubt. Besides her immense trade there, she has a few other responsibilities; namely, the safety of the Dominions of Australia and New Zealand and the numerous island possessions beyond. The Dutch East Indies, with her great output of oil, sugar, rubber and other produce, lie in the midst of British territory, without sufficient strength from her owners, Holland to preserve her in-

dependence during a crisis. It is believed in European diplomatic circles that a secret understanding exists between Britain and Holland for the exchange of protection and oil in the East. Though Britain thus is mighty on the seas and has interests to safeguard, the new conditions required that she should concert measures to become an effective fighting force. Hence the creation of the mammoth naval base at Singapore. The reasons underlying this development may be analysed a little more closely.

South of a line drawn from the Philippines to Hawaii, Britain owns scores of islands including the Fiji group. In this region she is dominant in ownership which carries with it the obligation of protection. Australia and New Zealand fear invasion from the hostile North. Between Malaysia and Australia lie the Dutch East Indies dependent upon British strength. The China sea lying between China, Philippines, Formosa, Malaya, French Indo-China is the Mediterranean of the East, where Britain has her strongholds, but cannot dominate. This is however one of the critical zones of the Pacific, wherein lie Britain's highways to China. A naval fortification was called for and the choice has long ago fallen on Hongkong. But Singapore had the advantage of commanding areas which were not within the range of Hongkong. The Indian ocean is now a British sea, with Britain's most valued possessions all along its borders, from the Cape of Good Hope to Singapore but without a naval base from which to conduct offensive or defensive warfare. Within a radius of 1,500 miles from Singapore lie Manila, Hongkong, Calcutta, Colombo, Rangoon, North-West Australia and all of the Dutch and British East Indies. Kobe itself is about 2,800 miles from Singapore. As the western gateway of the Pacific also the new naval base has an enhanced value: The trade of Japan and of the European nations in the Orient can be cut off entirely should they be hostile to Britain which can hold the line from Singapore to New Zealand round Australia.

There are other factors besides to note. By the Washington Disarmament Conference, the naval powers undertook to limit certain of their armaments as well as not to fortify

a certain zone within the Pacific. That agreement might not stand the test of a crisis and farther tends to accentuate the need of naval bases outside the prescribed limits. The three competing powers are not ready to forego the right to employ force. With fleets whose cruising distance is less than 2,000 miles and possessions scattered over a much larger area, strategic centres are indispensable for the maintenance of the balance of power.

It must also be remembered that Britain's old strategy of conquering her enemy fleets in the North or the Mediterranean seas is no longer possible. All her naval resources aided by contributions from the Dominions were hitherto concentrated in home waters. Her present day rivals flourish in the Pacific and Britain has no option but to meet them there and hence the lure of Singapore.

V

Are we on the eve of a great conflict? The present situation is ripe with elements of danger, but there is reason to hope that the crisis is far off. The makings of a quarrel lie thus. In the first place Russia still remains dissatisfied and her needs have not been met. At different points in Europe and in Asia, the nations hold her in check. In China, Japan has not yet finally barred her way but the stalemate is there. In the meanwhile Russia has let loose the subtle influence of Bolshevism. There can be no peace until Russia is pacified or crushed.

Japan is compelled to extend. Else her very existence will become precarious and the nine lakhs of lives added to her population every year will be left to starve on her own shores. Although her ambitions are reasonable, her methods of aggression, illustrated by the famous twenty-one demands on China in 1915, will leave her friendless. The prospects of peace depend upon her rivals' sagacity to understand her difficulties.

Thirdly, China for long the victim of foreign exploitation and domination is awakening. Her struggle for independence will be a continually disturbing factor and upset the well-laid plans of her masters. China revived, there will be call for a fresh balance of power.

The clash of colour is a growing factor in the Pacific. In every part of that Ocean the Whites have penetrated and set up rule over the coloured with the aid of force. The Philippines numbering 12 millions, of whom 90 per cent are Catholics under the leadership of a cultured class have already felt the gall of a foreign yoke. In Hawaii, which is an American possession, 42 per cent of the total population are Japanese. The Japanese have migrated and settled down in various Islands and so have the Chinese. Ninety per cent of the people of the Dutch East Indies are Muhammadans who are susceptible to the call of Pan-Islamism. In all such areas of white supremacy and coloured subjection, relations are strained and force is readily resorted to as happened in the case of the Japanese rising of 1915 and the Singapore revolt of the same year. Racial discrimination against cultured coloured nationals is also rampant as is illustrated by American and Australian Immigration Laws. That peace can be built upon such strained relations between the races is a vain hope. Japan has already retaliatory laws and wherever possible the coloured peoples are bound to revolt. The whites are represented in the far East by the Anglo-Saxon nations and their love of prestige betrays them into false moves. The East is equally proud and will not remain complacent under repeated humiliation.

Despite these disconcerting developments, forces there are that tend to delay a conflict. Of Russia, nothing can be stated with certainty. She remains an incalculable factor, but the other nations keep a vigilant watch and curb the extravagances of Bolshevism. Japan, the other nation whose activities are believed to menace peace, has not the resources to launch out on a prolonged war with America or Britain. She is far too dependent for her food and raw materials upon other countries to alienate their sympathies. Domestic disasters such as the earth-quake of 1923 retard Japan in all her ambitions and they are factors against which she has no remedy. The League of Nations holds the European nations in the leash. The old secret diplomacy which led to disasters is

now passing away and in its place have come open conferences and committees. The machinery for international negotiations is still defective, but such as does exist is alert that old world methods do not recur. Public opinion is more widespread and better informed than at any time before. These are reasons to hope that great Britain and America will not carry their disputes to the point of war. Much has been accomplished already between the Anglo-Saxon nations to banish war beyond the offing.

The prospects seem to be rather that peaceful settlements between European and American Powers might lead to their combined domination of the East. That is a danger to Asiatics but not necessarily to world peace. Thus far only has international morality advanced and there matters must rest until either idealism triumphs so as to allow every little state in the enjoyment of its own simple peace or an explosion like that of 1914 decides which are the fittest to survive in unbridled supremacy.

ENGLAND AND THE HAGUE

By MR. C. L. R. SASTRI, B.Sc.

"We cannot all play like Paderewski or think like Plato, but we should be a great deal nearer to it if we could forget these little tags of talk from the daily papers and the debating clubs, and start afresh thinking for ourselves."—Mr. G. K. Chesterton in *Generally Speaking*.*

I

Public memory is proverbially short. But, however short it may be, it cannot, we hope, have forgotten so soon the recent Armageddon in Europe—an Armageddon that, though originating only in the West, 'broke,' as it were, "its birth's invidious bar," and spread, *more suo*, to almost all the nooks and corners of the earth. This war, it need hardly be pointed out, was in a class by itself: as Cowley said of Pindar, it formed "a vast species alone." For folly and for frightfulness it had not its equal in the innumerable wars that preceded it. Indeed, before it, the latter were not wars at all: they were the merest playthings, the veriest trifles. This particular war, on the other hand, was a war all through, a war from top to bottom, a war that could not possibly have any "damned nonsense" about it. It allowed of no "asides," of no interregnum, of no "unbending" whatever, but was one pitiless

thing from beginning to end: in the immortal words of old Mrs. Sarah Battle, it consisted entirely of "the rigours of the game," and of nothing else. Moreover, it was a war that was fought—at least on one side—for righteousness, and for righteousness alone. The "mailed fist" was used, it is true, but it was used for no other purpose than that of mercy. Ferocity there undoubtedly was, but only for the greater enforcement of kindness and charity among the nations of the world. In short, it was, not to put too fine a point upon it, a war to *end* war. It was the *last* of its kind. It was just the black cloud that presaged eternal sunshine. It was, if you will, the storm that, for ever afterwards, foreshadowed the rainbow in the sky. As the politicians phrased it, it was to have made the world "safe for democracy:" it was to have brought about the long-expected millennium, it was to have made possible another Eden on earth.

Those of us that, with any regularity, followed the newspapers during the four years of the war were simply amazed at the marvellous moral purpose of England and France. The "Entente," as they were called, were simply overflowing with the milk and

* Methuen, 1928, p. 11.

cream of human kindness. They were righteous to their finger-tips. They wore the white flower of a blameless life. They—especially England—were actuated by no mercenary motives, were prompted by no considerations of empire-building. They joined the war—at least England did—just to succour Belgium and the other “small” nationalities, just to prevent the Huns—as the Germans were labelled, no doubt from an excess of politeness—from over-running an innocent and peace-loving world. None could be more moral, none more saintly, none more self-abnegating, than England and France seemed. Never, in short, was there such a rage for right-living, for fair-play, and for all the rest of the human virtues.

II

This preface, long as it is, is really necessary in order rightly to understand, to envisage, all the issues that are involved in the affair of the Hague Conference—the subject of our article. We have noticed the high-sounding motives, the magniloquent phrases, for which the war was fought—at any rate by the “Entente.” The atmosphere was surcharged with their good qualities. To adopt the words that Emerson used with regard to Burns’ songs, “the wind whispered them, the birds whistled them, the corn, barley, and bulrushes hoarsely rustled them, nay, the music-boxes at Geneva were framed and toothed to play them; the hand-organs of the Savoyards in all cities repeated them, and the chimes of bells rang them in the spires.” Everything and everybody, in short, connived at spreading the gospel according to England and France—the avowed pillars of the world. We were almost persuaded that the angels were on their side, if not actually participating with them on the battlefield; and some, no doubt, could even point to circumstantial evidence in support of it. Cherubim and Seraphim were hovering over their lands closely scanning the daily situation as it unfolded itself; while Jove was ready with his thunderbolts to extinguish, to annihilate, Germany the moment the chances of war seemed to swing

to her side. All things, then, in heaven and earth, promised well—for the “Entente;” and the actual end, though disappointing in the sense that—for all this extravagant display of righteousness—it robbed the saviour nations of a “winged” victory, in the sense that it brought forth no brilliant *dénouement*, was still in favour of them—certainly not in favour of Germany. And one did think that the Millennium which the war was to usher in, would actually dawn sooner or later, sooner rather than later: that, in the poet’s words, a new Jerusalem would be built, not only “in England’s green and pleasant land,” but in every land—whether “green and pleasant,” or not. The world was led by England and France, and no one had the temerity to doubt their sincerity.

III

The world, in short, was in a fair way of being disappointed: it put itself right in front of deception. Human nature is not metamorphosed suddenly, is not transformed beyond recognition, merely at the listening of a few well-turned phrases, a few rounded periods: it remains itself no matter what happens, or fails to happen. We should not judge men—or nations, either—as they reveal themselves in a crisis: they obviously rise beyond themselves, but only just for a moment or so: to sink back again, fathoms deep, in the mire of their original, humdrum nature, so soon as the crisis passes, so soon as the great event subsides. As that eminent writer on foreign affairs, especially French affairs, Mr. Sisley Huddleston says in an article from which we shall have occasion to quote more extensively hereafter: “We do not judge the sentiments and morals of a community by its behaviour in an evangelical camp; we judge them by its conduct in everyday life.”*

In *Rabelais* we have a fine couplet:

“The Devil was sick, the Devil a monk would be;
The Devil was well, the Devil a monk was he!”

When there was dire need, when the people’s help was sorely wanted, the politi-

*“The Hague Conference and After” by Mr. Sisley Huddleston: *The Contemporary Review*, Oct., 1929, p. 418.

cians paraded an interminable string of noble sentiments. The need over, the help given, there was an end to their eloquence: something, apparently, had stuck in their throats. It proved, in the end, to be only a put-up job; and the truth slowly dawned on the people's minds. The politicians had once again played their immemorial trick—and had succeeded. It was now the people's turn.

The much-boomed war ended—as wars have always ended. It didn't, as promised, pave the way to eternal peace. If anything, it paved the way to even greater wars in the future. The wheel had come full circle; and things remained just as they were,—nay, much *worse* than they were. The wound was not healed: it was intensified.

If one wanted to sum up, in one word, the exact nature of the world's mind just after the cessation of hostilities, it would be this: "Disillusionment." People everywhere lost all illusions: the pendulum had swung to the other extreme. There was no believing in anything or in anybody. The war had knocked the bottom out of all Utopias. In the shifting sands of men's minds, no structure of the human imagination,—no, not even the much-lauded "League of Nations,"—stood firmly. The centre of gravity had altered—from intense belief, to even more intense *dis*-belief.

Well, it has ever been so. We always feel that we have done a mighty fine thing, and then, lo! the truth of it flashes upon us just when our exultation is at its height. Something or other pricks the bubble of our vanity—and everything is reduced to mere soap and water. Finally, we come back to the point from which we originally started. We are like the revellers in Mr. Chesterton's poem, who "went to Birmingham by way of Beachy Head," and in the end did not get to Birmingham.

IV

Our whole point is that the war—for all that we heard to the contrary—did not bring about a change of heart in the warring nations. The Treaty of Versailles was a travesty of all the peaceful intentions that were proclaimed to be at the back of the "Entente's" policy. It was a regular hoax.

The war, we were told, in season and out of season, was fought, *not* for aggrandisement, but for the defence of "small" nationalities and for the crushing of military despotisms, wherever found: it was fought for the maintenance of good will among all the countries of the world, big or little. The war was to usher in eternal peace. What is the state of the world at present in the light of these promises? Has any of these been realised? Where is that "peaceful" atmosphere that was to have resulted in the event of the "Entente's" victory? Where is the restriction in armaments that was promised in such an event? Where went all these charming protestations? Where, indeed?

We shall not trace in detail all the happenings after the termination of the war. We shall confine ourselves to the most glaring of them, the recent Conference at the Hague. This, in our view, is the real touchstone of all the sham drama to which we have been the unwilling spectators. We may take this as the genuine test-case.

There was a series of Conferences at the Hague after 1918. But this, the present, Conference was the most important of them all: it was, so to speak, the first that ever burst into the true sea of European diplomacy. It undid all the previous efforts at world-peace. And, what is most significant of all, it was *England* that undid them—*England* that was more righteous than righteousness itself during the whole course of the war. To *England* fell the unholy task of wrecking the world's nascent hopes.

Curious as this fact is, there is one that is, if possible, even more curious. Of all Governments, it was the *Labour* Government in England, and, in the Labour Government he who used to be the most pacific of them all, that behaved in this shameful manner. If it had not actually happened, no one would have believed it: it would have been excruciatingly funny if it were not so hopelessly tragic.

"Who but must laugh if such a man there be,
Who would not weep if Atticus were he?"

One might write a whole volume on the theme. We rub our eyes in astonishment

when we think of this *volte face* on the part of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Philip Snowden of all people! Stands England where it did? Why, what next?

We may, of course, explain this in many ways. The Labour Government is, but for a short period a few years ago, new to the office. The Liberals and the Conservatives view it with mistrust. Its tenure is, therefore, more precarious than that of either of the older parties. These latter are only too ready to smash it up at the least opportunity. However capable the Labour Members may be, individually, they cannot be free from this perpetual fear. On the first occasion of their assuming the reins of government, they were driven out on a paltry pretext. They lack the necessary experience to foresee or avert disaster. So, naturally, they have, as a preliminary step, aimed at consolidating their position, both with the people and with the remaining parties. In other words, they have tried to give the country a pleasant surprise in the matter of their principles. It is as if they had said to the electorate: "Please do not be afraid. We are not going to turn everything upside down. Though we belong to the Labour Party, we are, in essentials, just like the others, just like your Milners and Curzons. Scratch us and you will find 'John Bull' writ large on the bosom of every one of us. We are only Tories with a difference: and we will not, for the world, betray you."

We do think that, if human motives can be analysed, one reason at least for Labour's policy at the Hague was this that we have outlined above. There is nothing that your typical Englishman likes more than a show of firmness—of firmness even degenerating into bullying. It may be only a show, but that show must be of *firmness*. Stand up—never mind however foolishly—for a thing or a cause, and John Bull will venerate you: nay, he will publicly worship you. For, when it comes to fundamentals, there is none so stupid as your typical Englishman. It may, of course, be retorted: "How comes it, then, that Englishmen rule a quarter of the world?" Such matters, however, are not for you or me to explain, and, moreover, if it *does* come to an explanation, perhaps stupidity may have had more to do with it than—well, you or I

imagine. Indeed, when one begins to think about it, it is simply wonderful what stupidity *can* do! But, however that may be, our whole point is that Labour's attitude at the Hague may have been due to the desire of ingratiating itself into the hearts of the people.

V

Mr. Philip Snowden was undoubtedly the hero of the recent Hague Conference. Whether, as an enthusiastic admirer has written, he stood, in intellect, head and shoulders above the representatives of the other countries, is a matter on which we should not like to pass too hasty an opinion. At any rate, it would be indulging in extremely hyperbolic language to say that anyone among those assembled at the Binnenhof excelled the late Dr. Stresemann, the German Foreign Minister, in brains or in statesmanship. Stresemann, indeed, occupied a lonely eminence; and the English Chancellor was not only *not* equal to him, his name could not be mentioned in the same breath as that of the deceased statesman. But Mr. Snowden towered above his fellows in one thing, *viz.*, in directness of speech. He certainly did not, in any sense of the terms, beat about the bush: he did not indulge in ambiguities: on the contrary, he

"poured out all as plain
As downright Shippen or as old Montaigne"

Whatever was in his mind came out pell-mell, came out helter-skelter. He had no use for what may be called rhetorical preliminaries: there was neither introduction nor preface: he pounced upon his subject like an eagle on its prey. There was no pretence of any excessive courtesy: why waste such a precious article on the French, of all people? It may, of course, be pointed out by someone new to the political game that the French were the late allies of Mr. Snowden's countrymen. What then? They were only the "late" allies. The world has changed a good deal since then. Things cannot always remain on the same level. The necessity for their still continuing to be allies has long since ceased. Coming back to our theme, Mr. Snowden knew better than to make any concessions to French sentiment. In times of stress, words

should not be unduly refined. The bluntest speech is the best. Moreover, when you want to bring out the full force of your feelings, how can you pick and choose your words, sentences, and paragraphs? A Nero, indeed, may fiddle while Rome is burning: but how can one of your ordinary fellows practise style when a million or two of pounds sterling is at stake? It is impossible: it is unheard of. So Mr. Snowden had, perforce, to have recourse to primitive language. It is evident that he could not help it. You cannot tamper with sincerity. As Gower Woodseer, in George Meredith's novel, *The Amazing Marriage*, says: "If I have to speak a truth I am boorish. *The divinely damnable naked truth won't wear ornaments.*" And that is why, no doubt, there was so little of ornamentation in Mr. Philip Snowden's speeches at the Hague. You cannot say that he did not know what he was about. The whole point of his harangues to the foreign statesmen was that England wanted more money out of the German reparations: and that France was in a manner of speaking, defrauding her of her legitimate share of it. His three main demands were the restoration of the Spa percentages, a greater share of the "unconditional payments," and some changes in the system of deliveries in kind: with special emphasis on the first. It has been calculated that Great Britain would stand to gain something like £2,400,000, if Mr. Snowden got all he wanted. Now, here comes the funny point.

VI

Almost everyone admits that, comparatively speaking, this is too small a sum indeed to endanger the whole European situation, as Mr. Snowden threatened to. It will be remembered that he stood very firm in his demand, that he refused any compromise, even to the extent of the reduction of half-a-crown. (Actually, however, for all the fanfaronade of trumpets with which his "victory" has been acclaimed, he did not get all that he wanted: not even 83 per cent as most people imagine: just about 50 per cent, that is all: which only proves afresh that the course of true diplomacy never did run smooth!) As soon as the news of the

Chancellor's reputed stand at the Hague was flashed on to the wires, English politicians of almost all shades of opinion vied with one another as to who should applaud him the most. They shouted all in concert. There never, since the war, was such a remarkable unanimity of purpose among the whole rank and file of Englishmen as on this occasion. One after another—with a few notable exceptions—said the same thing over again—only in a louder and more blatant voice.

"The stubborn spearmen still made good
The dark impenetrable wood,
Each stepping where his foeman stood
The instant that he fell."

They all adored the lame Yorkshireman's splendid purpose: his going headlong *per fas et nefas* to his object of replenishing the sunken English treasury by grabbing a little more money from the German reparations.

There has, then, been no lack of support to Mr. Snowden at "Home." But, all the same, everyone admits that the sum he so stubbornly fought for is, not to put too fine a point upon it, almost negligible, is nothing, in fact. Even that, in many respects, unique paper, the *New Statesman*, confesses, in its issue of August 17: "The actual issues upon which Mr. Snowden has elected to fight are not of enormous importance. What is of enormous importance is that he should have decided to fight at all. What he has really done is to have freed us from the galling bonds of the 'Entente' with France."

So, then, all this talk of money was merely so much bluff: the real issue was different! The real issue was to "free us from the galling bonds of the 'Entente' with France;" and since a pretext was obviously necessary to set on foot such a quarrel, this question of money was seized on with avidity. Any stick to beat France with: that was the motto! As Mr. H. N. Brailsford says in the *New Leader* of August 16: "On his (Mr. Snowden's) reckoning it (the money) amounts to £2,400,000 per annum. A large sum? To you and me a colossal sum, but one must measure it in relation to our national budget. We are threatening to wreck the settlement of Europe for the sake of less than £2½ millions in a budget of over £800 millions.

What would one think of a man with a comfortable middle-class income of £800, who turned the world upside down for the sake of £2-10s.?" As he elsewhere computes it: "It comes to a fraction over a shilling a head per annum for each inhabitant of these islands." (The *New Leader*, August, 23.) Even that Tory of Tories, Mr. J. L. Garvin, admits as much: "But you cannot, now, separate the finance from the politics. The interests of credit, trade and employment demand the progress of conciliation and settlement, the increase of confidence and good-will. With open eyes Britain for continuous years has made immense sacrifices for these aims. Let us not jeopardise them for a relatively little money that we might never get; for a problematical gain to the revenue by a diminutive fraction of one per cent. Walpole knew and said two centuries ago that large interests of trade are more than small interests of revenue." (The *Observer*, August 25.) The same sentiment is echoed by Mr. Sisley Huddleston in an article in the *Contemporary Review* of October: "It may be that the manner of Mr. Snowden was unnecessarily provocative. His intellectual superiority was expressed disdainfully. It may, indeed, be open to question whether the British interests immediately at stake were in themselves sufficiently vital to deserve such an intransigent championship at the risk of upsetting the whole European apple-cart."

Much was made of the fact that this money that Mr. Snowden demanded at all costs, though, doubtless, small in amount, was quite legitimate: and this has proved to be one of the feathers in the Chancellor's cap. Mr. Brailsford, however, has shown that this is also a delusion. The common opinion is that the French, more or less, defrauded the English of their rightful share of the booty. The "Spa percentages," it seems, were not respected by France. But we have M. Cheron's speech which, Mr. Brailsford declares, was not reported well, and which proves conclusively that the "Spa percentages" were respected by France. The reader who desires to acquaint himself with the full facts cannot do better than read Mr. Brailsford's article, "The Chancellor's Risk," in the *New Leader* of August 16. That distinguished and out-

spoken journalist, who by the way, was one of the chief henchmen of the never-to-be-sufficiently-lamented Massingham of the *Nation*, pursued the subject, with characteristic candour, in the *New Leader* of August 23, under the caption, "Still Taking the Risk, For a Shilling a Head?"

VII

It will have been seen that most of the English papers acclaimed Mr. Snowden's feat at the Hague, not because he stood up for a greater share of the war's spoils, but because his attitude introduced a new epoch into the history of the diplomatic relations between England and France. The mere act of his standing up was itself applauded: quite without reference to what he was standing up for. It was, it appears so unique. Your Sir Austen Chamberlain, for instance, would never have dreamt of such a procedure: it was not in *his* scheme of things. Ever since the end of the war, England was a back number in the European diplomatic world. It simply did not count. The so-called British lion was not shown the deference that the king of beasts expects as its birthright. Everyone admits the fact of the wane of British influence in Europe. As Mr. Sisley Huddleston confesses, in the article from which we have already quoted: "But when all reservations are made, it is undoubtedly true that British influence on the Continent had fallen very low, and that it was high time somebody should make a stand against the growing tendency to take British acquiescence for granted. Great Britain has for several years counted for exceedingly little in European councils, and a somewhat violent reaction was needed." (The *Contemporary Review*, October, 1929.)

So that was that! Mr. Snowden changed all this. He, for the first time, actually stood up for his country! But is it not a revelation all the same? *England* suffering from the "inferiority complex!"

"This royal throne of kings, this sceptred isle,
This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,
This other Eden, demi-paradise;
This fortress built by Nature for herself,
Against infection and the hand of war,
This happy breed of men, this little world;
This precious stone set in the silver sea, . . .

This blessed spot, this earth, this realm, this
England,

This nurse, this teeming womb of royal kings, . . ."

all "this" now, or rather just before the advent of Mr. Philip Snowden on the continental scene, the weakest of European nations! Would anyone have believed it? This inviolate England the handmaid of France! But, well, stranger things have happened. And so the Chancellor is praised because he has been the first to sever England from this galling bond with France—France, her former ally! English papers have been simply gloating over this. The *New Statesman*, for instance, has well-nigh gone into hysterics over the affair. It goes to the length of writing a leading article upon it: with the screaming title, "Thank God for Mr. Snowden." (August 17, 1929.) The following are some of the sentiments which that so-called organ of intellectual Labour gives expression to.

"The actual issues upon which Mr. Snowden has elected to fight are not of enormous importance. What is of enormous importance is that he should have decided to fight at all. What he has really done is to have freed us from the galling bonds of the 'Entente' with France. It is said that his action may lead to a Franco-Italian *rapprochement*. Well, what could be better? . . . Why should not Latins combine with Latins? It would certainly be a far easier and more natural conjunction than that of England and France during the past decade. . . . The 'Entente' is a palpable anomaly—indeed, an anachronism. We want of course, to have a good 'understanding' with all the 'Powers' of the old world and the new. But why especially with France? . . . Our intentions are opposed to those of the French politicians, yesterday, today, and tomorrow. . . . France and England have fewer common interests than either has with other nations, and no reality because we shall certainly never again in the foreseeable future fight on the side of France. Probably there will not be another world-war during the present century; but if such a catastrophe were to occur, then it is certainly most unlikely that France and England would be found in the

same camp. . . . If we are to pursue our national interests a real *entente* with Germany, based on actual common interests, is likely to be far more profitable, both politically and economically, than our farcical *entente* with France." We must be excused for this very long quotation; it really shows which way the wind is blowing. So it has come to this, after all! France the enemy and Germany the friend! This is, indeed, "the whirligig of time" with a vengeance! But there is, on second thoughts, nothing to wonder at. England has always been like that! "Perfidious Albion," it has been called, has it not? Consistency is not, and never has been, its *forte*. It is a quick-change artist in its political relations with other countries. Hazlitt said of Cobbett:

"He is like a young and lusty bridegroom that divorces a favorite speculation every morning and marries a new one every night. He is not wedded to his notions, not he! He has not one Mrs. Cobbett among all his opinions."

We may say the same of England. You can never foresee the trend of English diplomacy at a given point of time. It is as variable as a woman's fancy; not but there is a method in its variability!

VIII

It was feared that Mr. Snowden's obstinacy at the Hague would wreck the Conference. It is, of course, gratifying to note that, for the time being at any rate, it has not wrecked it. On the contrary, Mr. Snowden is supposed to have emerged victoriously. Before, however, we refer to the larger issues involved, we should like to write just a few words on this question of money for which the English Chancellor fought so stubbornly. In the first place, everyone admits that it is, at best, a paltry sum. In the second place, some, like Mr. Garvin, fear that since this sum becomes payable only ten or twelve years hence, and since there is no knowing what all transformations may take place in the world during that time, it may never become payable at all. In the third place, we submit that the English publicists have forgotten one important point. We took some pains, at the commencement of our article, to show for what purpose the war was waged by

England. England, admittedly, waged the war in the interests of nothing less than righteousness. It went *out of its way* to take part in a quarrel, in which it was not involved, just for the sake of upholding truth and justice. Now, when you engage yourself in such altruistic work, you must necessarily expect that your path will not be strewn with roses, that, on the other hand, some sacrifices are demanded of you. *You cannot combine missionary enterprise with monetary gain.* You cannot worship God and Mammon at the same time—in the same breath. English politicians have strangely overlooked this. *Now*, they are grabbing for a little more money. Our whole point is that it comes with an ill-grace from a nation that championed "right" against "might." Such a nation must expect to make some sacrifices, must expect to forego a little money. But we forget that a country at the commencement of a war is not the same country at the end of it—especially when the end is in its favour. Like Bottom, it becomes "translated." It becomes transformed "out of space, out of time."

IX

Coming now to the larger issues, we have a feeling that England's "victory" at the Hague may prove to be but short-lived. It may, before long, begin to rue it. Mr. Philip Snowden did, so to speak, no less than throw a bomb-shell in the midst of the diplomatic world. The German, French, and Italian diplomatists were simply stupefied. It was, as it were, a bolt from the Binnenhof. They stared at one another, and, between whiles, at the Englishman. They had eager consultations. For a time it seemed that Mr. Snowden came near to "upsetting the whole European apple-cart:" that he came near to throwing everything into a cocked hat. But, anyhow, M. Briand did not lose his senses, as Mr. Snowden did; he kept a tight hold on himself, and managed to arrive at an understanding. Mr. Snowden, it will be remembered, bawled out, at the opening of the Hague Conference, that he

would not agree to any compromise whatever. But greater men than he have submitted to compromises ere now, and Mr. Snowden was, in the end, constrained to do the same. When the history of the Hague Conference comes to be written, we are sure that M. Briand will receive his full share of credit for the maintenance of harmony at the Hague. But, with all this, we fear that it was only an "armed truce," and not an everlasting peace. Beneath the surface feelings have been running high. France, as a whole, does not support M. Briand's concessions to England; and moreover, it has had to submit to the most violent abuse from its former ally. France, on the other hand, resents the entire transaction: as an evidence of which we may notice the recent overthrow of the Briand-Cabinet. Poincaré and Clemenceau are again coming to the front; and time alone will show what lies in store for Europe. It is well to remember that England's victory may be but temporary. Mr. Brailsford has shown, in his two famous articles in the *New Leader*, that the whole world (including America) is against England in this matter. He says: "Whatever comes of this Conference, it will be long before an astonished world forgets this display of bad manners." (The *New Leader*, August 16, 1929.) As that fine writer, "Kappa," writes in the *Nation* of October 5, 1929:

"Mr. Snowden was the victim of a stunt, doubtless against his desire. My own doubts about his achievements at the Hague have been strengthened in the last few weeks by conversations in France and study of the French papers. It is all very well to stand up to France, but it remains a question whether it was worth two millions or less to leave a deep sense of grievance abroad. At the moment the French are unquestionably sulky and suspicious about us and our intentions, and this is definitely an evil thing for the future, and we may have to pay a heavy price ourselves when Mr. MacDonald takes his Washington fruits to the Five Power Conference."

THE AFGHAN AT HOME

LEADING THE SIMPLE LIFE—INDIGO AND HOT BRICK CURES—CHAIRS
ARE SUPERFLUOUS

By CAPTAIN GEORGE CECIL

WHERE THE PIANO IS UNPOPULAR

NOT so very long ago, the Afghan attached little importance to progress. Content to do as his ancestors did before him, the warrior provided antiquated weapons for the soldiery who flocked to the banner in times of warfare, their wounds being dressed in a rough and ready manner by the nearest *hakim* (doctor). The *chupkun*, a frock coat of native cut, knew no variation; the voluminous turban, wound many times round the cranium, was the only headgear. Houses were plainly furnished, almost to the verge of discomfort; interior decoration practically was unknown. The inhabitants, even when possessing all the money they needed, were satisfied to lead the simplest of simple lives. Each looked upon existence as ideal.....

When the famous Abdur Rahman, after his captivity in Russia, became *Amir*, an era of reform immediately set in. The new Ruler, having learned many useful things from the Russians, and being a man of strong character and of great determination, speedily introduced useful—and, in the eyes of his subjects, extremely startling—innovations. Upon the enterprising and progressive *Shahezadah* (heir-apparent) succeeding him, all these improvements were upheld, though to-day Afghans object to them. In the villages there are very old men, oracles, according to their fellow-villagers, to whom change is anathema. A few people of consequence, however, approve of progress, in strict moderation.

Some improvements are condemned by thinking men, and not without good cause. Abdur Rahman, for example, imported a grand piano from Europe, and invited the governors of provinces to follow the royal example. Before His Highness could ascertain the result of this unmistakable hint, a

fatal illness put an end to his musical activities. Meanwhile, instruments of European origin would decidedly be out of place in Afghanistan. The reed flute, which is blown from the end, and the one-stringed violin, upon which the performer invariably plays upside down, alone are suited to native music. The piano is superfluous.

THE OLD AND THE NEW

Although the *hakim* still physicks the villagers, in Kabul, Kandahar and elsewhere there are hospitals, which, run on modern lines, welcome suffering humanity. But the novelty is not approved by the country practitioners, who, pinning their faith to powdered indigo, where the curing of skin disease is concerned, entertain a poor opinion of any other treatment. Fever, they contend, is best subdued with the knife and the razor: the patient's head having been shaved, he is copiously bled. A hot brick, applied to a too-distended stomach, affords relief in cases of over-eating; a poultice of fallen leaves, blessed by the *mullah*, drives away lumbago. Such is the pronouncement of the *hakim*, to whom the rustics pin their faith.

The *Amir's* military officers have discarded the picturesque turban for a semi-conical sheepskin hat, while uniforms are extremely like those worn in Russia before the late war. 'Other ranks' sport the loose, old-fashioned *chupkun*, their arms consisting of rifles made in Kabul, in the factory which the late Sir Salter Pyne once directed, with the newest thing in bayonets to keep the death-dealing weapon company. The old-world tribesmen sometimes prefer the *jezail* of their forefathers, the barrel of which is abnormally long, the curved stock being inlaid with mother-o'-pearl and brass, while

the razor-sharp *yataghan*, of scimitar form, ousts the bayonet. Thus equipped, and with side-locks hanging down to his neck, Ali is a desperate-looking fighter and the bravest of the brave. Victory, by the way, is celebrated in musical fashion; drummers beat the oblong *tam-tam*; cymbals are noisily clashed. The village singer pipes in a high falsetto voice of 'sopranist' quality.

Chairs are used only by certain 'notables,' and on state occasions, such as a *darbar*. Ordinary Afghans are content to sit on a cushion, supporting the back with an extraordinarily hard pillow, or pillows, if they occupy a position of importance. Seated thus, the master of the house receives his friends, and, taking a pull at a long-stemmed pipe, requests each guest to do likewise. Below the bowl is a receptacle containing rose water, through which the perfumed smoke passes. An odorous pleasure.

WOMEN MAY NOT DANCE.

The adult male never dances; nor are his women-folk allowed to gyrate, unchang-

ing custom forbidding this relaxation. Partial, however, to watching the harmless diversion, Ali encourages the *butchas* (as professional dancing-boys are termed) to perform. When a landowner gives a feast, he sees to it that the little dancers are well-fed, sweet-meats, consisting of rancid butter and spices, being provided, suitably paid, and if they live at a distance, sent home on camel-back. The *butchas* dance on a dais, the sides of which are hung with velvet, upon which verses from the *Koran* are embroidered in gold. The performance consists in moving slowly, a circular direction being taken, varied by an occasional shuffle. The dancer's strange gestures have a significance which Afghans find very pleasing.

Education has few supporters: in the higher form it scarcely exists. The village *mullah* teaches "reading, writing and 'rithmetic" to boys who are destined to become government servants, the lesson being repeated in unison by teacher and pupils. A droning voice is expected of the scholars...

PERSIA OF TO-DAY

By MUNSHI MAHESH PRASAD

LOVE of Religion and Philosophy, Culture and Civilization, Literature and Learning of the Muslims created in me a keen desire to travel through the Islamic countries with a view to studying things for myself from practical standpoint. Ceasing an opportunity I visited Persia last summer. My travel through that land was short. However, it was full of interest and added a great deal to my experience of life. With a view therefore to giving the benefit of my humble experience I gained at much personal expense and inconvenience, to the public in general and to any would-be traveller through that land in particular, that I am contributing this article to the columns of the Hindustan Review.

After providing sufficient money and the other things necessary, a traveller to Iran has to equip himself with a passport, which when obtained, should be endorsed by the Persian Consul-General at Bombay or by the Persian Vice-Consul at Karachi or Quetta as the case may be, for which a fee of about Rs. 6 is to be paid. There are two ways from India to go to Persia, one by sea and the other by land. Two steamers—one fast and the other slow—leave Bombay for Busrah every week. These steamers can take you to Persia through Karachi. People wishing to have an enjoyable and holiday trip generally prefer to go by sea while those possessing a love of adventure and sight-seeing go by land. By going through land one

has to take a train at Quetta. The train will take him right through Baluchistan to Duzdab—a railway station in the interior of the Persian territory. This line is the branch of the N. W. R. and spread over a distance of 456 miles. The railway stations there are few and far between. No provision for food is available there. The passengers have to equip themselves with eatables at Quetta.

Besides the above means of transport there is a third one, a road constructed from Quetta to Duzdab on which considerable traffic and a large number of passengers safely pass every day.

Before leaving for the Persian Territory a guarantee Bond of Rs. 300 is to be executed at the office of the Persian Consul. No sooner a traveller is on the verge of reaching Quetta than a number of inquiries about him and his whereabouts are made as if he is a confirmed criminal. I had a personal experience in this matter while returning to India by Railway and was rather astonished at the inquisitiveness of the Police but subsequently I came to know that such inquiries were usual in the case of persons travelling through British Baluchistan.

While going out to Persia I travelled by sea *via* Karachi to Bandarabbas. The journey was pleasant. The more I came near the Persian territory the more my keenness increased of arriving at my destination. After a journey of four days, I reached Bandarabbas. I found that I could go to any place, town or city of Iran from there. But owing to want of railways much difficulty was being felt by travellers in Persia. But recently the difficulty is got over by the introduction of motor lorries and at some places by aeroplane service. The desire that I once cherished has been fulfilled to a certain extent and I at that Persian port landed for the first time in the country of the great Persian race. My mind for the time being took me through the Persian history both ancient and modern which I read long long ago at home, and at College. But the materialisation of my desires put me among the strangers for which I was none the more sorry. However, I stretched and strained my eyes to see my own country-men if there were any, and it

was not long before I could find many of them. I stayed for sometime at Bundarabbas. Thereafter I visited several places in Persia but had no difficulty in studying things obtaining there since I could speak Persian and knew theoretically many of the traditional customs of the people of the country. The first impression I could form of Persia was that it could not escape the wave of modernisation. Slowly and steadily it is adopting itself to new phases of human development. The old order of things is gradually ceasing to exist and Persians are making considerable progress in various avenues of life.

The climate of the country is good and healthy. Winter season remains from November to April. The summer is not oppressive with the exception of the southern parts. The cities are flourishing though poverty prevails in rural areas. Persians as a race are polite, hospitable, obliging and industrious people. Islam is the principal religion of the land but people are superstitious in belief and humane in temperament. They shave their beards and are slowly getting out of the circle of Islamic orthodoxy. Cruelty to animals is considered to be a crime. I heard that hunting in spring season is penalised. Religious tolerance is allowed throughout, Christians and Zoroastrians, Sikhs and Hindus, Jews and Armenian Christians all observe their religious observances without any favour of being molested by Muslims.

There are several Hindu temples and Sikh Gurdwaras in Persia where religious worship is observed without any restriction. I was told that at a certain Gurdwara anniversary celebrations, Muslims took part and ate sweets distributed on the occasion. I think it was my proud privilege to visit a grand Hindu Temple at Bandarabbas which possessed a magnificent and beautiful building constructed in Indo-Aryan architecture which looked hoary with age and tradition. The temple contains prominent images of Shiva, Hanuman and of a few other Hindu Gods and Goddesses and Guru Granth Sahib. Temple bells, drums and other musical instruments ring occasionally but no objection has ever been taken by any Muslim. On the other hand, communal troubles and religious

fighths are unknown to that Islamic country. I was told at Bandarabbas that when the Hindus took through the streets of the city a procession of a Goddess on some religious occasion, Muslims instead of taking any objection thereto, delighted to witness the procession.

The old educational system obtaining a few decades back has been over-hauled in the light of the modern needs of the country and its people. Education is still back-ward but efforts are being made for its rapid advances. In the curricula of cultural studies practical subjects are being introduced with a view to providing new avenues of life to the people.

American and European Mission Schools are numerous. National Schools have also been started. Though the introduction of typewriters has done considerable injury to penmanship in Persia as it has done elsewhere, yet a great deal of attention is paid in schools to the art of writing, correct spelling and pronunciation. Text-books do not contain the stories of rats and cats but lessons bearing on Civics, Hygiene, Modern Scientific inventions, etc., have been set forth in them. In the Government Schools religion is compulsory. Quran and other scriptural texts of Islam are being taught. This is due to the fact that the Persians want to promote the building up of character in youth by making religion and ethics an integral part of education. After the Persian language French occupies an outstanding position inasmuch as it is liked and studied by the people. Arabic is neglected and efforts are being made to expel it altogether from the Persian soil.

From the literary standpoint there is a vast difference between the classical Persian taught in Indian Schools and Colleges and the modern Persian studied and spoken in Persia. Pronunciation, idiom and expressions of thoughts are all different there, and a foreign Persian Scholar gains a good deal when he comes in contact with the Persianists there. Students wear a kind of school uniform with caps having the School Badge in front. Considerable attention is paid to the physical culture of the students.

Female education is also advancing and girls are generally taught sewing and knitting along with other subjects.

Persia has not made much progress in the establishment of Railways, though recently efforts are being made for the construction of railway lines with a view to encouraging the economic development of the country. The only important railway operating at present in the North of Persia is the chord line between Julfa on the Russian frontier and Tabriz, with a branch to Lake Urmia.

At Tehran there is a narrow-gauge line of old type which connects the city with the suburb of Shah Abdul Azim, in which there is the tomb shrine of a brother of the eighth Imam, attracting a large number of pilgrims. Besides the short spur railway line belonging to the North-western Railway extends into Persia through Baluchistan as far as Duzab a mention of which has been made above.

In conclusion I may mention that a travel through the country is very beneficial to health and instructive in various ways. If my countrymen instead of visiting the hills in the summer go to Persia they will be doubly benefited.

EDUCATION AND DEMOCRACY

By MR. NARESH CHANDRA ROY, M.A.,

Lecturer, City College, Calcutta

JAMES MADISON once very pertinently observed, "A popular government without public education is but the prelude of a farce or a tragedy or both." Democracy is government by the people. It presupposes a political society in which all the adult citizens contribute something to the management of public affairs. A government the activities of which are not closely watched, jealously scrutinised and intelligently guided by the common people cannot be characterised any way as democratic and popular. A vigilant and educated electorate is the *sine qua non* of democratic administration. Without this basic factor, all other paraphernalia of a modern government come to nothing. A government with experts at the head of its departments but without an intelligent electorate is, says an American writer, "like a motor car with a skilled driver but without a carburetor: it will run smoothly on a down grade, but it has no motive power with which to climb the hills." The education of the citizen is hence the quintessence of democratic government. It is, as Professor Laski says, the heart of the modern state.

In the first half of the 19th century, this truism was not brought home to the public even of advanced countries in the west. Education was in fact not looked upon as a public function at all. It was left to private initiative. It was not till the year 1833 that the Government of England was persuaded to grant systematically some financial help to popular education, and it was not till the passing of the Education Act of 1870 that the Government finally accepted the responsibility of tackling comprehensively the problem of mass education. The Government of England before 1832 was of course a close oligarchy; the common people were debarred from political privileges and their ignorance, therefore, did not constitute any way a political anomaly. From 1832, however, the flood

gates of constitutional reform were opened and one class of people after another was admitted to political rights. Lest the people should not be able to exercise their rights with sufficient discretion and sense of responsibility, opportunity for their educational progress had to be provided for. When the Reform Act of 1867 was passed and the household franchise was granted to the town labourers, Robert Lowe very timely warned his colleagues in the House of Commons that they must now proceed to educate their newly installed masters. The danger of an electorate with political rights but without requisite knowledge to exercise those rights properly was brought home to the British Parliament and the Reform Act of 1867 was soon followed by the comprehensive Education Act of 1870. Similarly, the Act of 1918 which introduced universal suffrage in England was accompanied by Mr. Fisher's Education Act. Comprehensive mass education has thus been regarded by the British people as a handmaid of democracy. They must advance together.

Without education popular government becomes not only a farce, but without it the people become backward and unprogressive and are easily defeated by their educated rivals in every walk of life. When in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 the French were so decisively and ignominiously defeated by the Prussians, the French publicists easily recognised that this victory of Prussia over France was really a victory of education over ignorance. The French soldiers were unlettered and ignorant while the Prussians had all the rudiments of education and were receptive of new ideas and skill. The credit for the Prussian victory was therefore not to be monopolised by Roon and Moltke; it was to be shared half and half by the teachers who taught the future soldiers in the primary schools and the generals who drilled and organised them into a solid phalanx. The great

possibilities of education were thus brought home to the French people after the debacle at Sedan; and the comprehensive organisation, which has brought the light of education into every household of France dates from this time.

Not only as citizens and soldiers the educated score victory over the ignorant, but it is now an economic truism that in every field the educated workers yield more than their less fortunate colleagues who have not the benefit of education. It was after taking all these factors into consideration that Herbert Fisher, the Liberal statesman and educationist observed some years ago that expenditure on education was not only an investment but an insurance.

India is now on the road to democracy. The first stages of popular government have already been introduced in the country. It is a plank in the nationalist platform that full democratic government with universal suffrage as the basis should be set up immediately. While, however, this demand for the extension of franchise is being reiterated with all the emphasis, little importance has so far been attached to the problem of mass education. Under the Reforms of 1919, it was expected that primary education would be spread universally, at least it was thought that its bounds would be widened to a considerable extent. But unfortunately a combination of unfavourable circumstances stood in the way and primary education now stands almost where it stood in 1919. Lack of money in the Government coffer, want of foresight, enthusiasm and authority on the part of the ministers and unfriendly attitude of the reserved half of the Government have together vetoed down any further advance of popular education. In Bombay, no doubt, under the leadership of an enthusiastic Education Minister, a compulsory primary education measure was passed. It was expected to spread compulsory elementary education throughout the Presidency in the course of a decade. But it is understood since 1923 when the scheme was accepted, it has made very little head-way. In Bengal since 1925, a primary education measure has been on the legislative anvil. It has been hammered this way and that but up till

now the public does not know if it has taken any definite and final shape at all. The congressmen in the country are too busy with high politics to devote any organised attention to the question of public education. Their influence has been rather the other way about. In 1920 and '21 Mahatma Gandhi promised Swaraj in one year, called out the students from the educational institutions and characterized these latter as the strongholds of slave mentality. The boycott of the schools and colleges was of course not successful, it was only a temporary phenomenon. Most of the students returned to their respective institutions in the course of a few months. But a lasting impression was left behind that education was not a very important factor of our national life. For over a decade (1905 to 1919) before the starting of the non-cooperation movement, there was an enthusiasm among the people for education and more education. It was by itself looked upon as a virtue. Our leaders rightly put a great emphasis upon the spread of education; they looked upon it as the one panacea for all our ills. But with the starting of the non-cooperation movement, a dangerous doctrine that education may wait but Swaraj cannot come to be seriously preached. Already the growing unemployment among the educated was creating an atmosphere of indifference towards the spread of education in some provinces. The *fatwa* of the national leaders now gave a fillip to this backward tendency; and it is clearly noticeable that there is now an educational inertia among our people.

The great national movement led by Mahatma Gandhi since 1919, has of course created a definite political consciousness among the masses of our country. It has forever broken the old pathetic contentment and the feeling of helpless resignation that dominated our people so long. It has certainly given them political education to an appreciable extent. But this consciousness and this education can at best be negative in character. The common people may now feel and understand that everything is not well with them. They have now learned to question the benevolent character of the Government that be. They no longer attribute all their

ills to vagaries of Fate. They now understand that many of their misfortunes are really the handi-work of the representatives of foreign domination. But while this vague feeling of resentment and opposition has been generated among them, they have acquired no positive political faith, no clear idea as to their future political life. They are discontented, ill at ease but are not in a position to judge as to what is really conducive to their welfare and progress. Indian nationalists now demand that the next instalment of Reform should be based upon universal suffrage. This will mean that the problems of Indian administration will be ultimately referred to the masses of our country for final acceptance or rejection. But how can they be expected to pass any opinion on these vital and intricate questions when ninety per cent of them have no acquaintance with three R's? Vote by itself is to some extent educative no doubt, but it does not carry us far. Without at least elementary education, people cannot as a rule have an intelligent grasp of the problems of the country. It is not possible for the people in a modern country state to follow from day to day the economic and political situation without going through the daily press. There is indeed a definite conviction among a section of our countrymen that literacy should not be the condition precedent to the extension of franchise. Literacy by itself does not make men educated but it is the most potent instrument of education. Education again is not the only qualification of an elector; but without it he is helpless, at the mercy of the demagogues working in self-interest. The spread of education also helps to bring in its train the other virtues with which every citizen in a well-ordered democracy should be endowed. The universalisation of education may not hence be the pre-requisite of manhood suffrage in our country but once our people are given the vote, and come to hold the ultimate strings of power, every arrangement must be made for their proper education. In an ancient city state like that of Athens, where people seldom exceeded one hundred thousand in number and where even this small number of citizens lived within a stone's

throw of one another, it was possible for the sovereign people to pick up the threads of public affairs without the help of newspapers. News items passed from mouth to mouth and when in the public assembly they met they could follow intelligently the arguments of their leaders. For the study of public questions they had not necessarily to take to methods that required of them some literary education. But in a modern country state, especially in a country like ours where the people are scattered over so vast and far flung areas, it is impossible to keep in touch with public affairs and maintain a grasp of the national problems without at least a regular study of the daily press. But what percentage of our people is now in a position to read the papers? In a modern democracy like England the circulation of a daily is not uncommonly counted in millions, but in Bengal with about the same number of people, no paper can claim more than ten thousand constituents. Without a rapid extension of the primary stages of education, the larger circulation of the papers is out of the question.

There are again innumerable other problems that must be solved satisfactorily before the principles of nationalism and democracy will triumph in this country. The right solution of these problems, however, depends indispensably upon the spread of education among the masses. Forces of separatism have so far overpowered the ideals of unity. People have been more loyal to their local district than to the country as a whole. They have been more faithful to the religious community to which they belong than to the wider nation of which they are the units. Before the vigorous propaganda during the days of the non-cooperation movement, the vision of the rural people was, in ninety cases out of hundred, limited to the horizon of their own village. Beyond this their imagination very seldom travelled. Even when some of them visited religious places in other parts of the country, they could never look upon the people of these places as their own kith and kin. They could not make out as to how there might be any unity of interest and feeling between them. The people of these other parts were to all intents and

purposes foreigners not attached to them either by ties of neighbourhood or by bonds of family relationship. The tearing political propaganda since 1920 has no doubt dissipated to a great extent this sense of isolation. It has certainly brought the different parts of India into closer and more intimate touch. Among the educated classes the idea has now gained considerable ground that they belong to one common country and must work together in the interests of the nation to which they all belong. But among the masses of our country, this idea of nationality is still vague and cloudy. Nor will it be any the more clear till the light of education reaches the innermost recesses of our country. The necessity of universal primary education thus comes out paramount. It is really in the classrooms before the hanging wall maps that our boys and girls will have the best opportunity of imbibing the spirit of nationhood. In the course of reading elementary history and geography, they will discover the innumerable ties that bind the different parts of our country and the different classes of our people together. Constant acquaintance with the map of India and real familiarity with the economic, cultural and ethnic bonds of relationship between the several provinces will dissipate all spirit of localism and sectionalism and inculcate the ideal of unity in the future citizens of the country. The vertical differences of India have already been scotched to a considerable extent. Interprovincial jealousies and rivalries have been appreciably laid at rest. But the horizontal divisions are as prominent as ever. Communal bickerings seem to have rather been accentuated for the last few years. Inter-communal fights have been for some time past the special feature of our national life. People think in terms of their community and put all the emphasis upon their communal affiliations. They are Mahomedans and Hindus first and Indians only next. This deplorable state of things has been made possible mostly by the ignorance of the people. They have had no education except what might have been imparted to them by the priests and the maulvis. It is with these people that the rank and file of our countrymen come into

contact, and whatever a little bit they come to learn orally, they learn it from these priests and maulvis. These latter, however, either sincerely or out of self-interest put all the emphasis upon narrow communal ideals and inculcate this spirit in the people who accept them as their leaders and guides. With their associations limited to the communal groove, with their little education confined to the communal principles and ideals, with their movements determined wholly by the self, seeking communal leaders, the masses of our country naturally develop an aggressive sectional outlook. They are only clay moulded into communal shape by the religious leaders who have only their own axe to grind. The canker of communalism that is being nourished every day by the ignorance of the people can be finally killed only by the spread of compulsory education throughout the country. Four or five years of schooling will throw our people into the melting pot; out of it they will emerge appreciably transformed. On the benches of the classroom they will be brought into intimacies with the children of other communities. New associations and new friendships will be formed outside the communal groove. They will draw inspiration from the same teachers and learn in the same way the glories of the past history of their country. Their outlook will be broadened and their critical faculties awakened. They will not any longer accept as gospel truth whatever may fall from the mouth of their so-called leaders.

Like popular ignorance, wide-spread poverty also is a serious handicap to the working of democratic government. If the wealth of the community is monopolised by a fortunate few and the people as a rule suffer from chronic economic anaemia, democracy loses much of its strength and usefulness. The voters who are abjectly poor may be easily a source of danger, instead of becoming a pillar of strength to the state. If they are constantly in necessitous circumstances, they are very likely to use their political privilege for eking out an economic competence. They may thus sell their votes to the highest bidders and play into the hands of the unscrupulous rich. Democracy

worked under these circumstances will contribute more to the degeneration of the people than to their moral and material progress. In India to-day the people are steeped in extreme poverty, and in case universal suffrage is introduced now and people, irrespective of their economic circumstances, are given the vote, the consequences may be disastrous. Public conscience has not yet been properly awakened, people do not yet take the vote as a public duty, they take it more as a right to be used for personal gain. Poor voters may take their votes as a source of some sure income which they could not derive by any other legitimate means. Political field may thus be reduced to an auction mart where the unscrupulous adventurers will have a chance of securing political power by bidding highest. Now if these difficulties are to be removed and public life is to be broad-based and at the same time kept pure and clean, education must be universalized in the country. In the primary schools, the young students will develop a public conscience and a public morality which has been considerably undermined during the last two hundred years by the spirit of ruthless individualism. Brought under the influence of the new public schools, the young boys and girls will cease to think only in terms of individual welfare and learn to put the interests of the public before those of the self. The spread of education will be to a great extent a solution of our poverty problem as well.

Our poverty is not due to any lack of resources in the country. It is really due

to the want of any proper exploitation of these natural resources. This latter, however, has been mostly out of the question because of the ignorance of the people. Once the light of education reaches every door, the eyes and ears of the people will be opened, the book of knowledge will no longer remain a sealed book to them. They will be fitted to earn far more than their forbears. Education hence is the basic problem in our country. Upon its right solution depends the eradication of all other ills from which India now suffers. The wise-acres may of course argue that unless Swaraj is attained, there can be no solution of the educational tangle. The fact, however, remains that without educating the nation, it cannot be led to the cherished goal of independence. An illiterate, and poverty-stricken people cannot be peacefully and successfully mobilised against the most resourceful nation that holds us in the grip. All odds therefore must be overcome and necessary arrangements must be made for educating the people. Mahatma Gandhi has been placing a great deal of emphasis upon a programme of constructive activity in the country. It includes many vital items like the eradication of the untouchability curse. But it gives no place to the spread of education among the masses. It is time that the requisite importance is attached to this fundamental problem of our national life.

MOTTO—A reviewer of books is a person with views and opinions of his own about life and literature, science and art, fashion, style and fancy, which he applies ruthlessly or pleasantly, dogmatically or suggestively, ironically or plainly, as his humour prompts or his method dictates, to books written by somebody else. The two notes of the critic are sympathy and knowledge. Sympathy and knowledge must go hand in hand through the field of criticism. As neither sympathy nor knowledge can ever be complete, the perfect critic is an impossibility. It is hard for a reviewer to help being ignorant but he need never be a hypocrite. Knowledge certainly seems of the very essence of good criticism and yet judging is more than knowing. Taste, delicacy, discrimination unless the critic has some of these, he is naught. Even knowledge and sympathy must own a master. That master is sanity. Let sanity for ever sit enthroned in the critic's arm-chair.—*The Rt. Hon'ble Augustine Birrell, M.P., on "The Critical Faculty."*

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

(A) ESSAY-REVIEWS

A NEW WORK ON SANSKRIT LITERATURE

Reviewed By K. P. JAYASWAL

THE volume under review, covering 534 pages, with supplementary notes in the form of a 'preface' extending over 21 pages, fails completely to be, what it professes to be by its assumed title, *viz.*, "A History of Sanskrit Literature," for it does *not* deal with the Vedas, the Brahmanas, the Upanishads, the Angas, the Sūtras, the Pratisakhya, the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, Yaska, the Puranas, the dramas, and the poets and the authors of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and later centuries. The treatment of the subject is wholly arbitrary.

The author sets to his 'history' arbitrary limits in the following terms: "*Taken in conjunction with my Sanskrit Drama, published in 1924, this work covers the field of Classical Sanskrit Literature, as opposed to the Vedic Literature, the epics, and the Puranas.*" (p. vii.) "*To save space I have in the main dealt only with works earlier than A. D. 1200, though especially in the case of the scientific literature important books of later date are briefly noticed.*" (p. viii.) These being the limits, there was no justification for the assumption of the title: "A History of Sanskrit Literature," which in the circumstances is obviously misleading, and the designation of the book is thus a misnomer. In this respect Dr. Keith's book is bound to compare unfavourably with the other histories of Sans-

krit literature, for it is needless to say that no presentation as a literary history of even Classical Sanskrit can be worth reading by the lay public, without any treatment of the dramas, which constitute a most important part of that literature both in bulk and beauty. That the same author has written a separate book on the dramas is no excuse for the exclusion of the subject in a history of Sanskrit Literature written by him. Again, the promise given in the preface that "in the case of the scientific literature important books of later date are briefly noticed," is unfulfilled. *Madhusudana Sarasvati*, the greatest authority on Vedānta in the post-Sāṅkara period, is not even mentioned by name in the scientific section on Vedānta (pp. 474—479). To take, at random, another example, *viz.*, section XXII, the section on Law, under Part III ("Scientific Literature"), the author writing on 'Digests of Law' (pp. 448-449) says nothing about such important authorities as the *Madana-Ratna*, *Misaru Misra* (author of the *Vivada-Chandra*), *Pratapardra* (author of the *Sarasvati Vilasa*), *Nanda Pandita*, or *Jaganatha*, or the *Dayakramasangraha*, the *Vivadarnavasetu*, and many others. 'Scientific' subjects in general suffer from incompleteness, and their exposition fails to convey to the mind of the reader a clear idea of the bulk

**A History of Sanskrit Literature*, by A. BERRIEDALE KEITH, D.C.L., D. Litt., of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law, and Advocate, Regius Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology and Lecturer on the Constitution of the British Empire in the University of Edinburgh." pp. 28—538. (Oxford University Press, Bombay, and Humphrey Milford, London) 1928.

and importance of the scientific literature of the Hindus, which is still to be found in the Sanskrit language. This, added to the defective treatment of the subject by its being split up, largely derogates from the usefulness of Dr. Keith's book under survey, and the result of the fragmentary treatment is that we have a number of essays and notes stitched together in a volume, instead of a genuine literary history, in which a full view of Sanskrit literature, in all its branches, can be available to the reader. It is a curious feature of his treatment of the subject that Sanskrit fables appeal most to the learned author. He devotes 52 pages, out of his 535, to that subject (pp. 242—294). Assuming that the literature on this subject is important, nevertheless devoting nearly a tenth of the book to it seems to me wholly disproportionate.

In his criticisms of the Classical Sanskrit poetry, the author bestows warm praise on Bhartrihari (declaring that his "poetry exhibits Sanskrit poetry to the best advantage"): yet he translates (p. 180) Bhartrihari's expression "*taschandrabimbabhanah*" as "*those maidens with faces like the moon or the bimba.*" It is not necessary to point out in this country that *chandra bimba* means "the disc of the moon," and not *chandra* and *bimba* (*Kundru* fruit). What would the spirit of Bhartrihari, if allowed a chance, say on the professor's criticism that Bhartrihari's Sanskrit is at its best? He would say: "Thank you, I do not want your appreciation of my poetry and my language." "Those maidens with faces like the *Kundru* fruit!" It is certainly not the ideal of beauty of Bhartrihari and his country. Poor Bhartrihari never negotiated for this valuation. When I showed this interpretation of Bhartrihari's Sanskrit to two of the Pandits of Patna, they said that they would not have allowed a candidate to pass his 'B.A.' or Kavyatirtha, if he had so translated it in his answer book. Similar exhibition of Sanskrit to its advantage, may be picked up with ease from other translations attempted by the learned author.

Under "Didactic Poetry" the author treats us to the *Kuttani-mata*, the lessons of an old procuress to public women, with the necessary references to *surata* (which must be left here untranslated). Such passages are cited by our author at p. 237 under his singular ideal of "Didactic Poetry." There he translates: *durlabha yoshid yuva viprah* by "*who cannot easily get women for all his youth!*"

The whole sense of *Yuva viprah*, 'the young Brahmin'—the proverbial fool in the science of love—is lost by the mistranslation. Again, the propriety of citing such verses, and citing them in illustration of "Didactic Poetry," is more than questionable. But the learned author's ideas on many subjects are frankly curious. At another place, the word *vasah* which means 'residence,' (pp. 235-236) has been mistranslated by 'study,' *Malinavasane* of Kalidasa (*Meghaduta*) is rendered as 'dark garment proclaims her grief' (pp. 101-102—which Kalidasa never said. Kalidasa's intimate acquaintance with Indian things (p. 6) is appreciated thus: 'His own poems, on the other hand, and especially the description of Raghu's conquests, prove him intimately acquainted with many Indian scenes, the sandal of Kashmir...' p. 80.) It is a positive libel on Kalidasa's intelligence to attribute to him a knowledge of 'the sandal of Kashmir' which is non-existent. Sandal does not grow in Kashmir. And if Kalidasa ever associated sandal with Kashmir, instead of saffron, his country-men would not have regarded him a sane man. *Kunkuma* in Raghu's conquests (Raghu. 4. 67) means saffron, and not sandal. The title of the *Samayamatrika*, another work of the class of *Kuttani-mata*, has been rendered in a way which even beats the author's dealing with the *chandra-bimba* of Bhartrihari. It means, according to the learned Professor, "mother by convention." I suppose, he would similarly translate the *Vyavaharamatrika* of the law-books into "mother by law" or "mother-in-law." The term means, as understood in this country, 'An Introduction' or 'a Text' on 'Instructions,' that is, a manual for courtesans. In short, Sanskrit as understood and interpreted by the learned Professor is very different from what it is known to this country.

As to a valuation of Hindu contribution to p. 6) literature, every one is entitled to have his own judgment. But when the author compares his own judgment, to his own advantage, with that of Goethe on Kalidasa's poetry (e.g., *Sanskrit Drama*, pp. 280-81), the world will probably prefer to be in the erring company of Goethe rather than be guided by a leviathan of various learning. The author, Kalidasa (to Professor Keith) has "*for the deeper questions of human life, no message for us.*" The question which Kalidasa would have put to the Professor would be: "Sir, have you followed me?"

II

The language, though original English, reads largely like an inartistic translation, and is nowhere in the neighbourhood of the style we naturally associate with a literary history. I would quote for example, a few passages picked at random :

(a) "The fact that Sanskrit was regularly used in conversation.....helps to explain the constant influence exercised by the higher form of speech on the vernaculars which reveals itself *inter alia* in the constant influx of Tatsamas, words whose phonetic state runs counter to the tendencies of the vernacular." (p. xxvii.)

(b) "The case is other with Santideva..... Santideva who lived in the seventh century and whom tradition alleges to have been the son of a king who was induced by the goddess Tara....." (p. 72.)

(c) "Beside them may be put the lists of teachers which occasionally are recorded in later Vedic texts, but which are anything but free from suspicion of interpolation and exaggeration, though they prove, what was hardly dubious in any event, that there prevailed the practice of remembering series of teachers and pupils." (p. 148.)

Further, language unsuited to a serious work like a history of literature is found scattered throughout Dr. Keith's tome. It may be illustrated by some quotations. Writing on history in Sanskrit, the author says about the *Puranas* and their study (evidently by Pargiter and others):

(a) 'hitherto they have been treated only without critical judgement or acumen' (adding in a footnote) 'To ascribe authority for the period 1000—500 B.C. to work that know nothing of the 3rd cent. A.D. is foolish' (p. 148).

Here both the logic and the facts of the critic are utterly incorrect. A "work" may be ignorant of the third century A.C. but may not be ignorant in respect of 1000—500 B.C. Then, it is not true that the *Puranas* 'know nothing of the 3rd century A.D.' The list of the Satavahan kings is alone sufficient to disprove the assertion. Apart from the untrustworthiness of the statement, the language, with the use of the word "foolish" is wholly unbecoming.

(b) "Dr. Sukthankar's acceptance of this foolish and obvious forgery is regrettably uncritical" (p. xiv, n.).

Similar cheap gibes are frequent in this book; to take a typical example:— (one at the cost of Sir B. Seal and Sir Jagdish Bose) 'B. Seal (*the Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus*) holds a much more favourable view, but he reads new ideas into old texts. The influence of western science has now evoked brilliant reactions in India, including a revolution in our ideas of plant life' (p. 408, n.)

The work looked at from the point of view of the general reader—that is, the reader who does not know Sanskrit and wants to know what is in Sanskrit Literature—is very nearly useless. He will find its reading hard as penal servitude. The riddles propounded, problems expounded, theories adumbrated, dogmatic assertions made, will convey nothing to him, while language about as bad as that of an average foreigner and controversies launched rivalling those of mediæval theologians, will all conspire to make the general reader take leave of the book at an early opportunity. This is a very great pity—for an up-to-date, accurate, and sound history of Sanskrit Literature in English was badly needed; Dr. MacDonnell's treatise in the "Histories of the World" series having seen the light about a quarter of a century back.

III

As to the technical side of it—that is the work as a record of facts and a catalogue of the nature of *Suchipanditya*—the scholar will find it, (i) wanting in catalogue information, (ii) too full of first-rate 'howlers,' (iii) too thin in the scientific sections, (iv) too unreliable on chronology, and (v) having too few gems in a high heap of pebbles.

The author does not know that there are earlier Sanskrit inscriptions than the one on the Isapur pillar (p. 15) which he calls the 'first' of such records. He does not know that the name of the work of Chandessvara is *Raja-Niti-Ratnakara*, not *Niti Ratnakara*, as he says at p. 464, and that the book has been already published in the *Journal of the Behar and Orissa Research Society* for 1924. Amongst the works of Jaina politicians, he does not know the remarkable commentary published by Mr. Nathu Ram (*Cf. J.B.O.R.S., XI. 67*); not has he mentioned the *Rajaniti Prakasa*

by Mitra-misra, author of the *Viramitrodaya* (published in the Chaukhambha series) or Nilakantha's work printed at Benares. Chronology has been always a weak point in the writings of Professor Keith, and it is not fair to criticize him on that. Against the whole world he would still say that every scientific book in Sanskrit is after the Greek invasion, but 'no one now takes him seriously there. But when he contradicts even himself on the date of Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, one is forced to say that his 'History' had better remained unpublished. In 1924, in his *Sanskrit Drama*, he said: "To understand the Indian drama we have aid from a work of curious character and importance, the *Kamasutra* or *Kamasutra* of Vatsyayana, which was doubtless familiar to the dramatists from Kalidasa onwards" (p. 284). The date of Kalidasa he gives as *circa* '413 A.D.' ('under Chandragupta II') in the same book (p. 146). The *Kamasutra* of Vatsyayana, therefore, had been an authority before 400 A.C. Now it is accepted on all hands, including Professor Keith (p. 461), that Kautilya's *Arthashastra* is earlier than the *Kamasutra* of Vatsyayana. The date of Vatsyayana is admitted by him to be the fourth century after Christ (p. 461). This will also be the inevitable consequence of Kalidasa's knowledge of Vatsyayana's treatise. The *Arthashastra*, thus, would automatically go back beyond 300—400 A.C., as it had been a book of authority before Vatsyayana. But the Professor would not have even this date for a book on Politics in the Hindu period. He would, therefore, say (p. 469) :

'A.D. 500 is a reasonable date of the *Kamasutra*, for the *Arthashastra* may not be earlier than c. A. D. even later.' If Kalidasa flourished about 400 A.C. how could Vatsyayana be reasonably in 500 A.C., or the *Arthashastra* which is known to Kalidasa (*ibid.*, p. 461) be of 'A.D. 400, or even later? With ch. IX. 1 of the *Arthashastra* giving the 'imperial field' (*chakravarti-kshetra*) 'from the sea to the Himalaya in the north in the straight line', there is, according to the Professor, no mention of an empire in the *Arthashastra* (p. 461)! One may ask whether the learned author has had time to read the whole of the *Arthashastra* once.

The author's view that Sanskrit was a spoken language is an exceptional deviation into truth, but his conclusion, though correct, is not supportable on the arguments put forward by him. There is a noteworthy advance in recognizing a revival under Pushyamitra (p. 442), though the man who first pointed this out remains unmentioned by the Professor. The author has fallen into an error when he says that *Ritu-Samhara* is by Kalidasa. No Hindu commentator thought it to be so, nor does *Samhara* in the known language of Kalidasa ever mean 'a collection' or 'cycle.' Kalidasa uses it for 'destruction,' the correct and original import (Hari Chand). There was no justification for the Professor to repeat the mistake after the publication of Dr. Hari-Chand's book on Kalidasa. The work is thus quite unsuitable as a guide to students, and it is not likely to attain the position of authority in this country, where unfortunately for the author, Sanskrit still continues to be understood and largely studied.

A GREAT WORK ON WORLD-HISTORY *

Interest in the study of history is markedly increasing ; new methods of writing and teaching it, and especially the wonderful material discoveries of the last ten years, have rendered a re valuation of world-history imperative. Modern thought focusses itself less upon emperors and kings than upon the peoples they ruled over.

Harmsworth's Universal History—a perfect union of the scholarly with the popular—is planned and produced to meet this very real need for an original world-history which resurveys the past from a new point of view and in the light of the most recent knowledge, brought to bear upon their work by eminent experts and specialists.

* *Harmsworth's Universal History*, 8 vols. (Amalgamated Press, London) 1928-8.

Brilliant Contributors

About one hundred and fifty of the world's leading historians have combined to write it, under the editorial direction of Mr. J. A. Hammerton, well known as the editor of *The Universal Encyclopedia* and *Peoples of all Nations*. Each expert deals with the aspect of history of the period of time best known to him. These contributions have been skilfully assembled into a brilliant whole, embodying the cream of the world's historical knowledge, and in particular, since so many of the contributors are eminent professors or lecturers at universities, it may be said to represent the fine flower of British University culture.

A Work On New Lines

The work is planned on entirely new and distinctive lines, and it is gratifying to record that its general scheme has already earned high approval from some of the greatest educational authorities. The work falls into two main parts: (1) A continuous and world-wide narrative of events from the earliest times to the present day, accompanied by (2) numerous fascinating chapters interpreting the changing spirit of the ages and dealing in detail with the growth and development of social life, philosophy, religion, art, government, war, commerce, and industry. The completeness and authority of these chapters cannot be too strongly emphasised. Most of them are as important in matter, and often in length, as a book or treatise upon the particular subject. Yet they are eminently readable. Each contributor has endeavoured to describe or interpret the past as vividly as the journalist chronicles the fleeting hour and the ordinary reader will find that in these chapters "the dead past" does literally live again. The two parts thus supplement each other, making the work a harmonious compendium of all aspects of human history.

Its Wealth of Pictures

As original as the lines upon which it is written, is the plan upon which it is illustrated. No effort has been spared to collect pictorial documents of unquestioned authenticity. The treasures of the great museums of the world have been ransacked to find, as far as may be, illustrative matter contemporary with the events and periods described. The *History*—as now

completed—includes no fewer than ten thousand pictures or illustrative documents. They enhance enormously its value to scholars and greatly heighten the general reader's enjoyment. How fascinating are the glimpses into the actuality of the past which these pictures afford, can only be appreciated by those who possess these handsome volumes. Extensive use is made of maps and charts to elucidate the text. In many cases these have been specially supplied or designed by the contributors to whose articles they refer, and they materially enhance the usefulness of the text.

A Record of Social Life

It has been the aim of each contributor to tell as vividly, as is consistent with the strictest accuracy, the story of the world against a background of social life. Not only what their conquerors, rulers, and heroes did, but how the common people lived at every stage of the world's history; what houses they inhabited, what wages they got, how they worked and played, why they ate and drank—all this is of the essential substance of the work. Although of necessity many of the chapters are concerned with the character and achievements of great men, yet the main interest and value of the work resides in its records through all the ages, of the life of the common folk the real history of mankind. In this sense, the book is a history of peoples and nations.

The Past Lives Again

As the editor aptly remarks in his foreword, the reader of the *Universal History* will travel "down the corridors of Time" accompanied by scholars equipped to interpret to him the spirit of the times through which he passes. He may, under the guidance of one of these experts, make his way through the amazing cosmopolitan crowds that choked the noisy streets of Imperial Rome and see with the mind's eye the wondrous life of the great Forum, when the pulse of the whole world throbbed there. Or he may go much further back in the vanished years and listen to one who has made the subject his life-study, explaining how prehistoric man fought his great fight against the forces of Nature, formed the shelter for his mate and his offspring, fumbled his way to artistic

expression, and so laid the foundation of civilised life. Again he may listen while an expert in Economic History—the newest of studies—explains to him from an entirely new angle so hackneyed a subject as the French Revolution, which at the hands of a brilliant interpreter becomes a subject of the freshest and most engrossing interest. And the great events of our

own times re-told and re-examined by the foremost authorities of to-day assume new aspects which will surprise the reader no less than instruct and entertain him. Such is this truly monumental work—a brilliant achievement of the co-operation of eminent scholars. *It is a work to be treasured and carefully studied by the old and the young alike and equally so by the general reader and the student.*

LATEST DEVELOPMENT IN HINDUSTANI NOVEL

Novels in English as well as Hindustani are as plentiful as earthworms during the monsoon, but more often than not the story is slipshod, the characters jejune and the manner of the story-teller rhetorical and vulgar. It is, therefore, a pleasure to come across a writer who takes his vocation seriously, and who not merely writes with a purpose, but what is more important, can tell a story well. Two years ago the Indian Press of Allahabad published *Shama*, the first Urdu novel by Pandit Krishna Prasad Kaul, a member of the Servants of India Society, and its publication produced a stir in certain circles of Indian society. The theme of the novel was bold and unconventional; it was a plea for the dissolution of Hindu marriage under certain impossible conditions, when marriage had ceased to be marriage. His second book *Sadhu and Besya*, brought out a year ago by the same publishers, was based on a European novel and is a very interesting study in human psychology. The Leader Press of Allahabad has now published a third novel from his pen called *Majboor-i-wafa*, and in it the writer

returns to his former theme, the emancipation of woman and the dissolution of marriage. It will be probably resented by the man in the street, by the man who takes his creed from the "Pandit" just as he takes his *ata* from the grocer, and may rouse the ire of the militia of orthodoxy. But it will provoke thought and rouse public opinion on this thorny but urgent social problem. It is written in easy, natural and unforced style and its characters are real men and women, not the puppets of a "Morality" play. The picture of the non-co-operation movement of 1920-22 is particularly interesting and has been drawn with knowledge, sympathy and discrimination. Many readers will grieve at Kamni's tragic death and many will laugh at the crudities and vagaries of *Rangila Swami* and his companions. It is not often that one comes across such a well-told tale in Hindustani and we heartily commend it to the readers of the *Hindustan Review*. These books deserve, in our opinion, to be issued in Hindi also so as to reach a larger public in Upper India, than is possible in their present form.

(B) VIEWS IN REVIEWS

LATEST BOOKS ON ISLAM

Islam: Beliefs and Institutions. By Henri Lammens (Methuen and Co., Ltd., 36 Essex Street, London, W. C.) 1929.

Father Henri Lammens, who for many years has been Professor of Arabic at St. Joseph's College, Beyrout, is recognized as one of the foremost living authorities on

Islamic history and theology. In his most recent work, called *Islam: Beliefs and Institutions*, he presents in the most succinct form and with absolute impartiality the beliefs and institutions of the whole Islamic world. This book is both scholarly and popular, and gives a picture of contemporary Islam, showing the lines along which it has developed during the thirteen centuries of its

history. No such comprehensive survey of the great religion of the Prophet of Arabia has hitherto been available in a compact and readable form, and at a time like the present, when Moslem peoples are engrossing so much public attention and such vast changes are taking place among them, we are sure the appearance of Father Lammens' book in English will be widely appreciated, particularly in this country. The author of this work is recognized as one of the foremost living authorities on Muslim institutions, and so he describes them with great conciseness and with complete impartiality, in a manner which is both scholarly and clear. His picture of Islam, as it is to-day, is a comprehensive survey of this great religion and it should be especially welcome when public attention is being occupied by the great changes and reforms which are being introduced in a number of Muslim states. We have great pleasure in commending this excellent survey to all students of Islamic beliefs and institutions.

Rabia: The Mystic. By Dr. Margaret Smith. (Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, London) 1929.

Dr. Margaret Smith's work represents the first complete biography of the Muslim saint, Rābi'a of Baṣra, a unique personality in Islamic mysticism in the eighth century. Part I gives an account of her life, Part II is concerned with her teaching and writings and Part III deals with the place in Islam of women in general and women saints in particular. Rābi'a, the subject of this memoir, has long been known to students of Sūfism, and to a lesser extent to those interested in Mysticism generally, as a unique personality among the early Sūfis, one who, in spite of her early date—she died in A. D. 801—was a true mystic. Rābi'a was one of the earliest Sūfis and although a woman she was regarded as a saint. Fragments from her teachings are found in many books. This is a complete account of her life and teachings including those of her fellow saints. Sūfism gave women a chance to attain the rank of sainthood and Rābi'a was the greatest. We commend this well-written and comprehensive sketch to all students of Sufism and mysticism.

An Apology for Mahomed.—By Godfrey Higgins. Edited with introduction and notes by Mirza Abul Fazl. (Reform Society, Daryabad, Allahabad) 1929.

This reprint of a hundred-years old book is very welcome, by reason of its great value even now. Mr. Higgins (1773—1833) devoted himself to an unbiassed investigation into the history of Islam and founder. Mirza Abul Fazl has affixed a short sketch of his life taken from the *Dictionary of National Biography*. The book called *An Apology for Mahomed* was published in 1829 and has long been out of print. In reprinting the text the editor has also added useful appendices on (1) the Koranic notices of Mary and Jesus and the Christians and on (2) the charter granted by Mahomed to the Christians of his day and on the Christian references to Muhammad. In the chapter on Islam, the editor sets out the basic truths of Islam with authoritative references and gives a comparative sketch of Christianity and Islam in parallel columns which shows the fundamental unity of the two great religions. The book deserves appreciation at the hands of all students of Islam.

Wisdom of the Prophets. By (Khan Sahib) Khaja Khan (69 Jani Jahan Khan Road, Royapettah, Madras) 1929.

(Khan Sahib) Khaja Khan has long since made his mark as a highly successful expositor of Islamic mysticism, and his previous works called the *Philosophy of Islam*, *Studies in Tasawwuf* and the *Secret of Anal Haqq* have been widely appreciated. His latest contributions to the same subject is *Wisdom of the Prophets*. The book is a synoptical translation into English of Shayk Muhiyuddin ibn-i-Ali ul Arabi's famous standard book *Fusus-ul-Hikam* (Bezels of Wisdom) made for the first time after seven hundred years. In this, the main lines of the *wahdat-ul-wujud* metaphysical system and the secrets of prophethood have been discussed, and the translator has enriched his excellent rendering with critical, analytical, and elucidative notes, which add materially to the value and usefulness of the text. By the publication of his book, Mr. Khaja Khan has rendered a very great service to the exposition of Islamic mysticism.

Across the World of Islam. By S. M. Zwemer (Fleming H. Revell Company, 21 Paternoster Square, London) 1929.

Mr. Samuel Zwemer is one of the greatest living authorities on Islam. In his

Across the World of Islam, he has presented a series of instructive studies in various aspects of the Muslim faith and in the present awakening in the Muslim countries. The author who has lived in, and wandered for thirty-eight years across the wide world of Islam gathers much in what he is wont to call his mental *kashkul*, or "beggar's basket," which he now has offered to the student of Islamic studies. In this volume he opens his treasure to the reader, and offers a share of the spoil collected from Cairo to Casablanca, from Capetown to Calcutta. The Indian section will naturally appeal to the readers in this country. The unity of the world of Islam, its fascination, its desperate needs and its marvellous awakening life have impressed all who study the subject. Here are seen the by-ways as well as highways that the author has traversed during his lifetime's devotion to its cause and people. The book is thus a notable contribution to Islamic studies, as each illuminating chapter adds its part to a great living panorama of life in these little known parts of the world. The book is well illustrated.

The Expansion of Islam. By W. Wilson Cash. (Edinburgh House Press, 2 Eaton Gate, London, S. W.1) 1929.

Mr. W. W. Cash's *The Expansion of Islam* deals with the movements of this Arab religion in the non-Arab world. It discusses the life of the Prophet, his teachings, empire building after his death, cultural development in Islam, its mysticism, the impact of westernism on it, its revival and the modern movements, its latest renaissance and missionary spirit. An appendix, index, bibliography and maps contribute to make the book useful. The work of a one-time chaplain to the Egyptian expeditionary force, the author has personal knowledge of the subject he writes about and though there are a few petty slips in the book, it is, on the whole, well-informed and informative. Making allowance for his unconscious bias in favour of Christianity when comparing and contrasting it with Islam, the book is creditably free from religious prejudice and is a useful contribution to the literature of Islamic renaissance throughout the world.

The Cultural Side of Islam. By M. M. Pickthall. (M. Jamal Mohamed, 16 Thambu Chetty Street, Madras) 1929.

Mr. Muhammad M. Pickthall's *Cultural Side of Islam* is composed of a series of lectures (delivered at Madras) on Islamic culture as manifested in its brotherhood, tolerance, relation of the sexes, and in Arts, Science and Letters. Mr. Pickthall—who is a highly cultured exponent of the subject—vividly delineates Islamic culture as he understands it and the causes for its rise and fall. Whether one agrees with the author or not in all that he says in his interpretation and defence of Islamic culture, there can be no two opinions that his exposition will be found valuable by students of the subject. It will enable readers to appreciate Islam at its best.

The Historical Development of the Quran. By the Revd. Canon Sell. Fourth Edition (Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., Ltd., Stationer's Hall Court, London, E. C.) 1929.

Dr. Sell is a veteran expositor of Islam according to his lights. His books—*The Faith of Islam*, *The Religious Orders of Islam*, *The Life of Muhammad and Islam: Its Rise and Progress*—are acknowledged as standard works. *His Historical Development of Quran* is a valuable work which has passed through four editions. It is a sound historical sketch of the growth of the Quran showing how its gradual formation was determined by the events of the Prophet's life. It will be indispensable to students of Islamic studies.

NEW BOOKS ON THE BHAGAVAD GITA

Sri Krishna and the Bhagavad Gita.—By Elizabeth Sharpe. (Arthur H. Stockwell, 29 Ludgate Hill, E. C. 4) 1929.

The Bhagavada Gita: Interpreted by F. Edgerton (Open Court Publishing Company, 149 Strand, London W. C. 2) 1929.

The Bhagavad Gita.—By W. Douglas P. Hill, M.A. (Oxford University Press, Bombay) 1929.

The above three expositions of the *Bhagavad Gita* are by westerners—presumably all Christians. As independent studies of the greatest book in Hindu theological-philosophical literature, they are all of great value and usefulness to the votary of the doctrines propounded in this immortal work. Of the three Elizabeth Sharpe's

Sri Krishna and the Bhagvada Gita—which she herself calls “a simple exposition... written more for the man in the street than the philosopher”—is a highly sympathetic interpretation betraying the great insight of a careful student of the subject. Mr. Franklin—Assistant Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Pennsylvania—has attempted in his *Bhagavad Gita Interpreted* an elaborate exposition of “India’s favourite Bible.” In his preliminary chapters he discusses the historical background and this he follows with dissertations on the various problems dealt with in the *Gita*. In a third part he summarises his views. There is a useful appendix on translations and methods of interpretation of the *Gita*, with indexes of words and subjects, as also of passages. The exposition of this abstruse and difficult subject given by the American professor is both scholarly and lucid and his book is a notable addition to the expository literature of the *Bhagavad Gita*. Principal Douglas Hill’s *Bhagavad Gita* is more than a mere expository work, for not only he interprets, but gives a faithful and excellent line to line rendering into English prose of the original, as also the Sanskrit text, enriched with an almost exhaustive, luminous Introduction (extending over nearly one hundred pages) dealing with matters relating to the subject-matter under consideration, and an appendix on bibliographical notes. For the serious student of the *Gita*—who wants the text, its translation and a clear exposition of the subject, we can unhesitatingly recommend Mr. Hill’s book as out and out the best text-book.

The Bhagavad Gita: A Criticism.

—By F. K. Khan Durrani, B. A. (Tabligh Literature Society, Lahore) 1929.

Bhagavad Gita: A Fresh Study.

—By D. D. Vadekar, M. A. (Oriental Book Agency, Poona) 1929.

Bhagavad Gita: An Exposition.

—By V. G. Rele (D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Hornby Road, Bombay) 1929.

These three books—unlike the group noticed above—are written by Indians, two of whom are votaries of the *Gita* and the third a disbeliever in its teachings and an unappreciative and hostile critic of its contents. Naturally Mr. F. K. Khan Durrani—as the result of his warped men-

talities and a stigmatic vision—misses (in his *The Bhagavad Gita: A Criticism*) the great merits of this monumental work. His book is valueless and in the present state of communal tension is likely to prove mischievous. Professor Vadekar’s *Bhagavad Gita: A Fresh Study* is a meritorious contribution to the study of the subject by reason of its utilizing the historical method for purposes of interpretation, for its many instructive parallelisms between Indian and Western systems of philosophy in the light of methodological tests, and for his bringing to bear upon his discussion a fresh and an original outlook. His book—though small—is of very great utility, especially to students of the *Gita* in Europe and America.... Dr. Vasant G. Rele has by his *Mysterious Kundalini*—appreciatively noticed by us as a scientific exposition of the Hath Jog phenomena—already made his mark as a scholarly expositor of Indian philosophy, and in his *Bhagavad Gita: An Exposition*, he unfolds the hidden secrets underlying its teachings. This exposition of the *Bhagavad Gita* is the outcome of a comparative study of Hindu and Western psychology. The author has attempted to prove that the *Bhagavad Gita* not only teaches the theory and practice of psychology, but also indicates the method of analysing, synthesising and re-educating the different phases of the mind of an individual on the border-line of mental derangement. It teaches the repair of the disordered mind by bringing to light the causes of the disturbance, so making possible the restoration of that harmony which ought to exist between different parts. Thus its object is the same as that of the modern science of Psycho-analysis. But the treatment of the disordered mind is based on directing the mind to the *divine* qualities of Psyche. The break in the harmonious working of the mind is shown to be due to the constant suppression of impulses coming from without, impulses alien to its nature; the dislocated phases of the mind are re-collected, re-organised, and the unified mind is then directed to the realisation of the *divine* qualities of the sub-conscious. The author gives a lucid and succinct account of the various passages which unfold a true and original interpretation of some of the verses that had long remained unintelligible. He has made a unique attempt to put the Hindu scriptural doctrines, in line with

scientific theories of the modern progressive civilisation. An inspired work, besides its apparent meaning, has also an esoteric meaning behind it, and the thoughtful public will welcome this work as offering a new interpretation on modern and scientific lines. It is a highly thought-provoking book.

RECENT COLLECTIONS AND SELECTIONS

An Anthology of Revolutionary Poetry.

Edited by Marcus Graham. (Box 3 West Farms Station, New York, U. S. A.) 1929.

It is not surprising that Mr. Marcus Graham's *Anthology of Revolutionary Poetry* has been warmly welcomed alike in literary and political circles in America. It deserves a cordial appreciation throughout the English-knowing world, as it is an anthology of poetry calling for a social order wherein all forms of slavery shall be replaced by freedom. Poets espousing this dream, representing the following countries, are included within these pages: America, Armenia, Australia, Belgium, Canada, China, England, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, India, Ireland, Italy, Mexico, New Zealand, Norway, Roumania, Russia, Scotland, Spain, Ukraine. The scope of the work is thus comprehensive, the selections are judiciously made, and both the original poems chosen and the excellent renderings into English from the various foreign languages make highly interesting reading. This splendid collection should appeal to all lovers of freedom in the broadest sense of the term and should command a large circulation in India.

England's Voice of Freedom.—Compiled by H. W. Nevins (Victor Gollancz Ltd., 14 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London, E. C.) 1929.

Mr. H. W. Nevins's *England's Voice of Freedom* contains great passage in English prose and verse written in praise of freedom of thought and discussion; freedom of conscience; freedom in society; freedom in citizenship; freedom from economic oppression; and freedom from national or racial domination. The compiler is a votary of the ideal that holds that human beings are dignified by freedom and rendered contemptible by its absence. He has, therefore,

planned his book in the hope that its perusal may do something to serve the greatest of human purposes—namely, induce a true appreciation of freedom. The book as such deserves warm acknowledgment from the many lovers of liberty—as opposed to license.

Anthology of Czecho-Slovak Literature.

By Paul Selver (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd., Broadway House, 68-74 Carter Lane, London. E. C.) 1929.

The Mitre Anthology of Poetry 1929.

(The Mitre Press, Mitre Chambers, Mitre Street, London. E. C. 3.) 1929.

Mr. Paul Selver's *Anthology of Czecho-Slovak Literature* contains English renderings from the *Literature* works of Czech and Slovak authors in prose and verse, mostly modern and many of them contemporary. It does not claim to be exhaustive. The translator has selected his material mostly for its artistic qualities, but occasionally because of its documentary interest. All the extracts, with the exception of one or two of the earliest prose specimens, are complete in themselves. The book is an interesting addition to the literature of Czecho-Slovakia... *The Mitre Anthology* is a volume of new poetry by new poets in every English-speaking land. An international collection, it embraces every form and type of poetic expression and is thus unique. It is the first collection of its kind, but it is so interesting that we hope it will become a hardy annual.

Prefaces and Introductions. By Anatole France. (John Lane the Bodley Head Ltd. London) 1929.

Anatole France was not one to "husband the golden grain" of his genius. It would be truer to say that he "flung it to the winds like rain." To write a preface or a foreword to the work of a young and aspiring author he would rarely refuse, for he was one of the kindest and most generous of men. Such contributions from his pen, however brief or however slight, all bear the authentic mark of his genius; they are true gold and of exquisite workmanship. A selection of some of the principles of them is presented in the volume called *Prefaces and Introductions* which have been exceedingly well rendered, with a foreword and notes, by Mr. J. Lewis May.

Studies in Literature. Third series. By Sir A. Quiller-Couch (Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, London, E.C.) 1929.

A Miscellany. By A. C. Bradley (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London) 1929.

Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch and Dr. A. C. Bradley are two of the greatest figures in English prose literature of the present century and so the collections of their essays are bound to be welcomed by a large circle of readers. *Studies in Literature* is the third series of Sir Arthur's collected essays. Those brought together in this volume deal with the English Elegy, the Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth, Shakespeare's Comedies, Coventry Patmore, Longinus, besides two addresses on Keats and Scott. All of them are characterized by great literary charm and make pleasant reading. Dr. Bradley's *Miscellany* while dealing with similar literary subject, also brings within its scope abstruser topics like English Poetry and German Philosophy and Coleridge's use of light and colour. The essays gathered in this book display critical acumen and merit careful consideration at the hands of serious students.

CURRENT WORKS OF REFERENCE

Handbook for Speakers and Writers on the so-called Temperance Question. Eighth Edition (The Freedom Association, 62-3 Amberley House, Norfolk Street, Strand, London, W. C.2) 1929.

The Handbook on the Temperance Question—to give it a shorter name—first saw the light in 1912. That in the course of sixteen years, it has passed through eight editions, is more than sufficient evidence of its usefulness and popularity. Its motto is an excellent saying from Milton's essay entitled "Expositions on Places of Scripture which Treat of Marriage," which runs as follows:—"No man denies that best things may be abused: but it is a rule resulting from many pregnant experiences that what doth most harm in the abusing, used rightly doth most good. And such good to take away from honest men, from being abused by such as abuse all things, is the greatest abuse of all." These are words of profound wisdom, and the text of the *Temperance Handbook*, in question,

being framed on the lines suggested by Milton, is not only sound and highly useful, but thought-provoking and stimulating to a degree. It is a comprehensive work dealing lucidly with the many aspects of the temperance problem in Britain—as opposed to prohibition—but though primarily intended for British use and purposes, it will be undoubtedly very useful to reformers in this country as well. For purposes of ready reference the book is furnished with a detailed index, which is highly conducive to a careful study of the contents of this skilfully compiled and well-planned work; while for the general reader it comprises an interesting section on "Freedom," its principles and application, embellished with a hundred extracts on it from the greatest writers ranging from Plato to Herbert Spencer.

The Madras States Directory 1929-30. Edited by T. M. Satchit (The Pearl Press, Cochin) 1929.

The third annual edition of the *Madras States Directory* is an improvement on its predecessors, and is a useful reference work, as it gives statistical, historical and commercial information regarding the five Madras States, more especially Travancore and Cochin. It is well-illustrated and its get-up is appreciably good. It supplies a long-felt want as there is no complete and authoritative work of reference regarding these States. As such, it will be an indispensable requisite to the politician and the publicist, the commercial traveller and the tourist. It covers over 300 pages of reading matter, over 250 photographic reproductions of the ruling princes of these States and the members of their families, also of other prominent personages. There is a separate Who's Who section for Travancore and another for Cochin and the biographical notes ought to prove useful to the public. The publishers have reserved the Pudukkottai section for more elaborate treatment in their next edition. The Cochin section has been revised with more exhaustive information relating to trade and commerce, and there is an interesting note on the Cochin harbour which has been revised and brought up-to-date. Altogether the *Madras States Directory* is a notable addition to the literature of Indian directories.

The Scots Year-Book 1929-30. Edited by A. Irvine and J. E. by McLachlan (96 Farringdon Street, London, E. C. 4.) 1929.

The main purpose of *The Scots Year-Book* is to carry "a message of Scottish solidarity and patriotism," and so promote the interests of Scottish societies in all parts of the world. The 1929-30 issue is well calculated to achieve its aim, for it is brimful of literary and reference matter, at once interesting and useful.

The world-list of Scottish societies is longer than ever; and the chronological list of social and other activities of the Scottish societies in London alone occupies six pages of small print. Besides much useful information, there are many interesting articles which include "The Flying Premier," "Scott: the author and the man," "Scotland Leads—Union of the Churches," "The Scott in the 'Pictures,'" "An Orphan of the 45 in America," "The Scottish Country Dance Club," "Scotch Jokes and Stories," "The Pipes and the Kilt," and, of course, the inevitable "Auld Lang Syne." "Some Recent Books of special interest to Scots" is a quite important section, and a new feature—Our Entertainers—should prove helpful to "social" secretaries of Scottish societies in the British Isles. The year-book should appeal to all Scotsmen in India.

Raphael's Almanac 1930.—(W. Foulsham and Co. Ltd., 10 and 11 Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, London, E. C. 4) 1929.

This old-established Almanac—for Raphael's is in one hundred and tenth year—is full of interesting facts and curious prophecies. It describes astronomical phenomena, contains predictions about events and weather during the year, gives birthday information, including prospects of any child born during the year, and includes much other information useful to the housewife and the farmer. Though meant primarily for residents in Britain, its matter is of much wider interest. The *Almanac* includes a few predictions about India though not about the Round Table Conference and the Simon Commission. This is disappointing in all conscience, but there is much in *Raphael's Almanac* that should appeal alike to the British and the Indian in this country.

The Booklover's Diary 1930.—(George Newnes, Ltd., 8-11 Southampton street, London, W. C. 2) 1929.

The *Hindustan Review* does not usually notice diaries, but an exception in favour of the *Booklover's Diary* is obviously desirable, as it contains useful information on all sorts of literary topics. It tells how to catalogue a library, provides spaces for entering names of books to read and books borrowed and lent. Lord Riddell writes in an introduction: "The owner of this diary will have a place in which to make his or her notes concerning books to read." Apart from providing these facilities it contains lists of libraries, clubs, publishers, literary agents, technical terms, authors' pen names, reference books, pocket libraries, histories of printing and commonplace books, hints on buying, collecting and binding books; in fact, all information which a literary man would like to have at his disposal. Thus it is a very useful reference work and no booklover can do without it. It can be had also in leather binding and can be slipped into the vest pocket.

The Trichinopoly Rock and its Temples.—By S. K. Devasikhamani (Headmaster, Bishop Heber High School, Trichinopoly) 1929.

Mr. S. K. Devasikhamani's *Trichinopoly Rock and its Temples* appeared in 1923. It has been carefully revised and judiciously enlarged for the present edition, and in its new form it is an adequate guide to the famous rock temple at Trichinopoly. The booklet is well got up—neatly printed and embellished with a number of attractive photographs. The contents offer a full descriptive sketch of not only the temple, but also of its legends and the worship carried on in it. The handbook will be highly useful to visitors to Trichinopoly.

RECENT LEGAL LITERATURE

The Trial of Socrates.—By Dr. C. Phillipson. (Stevens and Sons, Ltd., 119-20 Chancery Lane, London) 1929.

Dr. Phillipson's *Trial of Socrates* is a very erudite work which, by reason of the light it throws on the ancient Greek system of procedural law, is of the highest utility to the student of comparative adjective law. But apart from it, the book,

which is not only instructive but highly interesting, should appeal to a large circle of readers by reason of the personality of the accused and the very great part he has played in the intellectual and moral history of not only Greece, but of the world. In the book, under review, we are at last furnished with the record of one of the greatest and most famous trials in history. We have in it an exhaustive work on the age as well as a full account of the trial itself. Dr. Phillipson, who is a barrister, is a man learned in the law, and has brought to his task a trained mind and indefatigable industry. The author says in his preface: "I believe that this work is the first attempt in any language to present a systematic and—so far as the evidence permits—an adequate account of the trial of Socrates." That is so to our knowledge but though a pioneer work on the subject it deals with, it is sound and comprehensive and is a masterly exposition of the details of the trial. It should be valued and studied by all students of ancient adjective law, as also by all admirers of Socratic philosophy. By writing and issuing it Dr. Phillipson has rendered a notable service to legal learning.

Lord Darling and his Famous Trials —

By Evelyn Graham (Hutchinson and Co. Ltd., 34 Paternoster Road, London, E. C. 4) 1929.

Of the English judges who are fortunately still in the land of the living, none has been more popular than the one who is still known (in common parlance) as Mr. Justice Darling, though (officially) he has been Lord Darling for some years. It may safely be asserted that no judge has ever caught the imagination of the public and the respect of the legal profession in quite the same way as Mr. Justice Darling. The reason is obvious. His wit, his fairness to the defendants and prisoners who came before him, and the oratory of his charges to the jury, quickly singled him out as a judge whose name deserved a permanent record. In this book then, the life-story of one of the most famous legal luminaries is told, as written by Mr. Evelyn Graham, under the personal supervision of Lord Darling.

The text is divided into three great parts. Part one deals with the making of judge and lawyer, and deals with Lord Darling's early life and training.

In Part two the inside story of the many famous trials and *causes celebres* with which he has been connected are dealt with. This is the most interesting part of the book. Finally, in Part three, Lord Darling's retirement and sporting and literary activities are dealt with, and here the man, rather than the judge, is presented to the reader. The book is a notable acquisition to the biographical section of legal literature and should be treasured alike by judges and lawyers, for it is highly interesting.

The Earl of Halsbury: Lord High Chancellor. By A. Wilson-Fox (Chapman and Hall, Ltd., 11 Henrietta Street, London, W. C.) 1929.

Hardinge Giffard, Lord Halsbury, died only in 1921. But he was born in 1823, was called to the Bar in 1850 and lived to the age of ninety-eight. From all accounts, he was a wonderful man and in his *Earl of Halsbury*, Mr. A. Wilson-Fox pays a fine tribute to him alike as a lawyer, judge and man. Born but eight years after Waterloo, he saw the Duke of Wellington on the day of the great Chartist riots; saw the first omnibus, defended the Tichborne claimant; and was no less than five times Lord Chancellor; born under George IV, served Queen Victoria her whole life, actually instituted King Edward VII into his kingship and lived under his son George V until his death. It is a most interesting biography, for the subject of it was himself very interesting. His judgments were masterly. Though much criticised there is little doubt that he was right in his opposition to Asquith's threat of creating 500 peers to flood the House of Lords. What a place Britain would have looked—with her reputation for common sense and gift for political management—if the genius of the people could not deal with it better than that! But there is no doubt this man, who became Lord Halsbury, was a giant. His work in editing the thirty volumes of the *Laws of England* shows that, and this

book carries proof in plenty. There is hardly a man of culture who will not enjoy reading this biography. It deserves appreciation for its lucidity and candour.

The Law of Elections in India.—By R. N. Sang, Bar-at-Law (Rawalpindi), 1929.

Mr. R. N. Sang's *Law of Elections in India* is the first work of its kind and as such it deserves a cordial welcome. So far we have had from Sir Laurie Hammond and others only collections of election cases. These, however valuable, cannot take the place of a text-book presenting a systematic exposition, such as is now rendered available in the book under consideration, in which a successful attempt has been made to embody, systematize and expound all the relevant Indian and English principles, of the law relating to elections, in the light of authoritative decisions on the subject. The scope of the work is comprehensive and all the various aspects of the election law are carefully discussed and elucidated in it. It will be found highly useful by officials, lawyers and election candidates. It merits appreciation as a pioneer work.

The All-India Ready Referencer : (Civil, Criminal and Revenue). By R. Satyamurthi Aiyar, M.A., M.L. (M. K. Srinivasa Iyengar, Law Publisher, Triplicane, Madras), 1929.

Yet one more effort—and a highly successful one—to simplify the work of the practising lawyer. Mr. Satyamurthi Aiyar's *All India Ready Referencer* is an exhaustive subject index to the rulings of the High Courts, other superior courts in the Indian Empire, and of the Privy Council on appeals therefrom, reported in the authorized and unauthorized reports. The part issued covers the first half of 1929. The arrangement and classification are excellent and if the future instalments are issued regularly, this publication will be one of the greatest utility to the practising lawyers and the judicial cers.

The Child Marriage Restraint Act 1929.—By A. S. Srinivasa Aiyar (The Law Publishing Company, Mylapore, Madras), 1929.

Mr. Srinivasa Aiyar's edition of the *Child Marriage Restraint Act* should be very welcome to a large section of the

educated public. The text is enriched with an analytical Introduction, critical comments, statement of objects and reasons, reports of the select committees (with minutes of dissent) and select speeches made in the Assembly. Thus it is an excellent edition and merits large circulation.

A Guide to the Study of the British Constitutional Law.—By (the late) M. R. Bhide, M. A., Second edition (Mrs. Tarabai Bhide, 3rd Modi Lane, Sitabaldi, Nagpur), 1929.

Mrs. Tarabai Bhide has done well to have brought out a second, improved edition of her late husband's *Guide to the Study of the British Constitutional Law*, first issued before his death, in 1921. It is pre-eminently adapted to the requirements of university students and will be found of great utility by them, as it covers the whole ground of English constitutional law and is a lucid exposition of the subject.

ON THE EDITOR'S TABLE: MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE

Evidently in view of the Shivaji tercentenary the literature relating to the greatest Mahratta leader is growing apace. The two latest books to hand are the third edition—thoroughly rewritten and enlarged—of Dr. Jadunath Sarkar's *Shivaji and his Times* (Longmans, Green & Co. 39 Paternoster Row, London) and Dr. Surendra Nath Sen's *Foreign Biographies of Shivaji* (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., Broadway House, Carter Lane, London, E. C. 4). Both the scholars are specialists in Mahratta history and their volumes are marked by research and scientific spirit. Dr. Sarkar's original work is now usefully supplemented by the valuable collection of foreign biographies of Shivaji, brought together in Dr. Sen's book and all translated into excellent English.

Of the various "Omnibus Books" published, none, except possibly the *Short Stories of H. G. Wells*, will be more welcome than Mr. Graham's new compilation—*Great Russian Short Stories*. He is the acknowledged interpreter of Russian literature to the English-speaking world, and apart from his own writings, has introduced two outstanding Russian novels, Gogol's *Dead Souls* and Kataev's *Embezzlers*. The present book is a notable achievement in the difficult art

of selection. Within its thousand pages will be found some of the best examples, many of them specially translated for this book, of the work of Pushkin, Gogol, Dostoevsky, Turgenief, Chekhov, Gorky, Tolstoy, Andreyef, Babel, Pilniak, Alexi Tolstoy, Krilof and Chirikof. The unstinted praise bestowed on the two previous books in the same series, *Great French Short Stories* and *Great German Short Stories*, justly enables the publishers to claim that this latest addition is again a miracle of cheapness. But, more important, it is in itself the best possible introduction to Russian prose literature. The book is published by Messrs. Ernest Benn, Ltd. of Bouveria Street, London.

In his *History of Nationalism in the East* (George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., Broadway House, Carter Lane, London, E. C. 4), the very talented author—Hans Kohn—has succeeded in bringing together in one truly fascinating volume a mass of information hitherto scattered and partly unavailable. In his Introduction he sums up the general situation. He tells us that the War produced three great communities of interest, distinct and, to some extent, mutually antagonistic. The first is that of the continent of Europe, barring Russia, which is faced with the necessity for the gradual breaking down of national boundaries, for political, financial, and economic reasons. The second is that of the Anglo-Saxon peoples, the United States, Great Britain, Canada, Australia, and South Africa. This has to face Soviet Russia on the one hand, and the Oriental, the third community of interests on the other. Here he sketches for us suggestively the development of the nationalist movement in Islam, India, Egypt, Turkey, Arabia and Persia. The diagrams he uses to make clear his theme are admirable. A full classified bibliography is appended. Though the two chapters devoted to India may not be new to Indian readers, they are likely to prove highly informative to readers in Europe and America.

Great Essays of All Nations, edited by Mr. F. H. Pritchard (Harrap & Co., Ltd., 39-41 Parker Street, Kingsway, London, W. C.) is truly a wonderful collection of the literature of essay. This volume, the first of its kind ever attempted, endeavours to show how, from the earliest times, the essay form has grown in various parts of the world. Beginning in isolated and disjointed aphorisms that are to be found embedded in all

the early literatures, the essay has gradually developed into the more or less perfected 'form' that we recognise to-day. The present volume is not a haphazard collection of elegant extracts, but an illustration of the stages in this development, showing that in the maxims of Confucius or the wisdom of the Old Testament is to be found the germ which was to blossom later into an essay of Montaigne or of Charles Lamb. In the selection and translation of foreign essays Mr. Pritchard has been fortunate in securing the advice and assistance of many experts. Sixty-three of the essays have never before appeared in English and have been specially translated for this volume. The book contains 229 essays by 206 authors, from Confucius (551 B.C.) to G.K. Chesterton, representing the contributions of 26 countries. All this fills 1,040 pages of easily readable type. No finer collections of the best essay of all ages and of the whole world can be imagined. In addition there is a short preface and an introduction by the editor, and a note on each writer whose work is represented.

Sir George Arthur's *King George V* (Jonathan Cape, Ltd. 30, Bedford Square, London W. C. 1.) is an excellent study, as wholly distinct from a life of the king; in a frank, if rough, sketch an attempt has been made to portray a great ruler in his relations with political, social, naval and military matters and also as a vigilant and closely informed observer of events in Europe during the last thirty years. The Colonial and Indian tours are described with some fresh detail, the contrast between the present reign and those immediately preceding it is sharply drawn. While no little new light may be thrown on various happenings in half a century, the object of the volume is rather to gather up facts and circumstances which have marked the steady preparation for, and successful accomplishment of, a task to which history scarcely offers a parallel. The book is thus highly interesting; further it is intimate with no suggestion of undue intrusion, or savour of impertinence, and is likely to interest all subjects of his Majesty the King-Emperor.

Mr. A. S. P. Ayyar's *Baladitya* (Taraporevala sons and Co., Hornby Road, Bombay) is an interesting contribution to the literature of Indian historical fiction. The period of which this novel treats was one of the most momentous in Indian history—the prosperous and powerful empire of the

Guptas overthrown by a horde of fierce barbarians, the Huns. Baladitya, the wise and gallant king of Magadha, is an epitome of all that is chivalrous and brave; and Mr. Ayyar is never so skilful as a stylist as when recounting with his characteristic humour the thrilling adventures which befall Baladitya and his queen Saraswati. The author presents in a wonderfully vivid manner, the life, customs and religious rites of bygone India. By his magic art we are transformed from mere readers into actual participants in the life drama, which keeps the reader spell-bound to the last.

Messrs. Samuel Bagster and Son's series of Christian Classics, comprising over forty pocket booklets, constitutes a wonderfully good collection of devotional literature. It includes the choicest selection in the literature of religious emotion, both in prose and verse. Books which are such well known classics as *The Imitation of Christ*, *The Christian Year*, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, *Little Flowers of St. Francis*, *The Gospel of St. John*, Blake's *Songs of Innocence*, Christina Rossetti's *Consider the Lilies*, the *Psalms*, *The Wisdom of Solomon* and many other equally good books appear in this excellent series, which should appeal to all cultured readers, whether Christian or Non-Christian. The firm's address is 15 Paternoster Row, London E. C. 4.

Mr. Gopi Nath Sinha Varma has done well to issue the first part of his *Origin, Status and History of the Kayasthas*. (The Verman Company, Bareilly), which should appeal not only to the members of that particular community but to all students of Indian ethnography, whatever the value of the views of the author on particular subjects. Without going into the controversial aspects of the question of their origin, there can be no two opinions about the admittedly high status of the Kayasthas and a book dealing with their position in society and history is bound to interest a large circle of readers. The author has brought to bear upon his task not only knowledge but a spirit of research, and his book is a highly useful addition to Indian ethnographical literature.

Professor M. S. Purnalingam Pillai's revised and enlarged edition of his *Tamil Literature* (The Bibliotheca, Munnirpalam, Tinnevely district) is a notable contribution to the histories of the literatures of the Indian vernaculars; of which Tamil is the best-known literary language of the Dravidian group. The sketch is sound, upto-

date, informative and instructive; and should appeal to all students of the Tamil language and literature. It deserves better get-up than it possesses at present, and also neater printing.

We welcome the sixteenth revised and enlarged edition of *Philip's Handy Volume Atlas of the World*. (George Philip and Son, Ltd., 32 Fleet Street, London, E. C. 4) containing 82 coloured maps and 96 pages of descriptive and statistical notes and a complete index. For its size, it is the most accurate compendium of geographical knowledge, and the completest survey of post-war geography, exhibiting as it does all the territorial and political changes. The descriptive notes have been rearranged and entirely rewritten. The *Atlas* has always been noteworthy for its clearness and legibility, its graphic presentment of the relief of the land by means of hillshading, the use of comparative scales, and the prominence accorded to those regions which are of special interest. All these characteristic features have been preserved in the present edition, other attractive features have been introduced, and the high standard of technical production for which the *Atlas* has always been noted, has been maintained.

The "World's Classics" (Oxford University Press, Bombay) is forging ahead. The three latest additions to the series are George Gissing's two famous romances—*Will Warburton* and *Veranilda* and (selected) *Letters of Lord Chesterfield*. The series now includes almost all the greatest books in world literature.

How to Live 100 Years. (The Nature Cure Institute, Muttra) is a booklet deserving of careful attention. There are several who want to live for 100 years but they either do not know how to live so long or choose to observe the laws which enable them to fulfil their wish. All our precautions may be of no avail but that is no reason, and certainly no excuse why we should ignore the rules of health. The anonymous author of the book realises that "the matter of adding 65 years to the average life of the race is no small proposition and it is no joke" and indulges in a rational and common-sense talk pointing the way to right and healthful living. As we cannot be too careful about our health we may hear the counsels and cautions of the author, no matter whether we can become centenarians or not. His advice is sound and useful and based on the

experience of those who have lived well and long.

Potter's Clay is a collection of interesting Indian stories contributed by Mr. Hilton Brown to the *Hindu*. They deserved re-

publication..... In his *Without Prejudice* (Indian Press, Allahabad) Professor S. G. Dunn, has put together a beautiful collection of essays in prose and verse. They make most interesting reading.

EDITORIALS AND MISCELLANEOUS

THE LAST CONGRESS AND PUBLIC OPINION

IN our survey of the last month's activities, we said (in dealing with the Congress) that in the present issue, we shall attempt an analysis of its work at Lahore in the light of the criticisms on its resolutions. In attempting such an analytical survey, we shall make no reference to the views expressed, as a rule, by the Anglo-Indian papers, since it may be said with justice that they are all likely to be biased against the Congress. For a similar reason, we shall not quote the opinions of such Congress organs as are issued purely for propagandist purposes, as they are clearly out to support the activities and the resolutions of that body. Eliminating these two classes of papers, there fortunately remain a fairly large number which—even though supporting generally the Congress policy and politics—are independent organs of public opinion and of which we may mention, for instance, the *Tribune* of Lahore and the *Hindu* of Madras. We shall also quote from other leading papers which represent the views of particular groups, classes or communities and whose opinion they voice.

II

Now, of the various resolutions passed by the Congress, the one which has attracted most attention abroad—even more so than that dealing with the change of the creed of that institution—is that dealing with the repudiation of debts contracted on behalf of India by the present Government. Following the lead of the President on this subject the Congress recorded the following resolution on this subject :—" This Congress

is of opinion that the financial burdens directly or indirectly imposed on India by the foreign administration are such as a Free India cannot bear. This Congress, whilst re-affirming the resolution passed at the Gaya Congress in 1922, therefore, records its opinion for the information of all concerned that every obligation and concession to be inherited by Independent India will be strictly subject to investigation by an independent tribunal and every obligation, every concession, no matter how incurred or given, will be repudiated if it is not found by such tribunal to be just and justifiable." In India it has practically gone unheeded. But not so in Britain, where the Secretary of State for India has had to make a declaration assuring the British public that Government will see to it that in no circumstances it comes to pass that British India can repudiate her debts. The only paper in India which dealt with the matter both on the occasion of the passing of the resolution at Lahore, and also after Mr. Wedgewood Benn's declaration is the *Hindu*, which has in specific terms condemned the Congress resolution. The following extracts from its editorials speak for themselves :—" The extent to which the Congress has been prepared to honourably fulfil its obligations in financial matters was indeed made perfectly clear by the provisions of the Nehru Constitution, which were adopted by the Calcutta Congress on the 31st December, 1928. Section 71 of that document, among other things, laid down that 'there shall be charged on the revenues of India alone (1) all the debts of the East India Company.....(3)

all expenses, debts and liabilities lawfully contracted and incurred on account of the Government of India.' When the Gaya Congress passed a resolution on the question of the recognition of India's future debts, we pointed out that *that resolution was a wrong decision*, come to by an impatient majority of that session of the Congress in the midst of keen controversies and divisions. Not only was that resolution not re-affirmed in the following sessions of the Congress for six years, but when subsequently the Congressmen as Swarajists entered the Assembly and had occasion to examine the debt position of India, much more closely than they generally do at the fag-end of a Congress session, they came to certain definite conclusions. The attempts that have been sedulously made to depress Indian securities in the London money market, with a view to prejudice British public opinion against the grant of full Dominion Status to India, have gone on for some months past and it is only in furtherance of this mischievous move that advantage was taken of *the unwise and hasty resolution adopted by the Lahore Congress* in regard to the recognition of India's present Public debts or other obligations by its future Swaraj Government. Ours is a righteous cause and we must not sully it or antagonise world opinion by an act which would be contrary to the highest standard of international morality." That such open condemnation of the repudiation should emanate from so leading, influential and pro-Congress a journal as the *Hindu*, is highly significant and brings into relief the unwisdom of the resolution adopted at Lahore.

III

Next to the debt repudiation resolution, the one most important is the one changing the creed of the Congress. It is worded as follows:—"This Congress in pursuance of the resolution (passed at its session at Calcutta last year) declares that the word Swaraj in article one of the Congress will mean complete independence." This is how this change is condemned by the *Tribune* of Lahore: "The change in the creed was both unnecessary and in the highest degree undesirable. For our part we deeply regret

the decision. The change will bring no practical advantage to any one. To change the objective of the Congress from Swaraj to Independence is not the same thing as to achieve or indeed to take a single practical step towards the achievement of either Swaraj or Independence. On the contrary, it makes the fight for real and complete freedom more difficult by dividing the national forces. Then again, it has never been explained how complete independence is to be brought about by either a Congress boycott of the legislatures or non-payment of taxes in specific areas. It can be brought about, apart from an armed revolt on the part of the people, (which no one contemplates and to which the author of the resolution in particular is strongly and uncompromisingly opposed), only by completely paralysing the machinery of the Government either by a national strike or by general non-payment of taxes. In either case the nation as a whole must stand behind the movement. Does not past experience show that the party actually in possession of political authority and the resources of the Government in India will do every thing in their power to prevent this stage being reached? The President deplored in his speech, and indeed advanced this as an argument in favour of the boycott of legislatures, that the Government had succeeded in demoralising a considerable number of good men by the lure of committees and commissions. Have we any reason to feel sure that the resources of the bureaucracy in this respect have been exhausted? The objective of Dominion Status has this advantage that the pressure that is necessary for achieving it is less than the pressure that is needed for achieving isolated independence. As long as you do not want to sever the British connection, so long Britain is bound to keep the door of negotiation perpetually open. To those who want the severance of the British connection, on the other hand, the door will be opened only when the battle, whether violent or non-violent, has been fought to a successful end. The change in the creed, involving as it does the loss of valuable allies, is clearly both unnecessary and in the highest degree inexpedient. Thus the change was neither necessary, nor desirable." Comment on

this lucid exposition would be an act of supererogation.

But the *Tribune* is not alone in taking this view, for the *Hindu* writes on the same subject as follows:— "The creed has been changed in a manner which is by no means helpful to those outside the Congress who, during the past two years, have laboured so hard to build up a united national demand and who are still anxious to exert their best efforts to bring about an early and peaceful settlement thereof. We confess we are unable to agree that the change in creed was called for immediately. The change of creed is, in our view, premature, having regard to all that has happened in regard to the promotion of communal and political unity in the country during the past two years." Yet another condemnation from a most unexpected quarter—from the President of the Assembly, who himself is one of the foremost Congress leaders, though he may not be technically so, just at present. This is what he has said from the presidential chair:—"I have always maintained and still maintain, the change in the Congress creed in favour of complete independence notwithstanding, that the relations between Great Britain and India can only be finally adjusted on the basis of India's right to Dominion Status being acknowledged without any reservation, and the methods of giving effect to that decision being examined in some joint and equal conference between plenipotentiaries of the two countries and that the greater the delay in finding a solution of the problem on these lines, the lesser the chances for a favourable atmosphere for the purpose and its general acceptance in this country. I am aware that the Viceregal announcement does not go so far; but viewing the situation as a whole, I am bound to admit that it represents a genuine and honest attempt of a sincere Viceroy, anxious to find a way for peace in most difficult circumstances." "These"—says the *Servant of India*—"are not the words of a moderate or a Liberal accused of wishing to prolong foreign domination but of Mr. V. J. Patel, the President of the Legislative Assembly, spoken in defence of his decision to resist the pressure of the Congress to resign his

place. Mr. Patel entered the Assembly as a Swarajist, with the sole object of wrecking the Montford Reforms, and of ending the present system of Government. Experience and responsibility have worked a sea-change in him; he now surpasses the Liberals in his devotion to co-operation. He is content with Dominion Status, and seeks to obtain it by means of the Round Table Conference."

IV

We are then told that "as a preliminary step towards organising a campaign for independence and in order to make the Congress policy as consistent as possible with the change of creed, this Congress resolves upon a complete boycott of the central and provincial legislatures, and committees constituted by Government, and calls upon Congressmen (and others) taking part in the national movement to abstain from participating directly or indirectly in future elections and directs the present Congress members of the legislatures and committees to resign their seats." This is how the *Tribune* comments upon it:—"The boycott of Councils is an even worse and more disastrous mistake. If the change in the creed divides the forces opposed to bureaucratic and irresponsible rule, the boycott practically hands over a part of those forces to our opponents. What will be its practical effect? Not the boycott of the Councils certainly, but entry into the Councils made easy for non-Congressmen, some of whom have during the last two years been increasingly drawn towards the Congress, and for the very communalists whom the throwing out of the Nehru report is ostensibly intended to appease. All that the boycott would accomplish would be to remove Congressmen from the Councils. Not a single seat would remain vacant and the large majority of those who have been recording their votes would continue to do so. Even if by a vigorous propaganda, the number of those who go to the polling station is reduced, the reduction will do no positive good, so long as the Councils continue to function and so long, moreover, as these are voters not exercising their franchise for some other representative assembly in

some other Government." Yet, it is strange that these obvious considerations did not weigh with the leaders of the Congress. The *Tribune* sums up by saying that "it is no part of political sanity to abandon one of the most important weapons with which we can fight our opponents."

V

The next topic or group of topics we may take up for discussion is the abandonment of the Nehru Report and the settlement of the communal question. In regard to the former the Congress resolution is worded as follows:— "The Congress declares the entire scheme of the Nehru Committee's Report to have lapsed and hopes that all Congressmen will henceforth devote their exclusive attention to the attainment of complete independence for India." As a corollary to it, the Congress also passed a separate resolution on the question of communal settlement couched in the following terms:— "In view of the lapse of the Nehru Report it is unnecessary to declare the policy of the Congress regarding communal questions, the Congress believing that in an independent India communal questions can only be solved on strictly national lines. But as the Sikhs in particular, and the Muslims and the other minorities in general, had expressed dissatisfaction over the solution of communal questions proposed in the Nehru Report, this Congress assures the Sikhs, the Muslims and other minorities, that no solution thereof in any future constitution will be acceptable to the Congress that does not give full satisfaction to the parties concerned." Now what has been the effect produced by these resolutions? Their object was clearly to placate the principal minority communities—particularly the Muslims and the Sikhs—and they were adopted by the Congress, following the lead given to it by the President in his inaugural address. The question is whether they have achieved their object. So far as the Sikhs are concerned their leaders have made it quite clear since that they have not been appeased. The *Muslim Outlook* of Lahore in noticing the presidential address said that "it is to be regretted that while the Congress President has said much which is calculated

to create division among Indian politicians, he did not say anything that might bring inter-communal amity nearer." As regards the resolutions quoted above, the *Muslim Outlook* writes:—"The Congress was nothing if not indefinite, when it declared its belief in the course of a resolution that 'in an Independent India communal questions can only be solved on strictly national lines.' Unless it means that the Congress will refuse to recognise the separate communities, and will only recognise the nation in the era of Independence to come, it means nothing at all. But after having made this declaration, the Congress went on to say: 'But as Sikhs in particular and Muslims and other minorities in general have expressed dissatisfaction over the solution of the communal question proposed in the Nehru Report, this Congress assures Sikhs, Muslims and other minorities that no solution thereof in any future constitution shall be acceptable to the Congress that does not give full satisfaction to the parties concerned.' That is to say, the Congress will refuse to recognise the very existence of the communities, but also refuse to accept any solution of the communal problem until that solution is acceptable to the communities concerned! It has been truly said that words are not always the means of expressing thought. Sometimes they are the means of concealing thoughtlessness. We are doubtful if the 'Sikhs, Muslims and other minorities' will feel very much reassured wandering in this labyrinth of Congress refusals." Thus the Muslim organ of public opinion in the Punjab. Let us now turn to the *Hindu Herald* of Lahore, the organ of Hindu public opinion in the land of the five rivers:—"Referring to the communal problem in his presidential address, Pandit Jawaharlal observes:—"Logic and cold reason are poor weapons to fight fear and distrust. Only faith and generosity can overcome them. I can only hope that the leaders of the various communities will have this faith and generosity in ample measure." A laudable sentiment, indeed, in its general implication. His specification of this generosity—or rather of the quarter to be exclusively associated with it—is, as was to be expected, eminently in conformity with Congress 'Nationalism.' I shall venture to

submit, he says, 'to the leaders of the Hindus that it should be their privilege to take the lead in generosity.' As if the leaders of the Hindus have not been taking the lead in this 'generosity' ever since the beginning of the game. The history of the Indian National Congress, ever since its inception, has been an almost unbroken record of 'generosity' on the part of the Hindus at the sacrifice of their own communal interests. Indeed, to propitiate other communities (especially the Muslims) the Hindus, so far as their own communal interests were concerned, had been yielding ground until a point was reached where it became obvious that further retreat, and at that rate too, could not but prove before long the beginning of the end; in plain words, could not but lead directly, and more rapidly than even the Hindus would have liked, to their communal Nirvan! The Hindu Sabha movement, if we look to its genesis, would appear to have been a reaction against this self-abnegation of the Hindus carried perilously close to the point of self-extinction. Still, as we have seen, there has been no end of this 'generosity' from the same quarters, and, in the present stage of the game, what further 'generosity' will mean for the said quarters may be better imagined than described." As the nationalist *Hindustan Times* of Delhi put it:—"The solution of Hindu-Muslim differences suggested (by the President) is certainly not practicable under existing circumstances." It would thus appear that the Congress resolutions—based as they are on the President's suggestion—are absolutely impracticable, and are in fact, no solution at all, either from the Muslim or the Hindu stand-point. As the *Muslim Outlook* sums up:—"Put in a nutshell, the National Congress has decided that in independent India of the future there will be no communal representation at all. This is just what the Hindu Mahasabhis desired in order to usher in Hindu Raj and to which an over-whelming majority of Muslims has been uncompromisingly opposed. The resolution is thus calculated to deprive the Mussalmans of their most cherished right and to place them at the mercy of the Hindu majority. It is, no wonder, therefore, that the interpretation has received the whole-

hearted support of the *Tribune*. The Mahatma's remark that if communal representation is forced on India, the National Congress will advocate a solution which will satisfy all the minorities, is rightly regarded by our contemporary as a general observation which may mean anything. In other words, it is meaningless and should be dismissed from consideration. Are the Muslims of India prepared to join the Hindus in a fight for Swaraj where their existence as a separate entity will not be recognised and they will gradually be absorbed in the Hindu community, just as has been the case with the Greeks, the Scythians and other invaders of India who formerly ruled in this land?" This is evidently a poser to the Congress party. A strong condemnation of these resolutions has also found appearance in the editorial columns of *Justice*, the organ of the non-Brahmin communities of Southern India. It writes as under:—"The Congress has found a most novel method of giving assurances to minorities. The Nehru Report tackled the question as a serious problem and did not shelve it. The wise men at Lahore had an adroit way of solving the question. The problem according to them solves itself and no solution is necessary. The Congress had declared Independence and minorities do not require any protection, as it is a new Utopia the people are going to enter into. The inimitable adroitness of this resolution is hard to be excelled. The patent hypocrisy of it is difficult to characterize adequately."

VI

The last part of the Congress Resolution—apart from that dealing with its declining to attend the Round Table Conference—relates to what is euphemistically called "constructive work." It is worded as follows:—"This Congress appeals to the nation zealously to prosecute the constructive programme of the Congress, and authorises the All-India Congress Committee, whenever it deems fit, to launch upon a programme of civil disobedience including nonpayment of taxes, whether in selected areas or otherwise and under such safeguards as it may consider necessary." So

this is the constructive programme of a political party the resolutions passed by which have evoked the strong criticisms and dissents quoted above. Fortunately, here again, we have the advantage of the sound and wholesome criticism of so sagacious a journal as the *Hindu*, which writes :—" So far as the programme of work is concerned, the call has been made for the boycott of the legislatures before any plan of alternative national political work of a sustained and intensive character to which those who are called out should devote themselves has been outlined. We are afraid that this is bound to revive the bitter controversies that arose after the Gaya Congress and the Civil Disobedience Committee's Report. They are bound to distract and divide the attention of Congressmen among themselves. The vacation of seats by Congressmen at this juncture will necessarily disable them from obtaining the country's verdict on the national demand of the Congress, should there be an early general election, and give a fillip to the forces of reaction, by giving them a hold in the legislatures of the land. In view of the presence of such strong differences even within the camp, the Congress (whose strength lies in its unity) might with advantage have maintained the *status quo* on fundamental matters, such as the creed and the programme, and consolidated as many points of contact as possible in India. The decisions of the Lahore Congress as adopted seem to us hardly the way of setting about the task in the right spirit." On these observations by the *Hindu*, the *Leader* comments as follows :—" This would certainly have been the course of wisdom and statesmanship, but the Congress long ago parted company with these two qualities, and has been busy dividing the nationalist forces in the country and perpetrating political absurdities. If at times there is solidarity in nationalist ranks it is due to the blundering policy of Government and not to any anxiety on the part of many leading

Congressmen to promote the cause of unity. The latest decisions of the Congress will make confusion worse confounded. What can a house divided against itself and throwing a sort of challenge to the nationalist elements outside it achieve? The salvation of the country cannot be brought about by such short-sighted, disruptive and suicidal policy. The *Leader* is undoubtedly one of the greatest exponents of Liberal public opinion and so its views may be discounted by the Congress. But it is not, on account of its being identified with the Liberal cause or party, a propagandist sheet in the ordinary acceptation of the term. On the contrary, it is justly regarded as one of the leading organs of Indian public opinion and its views cannot be lightly set aside. We shall conclude, however, this analytical survey of the work of the last session of the Congress, held at Lahore, with the following extract from the *Tribune*—admittedly one of the great, non-party, nationalist papers in the country :—" To us the disappointing thing in the presidential address (apart, of course, from its advocacy of the boycott of Councils and the change in the creed of the Congress) is the advice given to the Congress to abandon the Nehru Report. That is no reason why we should not say in the plainest language we can find that the Congress could not have perpetrated a graver or more disastrous mistake. The Nehru Report is the one monument of constructive statesmanship in recent years, of which India has every reason to be proud ; and it is the product of the intellectual co-operation of the largest number of India's most eminent leaders that have ever applied their minds to a common political purpose. If there are defects in it, let them be remedied by all means. But to throw it away in the vain and almost puerile hope, by that means, of bringing the communalists back into the fold is a blunder worse than a crime." We stop lest we ourselves feel inclined to say more !

MEN IN THE PUBLIC EYE

MR. J. P. SRIVASTAVA—MR. SHANKAR LALL GOKHALE

MR. JWALA PRASAD SRIVASTAVA of Cawnpore, is one of the greatest captains of industry that the provinces of Agra and Oudh have produced. He was born in 1889, in a well-known family in the Basti district, where it still has landed property. His father (the late Munshi Janki Prasad) served Government in the Executive service for over thirty years. The subject of this sketch was educated first at the Christ Church College (Cawnpore) and later at the Muir Central College (Allahabad), at both of which he had a brilliant career. Whilst he was in the 4th year B.Sc. class, he was selected by the Provincial Government for a State technical scholarship, which had just been introduced. He was awarded this scholarship at the special recommendation of the College authorities, because of his great aptitude for scientific and industrial pursuits and also because he was a particularly brilliant student of the Science Department of the College. That selection has been amply justified. He proceeded to England in 1909, from where he returned, in 1912, after qualifying himself as Master of Technical Science of the Victoria

University of Manchester, and obtaining the diploma of the Manchester College of Technology (A.M. C.T.)—indeed, a high distinction. He served the Department of Industries of the Government as Industrial Chemist till September, 1919, when he was offered the position of Technical Director to the Western India Prospecting Syndicate Ltd., Bombay. The above Syndicate had been started by

a number of Bombay capitalists with a view to pioneer industries in the country. Under his advice the Syndicate started two industrial concerns, namely, a Glass Works at Shikohabad, in the province of Agra, and a Sugar Works at Pachrukhi, in Behar. He worked with the Syndicate till July, 1922, after which he became connected with a number of industrial enterprises in Agra and Oudh. He at present occupies a very high position in the industrial world of these provinces, not only as the Joint Managing Director of the largest Cotton Mill in this



MR. J. P. SRIVASTAVA.

country—the New Victoria Mills—but also as the Managing Director or Director of four other important industrial concerns—having

their headquarters at Cawnpore, Bombay and other places—dealing in turpentine and rosin, dyeing and cloth-printing, matches, and other articles.

Mr. Srivastava entered the Legislative Council in 1926 as a representative of the Upper India Chamber of Commerce, Cawnpore, having been on the Committee of this Chamber for nearly the last ten years. He was appointed Honorary Chairman of the Cawnpore Improvement Trust in June last. His politics do not find favour with many, as he was the Chairman of the Provincial Committee which cooperated with the Simon Commission. Nor has the Report which he presented, in that capacity, been found acceptable by any large section of the educated Hindu community. His wife—who had accompanied him to England (when he went there as a student)—is a highly cultured, accomplished and talented lady and a great social figure, at Cawnpore and Naini Tal. Both she and her husband take a good deal of interest in the educational and charitable work of the city of Cawnpore. About four years ago Mr. Srivastava started in Cawnpore an institution called the *Anath Banita Ashram* which is a rescue home for women and which has now got about thirty inmates. In the way of recreations, he is as fond of shooting as of bridge. His milk-and-water politics apart, Mr. Jwala Prasad Srivastava is a notable figure, in Upper India, in the industrial and social world. He has already achieved and accomplished much, but much more is yet expected of him, for he is still in the prime of life.

II

Among our countrymen abroad having outstanding scientific abilities is Mr. Shankar

L. Gokhale, who is justly
 Mr. Shankar
 L. Gokhale, considered an authority on
 Magnetism. Mr. Gokhale received his preliminary scientific training at the University of Calcutta, where he received his M.A. degree in Physics and Chemistry, finishing most of his work as a private student. He was Professor of Physics at Holkar College, Indore. He was dismissed from that College on a political charge, which on subsequent investigation proved to

be unfounded, and later on he was invited to return to the same institution as a Principal. His technical career started in the laboratories of Messrs. Baird and Tatlock of Glasgow, Scotland. While there he developed a potentiometer for rapid and accurate measurement of voltages. The patent rights of this invention are assigned to Messrs. Baird and Tatlock. At their laboratories, he had good opportunities for inventive work, but Mr. Gokhale preferred research and went to America, where he succeeded in being appointed as a Research Engineer for Magnetism with the General Electric Company. Among his various researches his Law of Magnetization is recognized as the most important contribution. On this point we quote in brief from his article in the *Journal of the American Institute of Electrical Engineers* (p. 1299, December, 1926):—

"In January, 1913, I was called upon to add to our equipment a simple and reliable method for determination of saturation value of magnetic material used for engineering purposes. Prior to this date and also for some years afterwards, this determination was made by extrapolation according to Kennley's Law on the basis of data for $H=50$ to $H=200$. By the beginning of 1915 I had succeeded in developing a new method of measuring saturation value (A.I.E.E., *Transactions*, 1920, p. 819) together with a suitable instrument for that purpose, viz., the saturation permeameter. The new method was easily recognized as the simplest method for this work, but its reliability was seriously questioned because the saturation value determined by this method did not agree with the computed value by extrapolation according to Kennley's Law. (See Circular of Bureau of Standards No. 17, p. 36.) When the result of a measurement by a new method conflicts with a law unanimously accepted by the scientific world for nearly forty years, the reliability of the new method should be questioned rather than the law; this was the generally accepted view, and I must confess that I held the same view at first. For about five years I tried unsuccessfully to detect error in the saturation permeameter, until by the beginning of 1920 I began to feel convinced that the permeameter was quite

reliable and that the error was probably in the extrapolation method. In April, 1920, I expressed this view in the discussion of Dr. Yenson's Paper, but I could not convince him at that time. In May, 1923, I was able to demonstrate the existence of the second inflection together with the left-handed curvature by tests on toroid rings; this demonstration indicated the possibility of failure of Kennley's Law for values near saturation, although the point was still not proved conclusively. About this time I had also succeeded in obtaining by tests on toroid rings the curve for incremental permeability, which suggested the linear equation of progress, together with the corresponding exponential law of magnetization. I showed these results to Dr. Steinmetz, who seemed to be well-convinced by the evidence, but he suggested that a successful demonstration of the phenomenon of saturation would be much more convincing. In September, 1923, I succeeded in demonstrating saturation for a toroid ring of standard sheet steel for a range of $H=650$ to $H=1000$." This law

has now been accepted by the scientific world and is called the Gokhale's Law. (Bureau of Standards, No. 545). Mr. Gokhale's more recent contribution is his presentation of the theory of spherical harmonics. This contribution is mainly educational. The spherical harmonics is a branch of higher mathematics and constitutes a powerful analytical instrument for attacking problems on electro-magnetic fields. But it is also very difficult and is generally considered beyond the reach of the average student. Mr. Gokhale's paper brings it within the reach of anyone who has not gone beyond the study of differential calculus. Incidentally, he has also introduced a new equation which reduces the two classes of harmonics, technically known as the P and Q series, to one class. From this short summary of a highly technical subject, it is clear that the scientific work already carried on by Mr. Gokhale is of far-reaching consequences. It is to be hoped that in the years to come, he will be able to make even far greater contributions.

THE NECROLOGY OF THE MONTH

SAHIBZADA AFTAB AHMED KHAN—MR. K. V. MAVLANKAR
MR. G. M. CHIPLUNKAR AND MR. MIRZA ALI MAHOMED KHAN

THE rather premature death of Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan, formerly Vice-Chancellor of the Aligarh Muslim University, is a great loss not only to the Mussalman community, but to the country as a whole. Born in the Karnal district of the Punjab and educated at the Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh, and Christ's College, Cambridge, Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan was called to the English Bar in 1894. He devoted a great part of his life to the cause of Muslim education and took a deep and abiding interest in his *alma mater*, of which he was a trustee for about thirty-five years, and later Vice-Chancellor when it was converted into a university, in 1920. It is also to his

credit that he was among those who were responsible for the recent appointment of a committee to inquire into the affairs of the University, and it is believed that the strain of his labours in this connection severely told upon his health and hastened his end. Outside the sphere of the Aligarh College and University, the Sahibzada acted as secretary of the Mahomedan Educational Conference from 1906 to 1917, and presided over Mahomedan Educational Conference of Bengal in 1911, and of Bombay in 1914. Apart from the educational sphere, the late Sahibzada was a prominent figure in the political life of the country and played an active part in the Muslim awakening. He was a member of the All-India Muslim League since its

Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan.

inception, in 1905, and represented the Mahomedan constituency of Agra in the Agra and Oudh Provincial Council from 1909 to 1912. He was a member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India from 1917 until 1924, and took a very prominent part in the shaping of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. He was a man of liberal and progressive views and had nothing in him of the bigot and the fanatic. The death of such an enlightened, cultured and patriotic Indian is, indeed, a serious loss to the country at the present critical juncture in her affairs. We associate ourselves with every word of the tribute paid to his memory by our esteemed contemporary, the *Leader*, in the following terms:—"As a member of the India Council Mr. Aftab Ahmed Khan won respect and admiration by his manly insistence upon his opinions in the furtherance of India's cause and by his single-minded service of the Motherland. In truth, Mr. Aftab Ahmed Khan was one of the men whose nobility of character lent distinction to public life, which unfortunately is not unoften prostituted to personal ends. Truly was he a great gentleman, and in his death India has lost one of her justly respected sons." We agree unreservedly with every word of this no more than just appreciation of a great Indian.

II

The death of Mr. K. B. Mavlankar—businessman and philanthropist—which occurred in London removes a

Mr. K. B. Mavlankar. very prominent figure from the Indian community in London. About twenty-six years ago, he left Poona and by dint of ability and hard work carved a successful business career for himself in London, where he had settled down for over two decades and more. He was the sole proprietor of the Chiswick Chemical Works (situated on the bank of the Thames near Hammersmith) and had recently purchased another concern in Kent—manufacturing, on a large scale, essences, oils, perfumes and methylated spirit. He was essentially and entirely a self-made man and had well realized the urgency of Indian youths taking up a business career. Only in November last when he was on tour in this country

he selected two Indian youths for training under him. His sudden demise at the age of fifty-eight is a severe loss to Indians in England. There is hardly a prominent Indian, who on a trip to England during recent years, had had no occasion to enjoy his cordial and sumptuous hospitality in his pretty Wimbledon home. As the Secretary of the Indian Social Club he came in touch with them and with our student community as well. It is the simplest truth to state that the revival of the club was solely due to the untiring efforts of Mr. Mavlankar. Many will recall the vast and brilliant friendly gatherings of Indians he brought about on the occasion of Diwali.

Another very important institution which he was the first to conceive and start was the Indian Chamber of Commerce in London. As the first chairman of its executive committee, he did valuable spade-work in furtherance of this newly founded institution, in that he succeeded in enlisting the co-operation of Indian businessmen and others. He was the first to take up the Hartshorne affair when that gentleman made certain unjustifiable observations against the Tatas. When he planned the starting of this Chamber, he knew full well the importance of this institution would soon attain to, and it is pleasing to watch the useful work the Chamber is doing today. Not only did he revive the Social Club and set the ball rolling in the direction of a powerful Indian Chamber of Commerce, but even the credit of rescuing the Indian Gymkhana from a financial chaos goes to him in a major degree. About £1,800 were needed to save this institution and Mr. Mavlankar responded in time and with the help of Sir Dorab Tata and another friend of his took over the management and conducted the institution on sound lines under the guidance of Lord Hawke. He was a ready and generous helper to Indian students in all difficult circumstances. His advice, guidance and financial help were always at the disposal of those who undertook any activity in the real interests of our community in England. He was a public-spirited gentleman, unassuming, genial, generous and catholic in outlook. He was also an ardent social reformer as evidenced from

the fact that he himself contracted a widow-remarriage. His death thus leaves a gap in the Indian community in England which it will be difficult to fill for yet a long time to come.

III

In the death of Mr. Gopal Mahadeo Chip-lunkar of the Indian Women's University,

Poona, the cause, of Indian women's education in India (especially in the Western part of India) has heavily suffered. Prof. Chip-lunkar was an enthusiastic colleague and trusted co-worker of Prof. Dhondo Keshao Karve since the very beginning of the Indian Women's University, in which he lectured on Sociology, his favourite and special subject. He also joined Prof. Karve's Hindu Widows' Home at Poona as a life-member and worked as such till his death. He was appointed first Principal of the Normal School of women teachers attached to the Women's University and did this work quite successfully for a number of years. While working as a lecturer and Principal, an idea struck him that if the work of the new and the infant University was really to be made successful it was absolutely necessary to start feeder institutions to the University. A man of action, he at once began to organise in that direction. His efforts resulted in the appointment of a Committee, which decided to start a High School for girls in the city of Poona affiliated to the Indian Women's University. This task was considered to be extremely difficult, and everybody thought that Prof. Chip-lunkar was out to do an impossible task. When the school was actually started there were present only three girls, but from this humble beginning, this school has now risen to its very prosperous position today.

Prof. Chip-lunkar was not merely a teacher but was also a scholar and a writer. He wrote frequently to the various Papers and Magazines in Marathi especially on the subject of women's education and emancipation. Not contented with what he was already doing in the cause of women, Prof. Chip-lunkar devoted his little leisure towards preparing a work in English in support of his views of female education. Slowly he began to write chapter after chapter under the

heading "Scientific Basis of Women's Education." A famous firm of publishers has undertaken to publish the book, which is bound to prove a notable addition to the literature of female education in India. There are many amongst us who are ready to devote themselves to the cause of "India's Independence" but few, very few, indeed, who would apply themselves to woman's cause, without success in which India's Independence is likely to prove chimerical. It is to the great credit of the late Mr. Chip-lunkar that he detected the weakest point in our public activities and laboured in a field where the labourers are few.

We regret to record the death of [Mr. Mirza Ali Mahomed Khan] a distinguished Solicitor of the High Court and Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University. Mr. Mahomed Khan was born in June, 1874 in Bombay. He was the eldest son of the late Mr. Mirza Hussein Khan, the other two sons of the latter being Mr. Mirza Ali Raza Khan, Barrister-at-Law, and the Hon. Mr. Justice Mirza Ali Akbar Khan. Mr. Mahomed Khan took his B.A. degree in 1894, M. A. in 1895, and LL. B. in 1896. After serving for some years as a Professor of History and Persian in Wilson College, he enrolled himself as a Solicitor in 1900 and practised jointly with his father. He entered the Bombay Municipal Corporation as early as 1905 and continued to be a member of that body till the end of March last year, when it was reconstituted. Besides being the Chairman of the Standing Committee for a year, he was the President of the Corporation in 1922. He took a keen interest in the Improvement Trust and was also the Chairman of the Improvements Committee for a year. He was a Fellow of the Bombay University for many years and for a long time an elected member of the Syndicate and Dean of Arts. In recognition of his oriental learning and administrative capacity, he was appointed Vice-Chancellor of the University last year. He served as a Member of the Bombay Riots Inquiry Committee. Last year, he presided over the Bombay Presidency Mahomedan Educational Conference and over the Shia Conference held at Allahabad. He was connected with

several public institutions. He was also Imperial Brotherhood. He visited Europe the Past Master of Lodge Islam and Lodge twice, once in 1913 and again in 1927.

CRITICISMS AND DISCUSSIONS

IT is now six months since the *Hindustan Review* commenced to reappear as a monthly magazine. And we have been wondering all the time whether it is right for a baby-journal like *Triveni* to appraise the work of a veteran publicist like Sjt. Sachchidananda Sinha, who for thirty long years, has maintained a high level of journalistic excellence and made his *Review* a power in the land. But the same pleasant convention which enables the rawest junior at the Bar to refer to even the Advocate-General as 'my learned friend,' gives us an opportunity of rendering homage to 'our esteemed contemporary.' In the very first number, the distinguished editor sketches the development of Indian public life during the last thirty years, and everybody will concede that the *Hindustan Review* and its editor have played no mean part in that development. We are told how the first article for the *Review*, thirty years ago, was written by Mr. (now Dr. Sir) Tej Bahadur Sapru, a rising lawyer. We note with great pleasure that Dr. Sapru's eldest son, Sjt. Prakash Narayan Sapru, is associated with Sjt. Sinha in the conduct of the Journal. The articles in every number cover a very wide range, though, naturally enough, greater prominence is given to the political and economic problems of Modern India. With his usual catholicity of outlook, the editor has thrown open his columns to persons of different schools of thought. The reviewing of current literature is a particularly attractive feature of the *Review*, which enables the reader to keep in touch with the best contemporary thought. Further charm might be lent by including reviews of books in the various Indian vernaculars. The *Hindustan Review* is not only well-edited but also admirably printed and got-up. In this respect, it is like *The Review of Reviews*. We

heartily wish the *Review* a future as brilliant as its past.—*Triveni* (Madras bi-monthly).

THE BIHAR GOVERNMENT AND THE "SEARCHLIGHT"

The '*Hindustan Review*' is ever a mosaic of inimitable and arresting delineations of thought and action, political, literary, or artistic. The January number of the *Review* therefore, opens with a masterly portrayal by Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha of the momentous issues involved in the ban placed by the Bihar Government on the *Searchlight*, the foremost nationalist journal issued at Patna, the capital of the Province, in respect of the publication of reports, gazettes, communiques, notices and advertisements, that emanate from the executive side of the Bihar Government. The truculence with which the Bihar bureaucratic hierarchy conceived the idea of putting a ban upon the *Searchlight* and the pusillanimity and the pecksniffian puerility with which the spokesman of the Government, the Hon'ble Mr. Whitty, the Political Member, sought to defend the action of the Bihar executive in the Provincial Legislative Council, and the stormy and withering opposition which this arbitrary act of the Government had evoked from the whole of the Press, ranging from intransigent idealism to pettifogging parasitism, have become matters of history. Even a dilettantic newspaper reader knows them. But in view of the paramount political issues involved in the action of the Bihar Government, affecting the fundamental and the indefeasible rights of the Press, we make no apology, to our readers for recapitulating the salient features of the episode which evoked such a tremendous opposition from the Indian and the Anglo-Indian Press, and which, if it cannot adorn a tale, at least points a moral.

In May last, the *Searchlight*, got, through its enterprise, the full texts of two official documents, which the Government treated as confidential and published them. On the publication of these documents, the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bihar wrote the Editor of the *Searchlight* as follows:—"Certain official documents of a confidential character which press has not been authorised to publish, having appeared in the *Searchlight* and the reproduction not being by any mistake and the impropriety being deliberate on both occasions Government have accordingly decided to withdraw such advantages as have hitherto been conceded to the journal." We have quoted the above passage merely to show to our readers how, in the twentieth century under the impact of the modern democratic thought and sentiment, any government (bureaucratic, theocratic, or oligarchic) could have the front of brass to issue a fiat of the nature of the one under reference which, from the beginning to the end, is a tissue of puerile truculence. After the issue of the fiat referred to above, can the Hon'ble Mr. Whitty, the Political Member of the Bihar Government, lay his hand upon his heart and honestly tell us that his fittest place is not an anthropological museum?

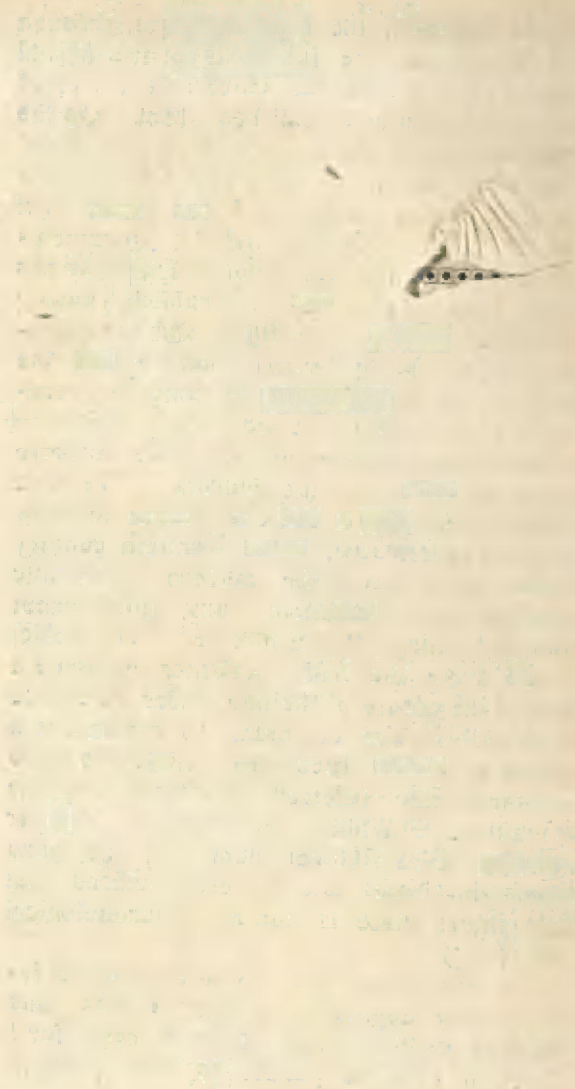
If the press does not attempt to get information regarding public events and publish it, then what does it exist for? Does it exist to pander to the political

crotchets of an ante-diluvian political fossil like Mr. Whitty of the Bihar Government? Every journal has the inalienable right to adjudge what is public interest and what is not public interest. If the Government of a country under the masquerade of "public interest," attempts to ride roughshod over the indefeasible rights of the public press and turns discontent underground, the death-knell of such a government will soon be rung.

In the course of his speech defending the action of the Government in the Bihar Legislative Council, Mr. Whitty is reported to have referred to the *Leader* as the '*Leader of Lucknow.*' And so, Mr. Whitty, who is paid to study the geography and history of India, if he has not done so in his scholastic career, does not know what every school-boy knows, namely that the *Leader* is being published at Allahabad. If Mr. Whitty does not know this elementary fact, what is he in the Government for? Does not an irrepressible and incorrigible cynic say that such a member of the government, Indian or European, is nothing but an inert mass of living organism? Had India been under a democratic and responsible government the persons responsible for putting the ban upon the *Searchlight* for no legitimate reasons whatsoever, merely to gratify the pique or spite of the executive official, would have been summarily dismissed from service.—*The Daily News* (Madras).

...of an anti-slavery political force
...Mr. Whittier of the British Government?
...has the right to
...what is public interest and what
...of the Government? If the Government
...a country under the leadership
...of public interest, attempts to this right
...not even the inalienable right of the
...public press and other discussion under
...ground, the domain of such a govern-
...ment will soon be found.

...in the course of his speech defending
...the action of the Government in the British
...Legislative Council, Mr. Whittier is reported
...to have referred to the fact that the "British
...of London." And so, Mr. Whittier, who is
...held to be the geography and history of
...that, it is not his job to be the scientific
...question does not know what every school-boy
...knows, namely, that the fact is being
...published at Alhambra. If Mr. Whittier
...does not know this elementary fact, what
...is he in the Government for? Does not
...an inexpressible and inextinguishable right
...that such a member of the Government,
...of the House, is entitled to an inter-
...view of living organisms? Has India been
...under a democratic and responsible govern-
...ment? The persons responsible for putting
...in India the Government for no legitimate
...reason whatsoever, namely to a full
...the paper of the executive official,
...would not have been constantly dismissed from
...service. — The Daily News (London)



The Hindustan Review deserves attention from British readers as showing the trend of thought—philosophical, literary and political—among the educated classes of India.—"Truth" (London).
 The Hindustan Review is of especial value as lifting the brain cap of India and letting us see the thoughts that are moving in her educated mind.—The late Mr. W. T. Stead in the "Review of Reviews," (London).
 The Hindustan Review is representative of the higher intellectual life of India and enables us to learn the thoughts that are agitating her cultivated circles. Its articles are of especial value from a political and philosophical point of view and it occupies among Indian periodicals a position analogous to that of the "Nineteenth Century" or the "Fortnightly Review."—"United Empire," (Monthly Organ of the Royal Empire Society, London.)

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A CHIEFTAIN'S PRIDE

(FROM THE BENGALI OF RABINDRANATH TAGORE)

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

While the Emperor Aurangzeb was engaged
 Rending India from end to end
 To him came the Lord of Marwar and said,
 'Majesty, late in the silent night some men
 'Seized the Chief of Sirohi and brought him
 'A captive to my house. Command me now
 'What is your royal pleasure in regard to him?'

Said Aurangzeb, 'What is this wonderful thing
 'That I hear? Has the lightning pierced
 'With the thunderbolt been caught?
 'With a few hundred hillmen the Rajput roamed
 'Over hills and in forests? he was free
 'Even as the mirage of the desert.
 'We wish to set our eyes upon him. Send
 'A king's messenger to escort him to our court !

With folded hands said Yasovanta of Marwar,
 ' Let the Emperor pass his word that no indignity
 ' Shall be offered to the captive Chief and I
 ' Shall bring him to the court with all honour.'

The Emperor laughed as he made reply,
 ' You are wise and brave, Maharaja Marwar,
 ' Yet you shame me by your words; is it for me
 ' To hurt a proud man's pride and so abase
 ' The pride that is my own heritage from a line of kings?
 ' Put the thought aside and let him come to me.'

To the Emperor's court came the Surtan of Sirohi,
 The Rana of Marwar bearing him company;
 Slowly stepped Sirohi with his head held high
 And his eyes looking straight in front of him.

' Insolent!' thundered the courtiers all around
 ' Make obeisance to the Emperor's Majesty! '
 Leaning lightly on Yasovanta's shoulder
 Slowly drawled Sirohi with languid grace,
 ' I bow my head only to the elders of my race.'

With red eyes of wrath shouted one of the throng,
 ' I can teach you how a head rolls in the dust! '

Outright laughed the Lord of Sirohi, ' God forbid
 ' That craven fear should even bend my head!
 Fear and I have been strangers ever! '
 The Chief shifted his hand and leaned
 On his sword at ease.

Imperial Aurangzeb

Held out his hand and seated
 The proud Lord by his side. Gallant Chief,
 ' What land in Hind you fancy best? '
 Answered the Surtan, ' Achalgarh is the fairest,
 ' There is no land like it in the wide world? '

The courtiers laughed in silent disdain.
 ' Valiant Prince,' said Aurangzeb with shining eyes,
 ' Hold Achalgarh as your own for ever! '

SOME FALLACIES OF BRITISH HISTORY AND THEIR TRUE LESSONS

By MR. S. G. WARTY, M.A.

Hon. Secretary of the Institute of Political Science, Bombay.

HISTORIANS and politicians are often in the habit of drawing facile generalisations regarding the course of history in particular countries. Some of these generalisations are right, some only partially so, others wholly wrong. These generalisations, once drawn, are often accepted as authoritative conclusions, and having once crept into the framework of the public mind, become thereafter the accepted canons of political and historical philosophy. Their truth is rarely challenged unless occasionally by some heterodox historian who brings a fresh mind to the study of the subject. But the beliefs once engendered are difficult to be shaken and pass down from age to age forming the axioms and first principles of professed political faith.

I propose in this article to refer to some such generalisations regarding British history which after a deep study I have come to regard as fallacies. These generalisations could well have been left alone to form the subject of purely academic discussions. But I find that in political discussions of constitutional importance, facile use is made of these generalisations to prove the wisdom or the error of particular policies according as men are personally inclined to favour or reject them. Those fallacies therefore which are found to breed mischief deserve to be exposed, so that truth may be seen in all its nakedness.

Let me start with the facile generalisation which we come to associate with British history, namely, that its course has always been smooth, that even British revolutions are bloodless, and that it is the peculiar genius of the British people to bring about their development by evolution, rather than revolution. I do not desire to discard this reading of the British history altogether, but I would suggest for consideration

certain facts. Evolution is the natural process in all societies to a certain extent and revolution comes in only occasionally when grave abuses accumulate. The evolutionary process cannot be said to be peculiar to Britain any more than it can be said to be peculiar to France. In fact in Britain the evolution has by no means been continuous. We find for example in the 13th century a Parliament founded by Simon-de-Montfort, and later growing into a highly efficient body in the 14th century, quite comparable to the present Parliament in almost every particular. Freeman in his "Growth of the English Constitution" (page 100) observes: "The Parliaments of the 14th century exercised all the powers which our parliament exercises now, together with some which modern parliaments shrink from exercising." Dr. Stubbs has expressed the same view, and the latest historian of England, Mr. Trevelyan describes their powers as follows: "The consent of its members became necessary for all making of statutes and for all extraordinary taxation; their own petitions very frequently received the assent of the King in Parliament; and even the highest acts of State like the deposition and election of kings, took place with the Commons as parties to the deed." (pp. 196-197.)

But did this process of evolution last longer? As Freeman observes: "the fifteenth century as compared with the thirteenth and fourteenth was in some respects a time in which things went back." Then came the Tudor despotism followed by Stuart tyranny, and not until the Revolution of 1688, did Parliament regain an unchallenged standing in the country. Thereafter there began again the process of evolution but several times and under the rule of certain kings, notably George III,

there were definite set-backs to progress. All this goes to show very conclusively that the theory of a process of continuous evolution of an unbroken character does not hold true. After reading French and other histories, I am unable to find any material difference in this respect between these and British history.

Take next the theory of bloodless revolutions. Does it really hold good in the case of English history? The greatest constitutional reform in English history, namely, the establishment of the House of Commons by Simon-de-Montfort had to be made at the cost of a civil war in the reign of Henry III. One wonders the reform could have been introduced by an evolutionary process. Take again the Cromwellian Revolution effected by a plentiful bloodshed. King Charles was eventually beheaded and one wonders if Stuart tyranny would at all have been undermined except by this fatal blow. But in any case even the well-advertised peculiar British political genius was not able to achieve the desired result by an evolutionary process.

The only revolution for which the British take pride as being 'bloodless,' namely, the Revolution of 1688, was not the result of any political genius of the people. The historian Lecky, in the opening pages of his "History of England in the 18th Century" has shown very clearly that the upheaval was due wholly and entirely to the foolish acts of James II. In fact, as he very clearly points out, the public opinion at the time had suffered a reaction since the Cromwellian regime and had veered on the side of monarchy. But for the very serious indiscretions of James II, and his wanton, high-handed and even cruel attacks on the established religion (which left no alternative even to his best well-wishers) no revolution in the constitution such as was brought about by the Act of Settlement would have been possible. In fact, there was every probability that the process of evolution if continued would have strengthened monarchy and comparatively weakened the powers of Parliament and it would have required a real, bloody revolution again to recover the Parliament's rights and put them on a truly

constitutional basis. Britain was saved from such a calamity not by the political genius of the British, but by the irremediable foolishness of King James II, which haunted him at every step. His last act, especially his fleeing away from the country when William appeared, was the most foolish and a fatal blunder. For as Mr. Trevelyan observes: "Even then it was probable that James could not have been deposed, so strong was the Tory feeling for the hereditary right of Kings, had he not himself persisted in flying from the country and taking refuge with his wife and baby-boy at the Court of France." Therefore, if James had continued to stay in the country instead of fleeing to the Continent, no amount of British political genius would have brought about the revolutionary constitutional changes without a bloodshed, which could be brought about peacefully after his own foolish flight.

I believe I have been now able to prove the incorrectness of the theory generally held regarding British history, that it is a history of bloodless revolutions and evolutionary process. My reading of this history as well as of the history of other countries does not incline me to give any preference to British history in this respect and to detect any peculiarity in British political genius. They may have other peculiar political virtues and characteristics, but this I do not regard as one of them to the extent of justifying it as a peculiarity. It is because we have been accustomed to hear too often of the French Revolution of 1788 and to read of the horrors of that period that we are inclined to think that France is peculiarly susceptible to bloody Revolutions. The French Revolution of 1788 is quite comparable to the Cromwellian Revolution in point of bloodshed. Only it occurred about a hundred and fifty years later. To sum up, the right reading of British history does not justify the theory of the peculiar genius of the British people in effecting revolutions without bloodshed.

II

Let me now refer to another fallacy of a similar character. British statesmanship

is credited with a very rare quality that it knows how and when to yield, that it does not break, that it does not allow matters and disputes to be finally settled by arms alone. The success of constitutional agitation in bringing about the necessary domestic reforms in Britain is pointed out in proof of this reading of British history. So far as these domestic reforms are concerned, this theory of British progress may hold good, though I am not sure that the histories of other countries do not afford a parallel. But real statesmanship of a people is marked in their relation to subject peoples. In the 18th century, British statesmanship was found quite unequal to the problem of keeping the American Colonies within the British empire. These countries were driven to desperation, declared war on the mother country and finally separated. That was the first great exhibition of British statesmanship.

Undoubtedly Britain then learnt a lesson. And in her later relations with other colonies like Canada, Australia, New Zealand, etc., she did show the spirit of eventually yielding, though even here not till the breaking point was reached. She could not, however, show the same statesmanship in the case of Transvaal and recently in that of Ireland. Her statesmanship was not equal to the solution of the Transvaal question without a definite breach, and a fight and a war. And as regards Ireland, alas, how many lives would have been saved, how much bloodshed avoided, if the British people possessed the statesmanship to win over the hearts of the Irish people by graceful concession before it was too late?

The British did all they could in their power to destroy Irish liberties and only when they could no longer do so with impunity, when it was found practically impossible to crush the Irish people, the British sued for peace, and the Irish people thus wrested their liberties from the hands of Britain. The British, if there was a real spark of statesmanship in them, could easily have yielded gracefully before the actual fight took place. They would thereby have earned the gratitude of the whole of the Irish people, and also established a reputation for statesmanship. Instead they persisted in their obstinacy

unto the last, had ultimately to make an ignoble surrender and lost all reputation for statesmanship.

True statesmanship in such cases lies in anticipating developments, understanding the heart of the people, their desires and their aspirations, and taking the necessary steps to meet these aspirations, before it is too late. There is no grace, no merit in yielding to the demands of a subject country under compulsion. To drive a people into revolt does not require any particular statesmanship. Ireland is a grand instance of British failure and as this failure has occurred in the twentieth century and immediately after the completion of the Great War, which had been undertaken to end all wars and to make the world safe for democracy, it should be regarded all the more as an illustration of a lack of true statesmanship among the British. I wonder if the same process is not going on now in India. By their want of insight into the Indian developments and by their lack of statesmanship in taking action in time to pacify a discontented people, much more than by any wanton wickedness, the British may drive India to desperation, impel her youngsters especially to resort to any means, right or wrong, cause unnecessary bloodshed as they did in Ireland, impair the energies of the country, and finally yield, when it be too late. Would this be what we call statesmanship or a travesty of it?

III

I would next refer to a third fallacy which has become current owing to the misreading of British history. It is generally considered that a people become fit for national self-government only after training in the local self-government, and that inefficiency in the latter necessarily connotes unfitness for the former; and it is stated that we learn this lesson from British history. My reading of British history, however, does not support this view. I am prepared to grant that the British owe a great part of their liberties to the existence of local self-governing institutions from very old times, by which I mean the continuation of the tradition of the exercise of immemorial rights by the people. But British

history affords, I should think, a proof of the perfect fitness on the part of the people for national self-government when the administration of local self-government is rotten. In other words, the inefficiency or deterioration of local administration cannot be put down as a proof of unfitness for national self-government.

Let me now give my arguments to support my reading of British history, and I shall take for my guidance the recent period of it. The administration of local self-governing bodies, before the Reform Act of 1832 was passed, is thus described by Sir Erskine May in his "Constitutional History of England": "Neglecting their proper functions,—the superintendence of the police, the management of the gaols, the paving and lighting of the streets, and the supply of water—they thought only of the personal interest attached to office. They grasped all patronage, lay and ecclesiastical, for their relatives, friends, and political partizans; and wasted the corporate funds in greasy feasts and vulgar revelry. Many were absolutely insolvent. Charities were despoiled, and public trusts neglected and misapplied; jobbery and corruption in every form were fostered."

Such was the state of British Local Self-Government during this period, when these local self-governing bodies were enjoying the fullest powers of autonomy. Mr. Francis Holland in his continuation of May's "Constitutional History of England" truly observes: "If self-government consists in freedom from external control, the century and a half that followed the Revolution of 1688 must be reckoned as the period since the Conquest, in which that privilege has been the most fully enjoyed by separate districts. Local government was completely decentralised." It was during this very period, however, *i.e.*, since 1688 that the country was making steady progress in national self-government and taking sure steps in constitutional

advance. These facts go to prove my contention that an efficient local self-government has not been an essential pre-requisite of the national fitness for self-government in British history.

That an efficient local administration is a valuable aid to efficient national self-government is a different proposition altogether and will be readily granted. But British history does not suggest or support the view that the country's fitness for self-government should be tested first by efficient local self-government, or that when the local administration is lax or corrupt or inefficient, the national self-government will not thrive. On the other hand, British history provides evidence to uphold the contrary theory, that true efficiency comes into the local administration only after the national self-government is itself put on a right basis. Reforms in local administration came after the Reforms Act of 1832 and continued uninterrupted until the Local Government Board was constituted about the end of the 19th century, consolidating and harmonizing the local areas and introducing efficient central control. It will be seen that a correct reading of the British history in this respect is especially necessary at this stage of India's history when attempts are being made from interested quarters to discredit India's fitness for national self-government on the ground that local self-government in certain areas of the country has shown signs of deterioration and inefficiency.

I have been able in this article to refer to only three fallacies of British history. There are some others which are very common, but I do not desire to add to the length of this already long article by dwelling on them now. I hope my article will serve to clear certain common misconceptions and lead to a right reading of British history and a correct knowledge of its basic principles.

GOKHALE—THE MAN AND HIS WORK*

By Mr. K. NATARAJAN

OF all professions Journalism is at once the most fascinating and the most dreary. It is fascinating because of the wide variety of interests it constantly presents and because, if one happens to have some great cause at heart, it gives him the opportunity of striking a blow for it at the right time. It is dreary because, unlike the other professions such as Law and Medicine where the results of one's efforts are known sooner or later, the journalist may never know what the results of his efforts are. Sometimes, however, the journalist also has the gratification of knowing that what he wrote has produced some effect and there is no moment in his life so exhilarating as when he is told by some distant and unknown reader that his writing stirred in him some abiding thought or emotion. This experience happened to me with Gokhale. The *Indian Social Reformer*, published in its issue of the 16th January, 1898, a letter from Mr. Gokhale, dated 7th January, 1898, which concluded as follows :

"I have no doubt about the ultimate verdict on my conduct. The day will come when it will be generally recognized by my countrymen that this most unfortunate incident deserves to be thought of, as far as I am concerned, in sorrow, not in anger, and that under most trying circumstances I had taken the only course which was consistent with duty and honour. Meanwhile, I am content to wait."

The reference, of course, is to the unhappy incident which led Mr. Gokhale to withdraw and apologise for certain statements with regard to the plague operations in Poona when he was in England giving evidence before the Welby Commission on Indian Expenditure. The statements related to the conduct of British soldiers who were employed to evacuate compulsorily the inmates of infected houses in Poona. The persons who supplied Mr. Gokhale with the information, with the exception of Pandita Ramabai, refused to come forward to substantiate their allegations and Gokhale had no alter-

native in the circumstances except to withdraw and apologise for those allegations which had created a storm of indignation in England and in India. Mr. Gokhale's letter was evidently a long one as in the editorial comments it was mentioned that it had to be cut short to bring it within the limits of the space available in the *Reformer*. In the course of that comment which was a lengthy one extending to three paragraphs, I wrote :

"That Mr. Gokhale was made to feel that an explanation was at all required from him for his conduct which, every honourable and honest man must admit, was the only honourable and honest course open to him, is another serious reflection on the character of those who took part or sympathised with the ill-mannered and silly demonstration with which, it is said, a proposal to include Mr. Gokhale among the speakers in the last Congress at Amraoti was met."

It was two years after this that I met Mr. Gokhale in Bombay for the first time. He spoke to me with warm feeling of this comment as a thing that he would never forget, of the *Reformer* having been the only Journal which stood by him in his "dark hour of trial."

GOKHALE'S RELIGIOUS VIEWS

In December, 1899, I met Mr. Gokhale at the Lahore Congress over which Sir Narayan Chandravarkar presided. He was still brooding over the harsh treatment he had received at the hands of his fellow-countrymen and sat with me in the back-benches and told me that he would not speak even if he was invited as they had treated him so shabbily. The position continued to remain so strained particularly with his fellow-citizens of Poona that in 1902 Mr. Gokhale had made up his mind to shift his home to Bombay and was induced to alter his plans at the last moment by the pressure of friends who wished him to become the first non-official president of the Poona Municipality. This experience would seem to have turned

* An Address on the Gokhale Anniversary Day (15th February), at the Deccan Sabha, Poona.

Mr. Gokhale's thoughts in a most important direction. The professors of the Ferguson College had the reputation of being agnostics and Mr. Gokhale being one of them shared in it and Sir Valentine Chirol in his book "Indian Unrest" has thought fit to note it. I do not know whether the professors of that college still profess that creed. If they do so they must be really very tenacious of their views as agnosticism has disappeared from the rest of the world. Anyhow Mr. Gokhale's religious views were undergoing change. I find that in a letter dated 26th July, 1902, Mr. Gokhale wrote:

"I wanted to write and tell you sometime ago that I read your article on Vivekananda with great pleasure. During my stay in Calcutta, I came to understand his aims and aspirations much better than before and you exactly expressed my feelings in your article."

Some years later when I happened to be in Calcutta Mr. Gokhale who was also there attending the Imperial Legislative Council, took me into his study one day where I found on his table a glass paper-weight with an inscription in bold letters "God is Love." I could not help making some remark expressive of my surprise whereupon Gokhale quietly said that was what he had come to believe. A few days after Mr. Gokhale's death, meeting Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar at the University, I mentioned this incident to him. Sir Ramkrishna observed that he had heard from Mr. Justice Ranade that Gokhale's religious views were undergoing change and that a public declaration might be shortly expected. "But," he added regretfully, "that declaration never came."

MR. MADHAVA RAO AND THE SERVANTS OF INDIA

An amusing incident happened during this time at Calcutta. Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao who had been Dewan of Travancore, Mysore and Baroda, had a few months before retired from the last-named State and was looking out for some sphere of public usefulness in which he could utilise his vast administrative experience to the benefit of the country. The idea of joining the Servants of India Society had occurred to him and he had asked me to sound Mr. Gokhale about it. Gokhale

seemed rather disinclined as Mr. Madhava Rao, he thought, was much too big a man to be fitted into the scheme of his Society which was then in its infancy. However, he made an appointment to call on the Dewan at Sir Vithaldas' house. Gokhale came at about 2 P.M. and a servant said that the Dewan was having his seista when Mr. Gokhale turned to me and said seriously that it was against the rules of the Society to sleep in the daytime. The Dewan turned up in a few minutes and I told him what Gokhale had said when Madhava Rao laughed and said that he was not sleeping but only lying down with his eyes closed and his servant thought he was asleep.

INTERMEDIARY BETWEEN GANDHI AND LORD HARDINGE

The last personal experience which I might mention here was very shortly before Gokhale's death. Mr. Gokhale had asked me when he returned from South Africa to correspond with Mr. Gandhi on his behalf in connection with the fund which Mr. Jehangir Petit was collecting and of which the late Sir Hormasji Wadia was the chairman. One day, Sir Hormasji and I received a telegram from Gokhale to see him in Poona at once as he had had the previous day the first of the heart attacks to which he succumbed shortly after. We reached the Society's home at about noon and were immediately admitted to Gokhale's room where he was lying on a couch evidently exhausted. Gokhale at once sat up and insisted on himself reading to us, in spite of our protests, a large batch of telegrams and cables which had passed during the two or three days previous between Lord Hardinge who was then on a visit to Lucknow and Mr. Gokhale on the one hand and on the other between Mr. Gokhale and Mr. Gandhi in South Africa. Mr. Gandhi had refused to appear before the Commission and Lord Hardinge who had taken up a strong attitude in support of the Indian cause, was insistent that the Indians should appear before the Commission. The Viceroy's tone was unusually strong and I think he said he would wash his hands clean of the matter

if Mr. Gandhi persisted in his attitude. Gokhale was evidently much distressed and we were with him for about four hours and we could see that the difficulty of mediating between these two personages was severely straining his fast failing health. That was the last I saw of Gokhale.

These are some of the incidents serious and trivial which come to mind when I think of Gokhale and which seem to me to give a true picture of the man as he appeared to one who had the privilege of his friendship till his death. A much more intimate view was presented to you by Sir Lalubhai Samaldas in laying the foundation stone of the Gokhale Hall which is rising near by, five years ago. I have read Sir Lalubhai's speech and I think that his impressions of Gokhale the Man coincide surprisingly with my own.

GOKHALE AND BRITISH OFFICIALS

I may now give you one or two illustrations of the impression which Mr. Gokhale made on high English officials with whom he was thrown in contact. The first one is from Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson's "Letters to Nobody." Sir Guy was Finance Member of the Government of India, 1908—1913, having been specially sent out from England. Writing of his first Budget experience in the Imperial Legislative Council he makes a striking reference to Mr. Gokhale, which perhaps many have not seen. It is as follows :

It was a wonderful chance for the Indian members of the Legislative Council to upset an inexperienced Minister, and I anticipated a trying time of it in debate. The one man I frankly feared was Gokhale, the Gladstone of India.

Accordingly I endeavoured to find out what Gokhale's line of attack would be. All and everyone told me that the attempt would be futile, and that any apparent frankness on Gokhale's part would only be a cloak to his real intentions. So I left him severely alone.

Imagine my surprise at receiving on the eve of the debate a letter from Gokhale, whom I did not even know, to the effect that as he had good reason to believe that I meant to do my utmost for the good of India, he had no desire to embarrass me, and that therefore he sent me the notes of the speech he proposed to make so that I should not be taken unawares.

I do not believe that such a generous attitude has ever been assumed by the Leader of the Opposition in any other country in the world.

Here is another from Lord Ronaldshay's "Life of Curzon" which testifies to the same innate chivalry of Mr. Gokhale :

As President of the National Congress at Benares in 1905, Mr. G. K. Gokhale indulged in "a passionate and acrid onslaught" on Lord Curzon and all his works. But six months later when Lord Curzon himself lay stricken with the pain of great affliction, Mr. Gokhale wrote to him that the heart of all India would go out to him in profound and reverent sorrow. And he spoke in touching terms of the inevitable loneliness of "such rare spirits as your Lordship who live for lofty ends and make a religion of all their work."

Most of us know Lord Morley's estimate of Gokhale, "a Mahratta Brahmin from Bombay immensely interesting." "He has a politician's head; appreciates executive responsibility; has made no secret of his ultimate hope and design—India to be on the footing of a self-governing colony. I equally made no secret of my conviction, that for many a day to come—long beyond the short span of time that may be left to us—this was a mere dream." In reading Lord Morley's references to Gokhale I made a surprising discovery. Lord Minto while he was in India publicly referred to Mr. Gokhale in such terms as have seldom been employed by Viceroys on Indian public men but in private he was writing to Lord Morley in a different strain. "I rather smile at your warning," writes Lord Morley to Lord Minto, "not to take Gokhale and his letters to third persons too seriously or too literally." Lord Morley went on to say that having dealt with Parnell he knew how to deal with Gokhale and "others of the political breed." I have heard before in a vague way of high English officials making fun in private of Indians whom they profusely honoured in public but this dual attitude of a Viceroy who was known best before he came to India as a typical British sportsman came upon me as no doubt it will come upon you, with a shock. Indians too will do well to take Lord Minto's warning and not to take the compliments of British Governors and Viceroys too seriously or too literally. But all this is past history though not without its implications for the present or the future.

MR. GOKHALE'S POLITICAL CREDO

I now come to Mr. Gokhale's views on public questions which are naturally of more practical interest to us. Political and public life before Gokhale died was materially different from what they have since come to be. But the germs of nearly all the important subsequent developments had already begun to sprout and we are fortunate in having Mr. Gokhale's considered and almost prophetic pronouncements on nearly all of them. The first and most prominent though not necessarily the most serious question debated at the present day relates to the political goal of India—whether it should be Independence or Dominion Status. On that Mr. Gokhale has recorded his deliberate opinion in unmistakable terms. Speaking in Allahabad in February, 1907, Mr. Gokhale said and the words are printed on the front page of Mr. Natesan's collection of Gokhale's speeches: "I recognize no limits to my aspirations for our motherland. I want our people to be in their own country what other people are in theirs. I want our men and women, without distinction of caste or creed, to have opportunities to grow to the full height of their stature, unhampered by cramping and unnatural restrictions. I want India to take her proper place among the great nations of the world, politically, industrially, in religion, in literature, in science and in arts. I want all this and feel at the same time that the whole of this aspiration can, in its essence and its reality, be realized within this Empire." In some of Mr. Gokhale's later speeches he has closely argued out this question and I would specially refer you to the speech in which this passage occurs on "the work before us" delivered at a public meeting in Allahabad at which it is interesting to note the Chair was taken by Pandit Motilal Nehru. I wish to stress this matter because I feel that the case for Dominion Status is not being presented to our young men and women in its fullest and truest form. It is too often represented as a matter of practical though unpleasant necessity and even as a temporary makeshift. The late Mr. C. R. Das who was far above the level of the carpet-bag politician perceived

the true spiritual superiority of the ideal of working out our destiny within the British Commonwealth of Nations. Gokhale too I think perceived it and I feel sure that if properly presented it will appeal to young minds by its power of idealism and attraction of disinterested service.

THE COMMUNAL QUESTION

On the question of Hindu-Mahommedan relations Mr. Gokhale has likewise left behind for our guidance his method of solution. Mr. Gokhale visualised the problem as it should be done as relating not only to the Mahommedans but all important minority communities. There is a speech which he made at this very Deccan Sabha in Marathi in July, 1909, on the Hindu-Mahommedan question and which is of great current importance. It is not necessary to make a long quotation here as Mr. Natesan's collections is easily available to the public. Mr. Gokhale was not against special separate electorates. He said on the other hand that he had all along been in favour of special separate electorates for important minorities but he wanted such electorates to provide not the whole of the representation to which the communities were entitled but only so much of it as was necessary to redress the deficiencies and inequalities of general elections; and he wanted the same treatment to be extended to other important minorities than Mahommedans where necessary. Mr. Gokhale mentioned in this speech that the Government of India's original proposals had been very much on these lines. This is confirmed by John Buchan in his "Lord Minto." "Minto," he writes, "desired to prevent the followers of Islam from becoming a rigid *enclave* divorced from the rest of Indian life." Both Gokhale and Mr. Buchan lay the blame for the scheme as it was actually adopted upon Lord Morley's ignorant meddling which conceded a point on which Morley would make no compromise. That was about excessive representation. Mr. Gokhale in his speech said:

When anyone said that his community was important and should receive fair and adequate representation the claim was entitled to the sympathetic consi-

deration of all. But when anyone urged that his community was specially important and should therefore receive representation in excess of its fair share, the undoubted and irresistible implication was that the other communities were comparatively inferior and should receive less than their fair share. That was a position to which naturally the other communities could not assent. British rule was based on equal treatment of all communities and the speaker trusted that the Government would never be so weak as to lean for support on any one community in particular.

Gokhale's trust was belied by the decision of Government but all the same it is impossible to deny the justice and equity of Gokhale's attitude. The decision in this matter changed the whole basis of British rule which, as Gokhale said, was the perfect equality of all subjects without distinction of caste or creed. It is worthy of note that it was only after Gokhale and Sir Pherozshah Mehta, who was also stoutly opposed to excessive representation, passed away from the scene that the so-called Lucknow Pact accepting and endorsing the principle of excessive representation was framed at the instance, of all men, of the late Mr. Tilak! While on the subject I would call attention to diverse meanings attached to the word community in connection with constitutional reform. Applied to the Europeans it refers to race. Applied to Indian Christians it is a combination of race and religion. In the case of Anglo-Indians the test is neither race nor religion but the intermingling of two races, the result of which is the absence of racial identity. With Mahomedans the difference is pure religion. It seems to me that the only correct meaning of the word community is neither race nor religion but the existence of special marriage laws. In this sense which, I repeat is the only true sense, every Hindu caste and sub-caste is a community, and the Hindus as a whole are an aggregate of communal minorities some of them much smaller than even the Parsees. If each of these Hindu minorities claimed representation for itself the result would be extremely interesting and it would tax the ingenuity of the promoters of the All-Minorities Conference to be shortly convened at Delhi to satisfy their demands. I seriously suggest that the Hindu castes and sub-castes should apply to the Committee of the All-Minorities Conference just formed to admit

their representatives to the Conference. Someone described Socialism as a state of society in which everyone took every other's wishing. The protection of minorities on the plan of the All-Minorities Conference means excessive representation to minorities at the expense of every other.

THE DEPRESSED CLASSES AND THE INDIAN STATES.

Mr. Gokhale felt deeply about the position of the "depressed" classes and called upon the higher castes to adopt every means in their power to promote their education and facilitate their admission to honourable employment as the most important means of elevating them in the social scale. He would surely have sympathised with their claim for fair representation in the Legislative and other councils. As regards Indian States, Mr. Gokhale's attitude was one of complete abstinence. This seems to have been the result not merely of constitutional considerations but also of Mr. Gokhale's personal temperament. He once told me that he had made it a rule not to set foot in any Indian State and this feeling was somewhat aggravated when a late Dewan of Mysore issued an order prohibiting Mr. Srinivasa Sastri from making a speech at a public meeting in Bangalore. The Dewan made one or two attempts afterwards to meet Mr. Gokhale and explain his position but Mr. Gokhale I think, did not countenance them. Another occasion in which Gokhale acted similarly was one in which I was myself an intermediary. Mr. Lovat Fraser, perhaps the most brilliant English journalist who ever came out to India, expressed to me when he retired from the *Times of India* a wish to see Mr. Gokhale. Fraser was a staunch supporter of the Curzon regime and had not spared Gokhale who was its most powerful critic. Fraser said to me, "You know we are often ashamed to read in the morning what we dash off in the night" and that he would like to make up with Gokhale, for whom he had a sincere respect before he left India. I duly conveyed the message to Gokhale and his reply was characteristic. "I have no sort of dignity or sense of

humiliation in approaching any Indian but as regards Englishmen," he said, "in the present circumstances of the country I must stand on my dignity. I will not call upon Mr. Lovat Fraser." The two men however met later in London and Gokhale told me that Fraser who was then influentially connected with the *London Times* and besides was in close touch with Lord Morley was extremely helpful to him in getting into touch with leading English publicists.

GOKHALE ON CONSTITUTIONAL AGITATION

Mr. Gokhale visualised Indian politics as the task of the educated classes who had on the one side the huge mass of ignorance and illiteracy of the people to redeem and on the other to obtain from an able and influential bureaucracy practical and substantial recognition of their right to direct the policies and shape the administration of the country. This is far from the idea of adult suffrage which has become a watch-word during the last year or two. The sudden extension of the franchise in the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and the thrusting of a phantom principle of responsibility to the Legislature are responsible for the general lowering of the calibre of public men and the standards of public life which are visible at the present day. Mr. Gokhale's ideas are clearly set forth in his address on "the work before us" to which I have already referred. Gokhale laid down two essential conditions of constitutional agitation—the methods adopted should be legitimate and the changes desired should be obtained only through the action of constituted authorities by bringing to bear on them the pressure of public opinion. Three things were excluded—namely, rebellion, aiding or abetting a foreign invasion, and resort to crime. He went on to say: "Roughly speaking, barring these three things, all else was constitutional. No doubt everything that was constitutional was not necessarily wise or expedient but that was a different matter. Prayers and appeals to justice lay at one end. Passive resistance, including even its extreme form of non-payment of taxes till redress was obtained, lay at the other end." This is how Mr. Gokhale con-

ceived constitutional agitation and I like to lay special emphasis on it as I fear that Liberal leaders nowadays are not always in touch with the first principles of the constitutional creed. A distinguished Liberal leader only the other day spoke of the attitude of Liberals as a constitutional party in case Government took repressive measures "in self-defence." That phrase jarred on me at sight and on reflection I found the reason why it did. In the long ago when I played at being a law student, one of the few things that stuck in my head was that there can be no "act of State" as between a Government and its own subjects. The idea is that the state has no personality apart from its own subjects. When the government of a state for the time being finds itself seriously differing from its subjects the constitutional theory is that it should give place to a more responsible government and not that it should repress its subjects into acquiescence with its own policies. This seems to be an elementary principle which lies at the root of constitutionalism and the idea of government doing anything in self-defence is totally incompatible with it.

THE LIBERALS' ROLE IN INDIAN POLITICS

The scene comes vividly before my eyes of Gokhale with his arms protectingly circling Mr. Tilak's person from being hustled off the platform at the Surat Congress, when the persistence of the latter in holding up the proceedings, led to indignant demands to have him bodily removed from it. It was then that a Dakshini shoe, hustling over the heads of the pressmen, glanced at Sir Pherozshah's face. Whenever I think of the duty of Indian constitutionalists to extremists when they are subjected, it may be as a consequence of their opinions or even conduct, to a regime of repression, that scene at Surat comes to my mind. The Liberals if they are true to their names cannot tolerate any encroachment on the personal freedom of political propagandists so long as their propaganda does not include commission of or incitement to crime. Mr. Gokhale was very firm on this question and in one of his speeches in the Legislative

Council he made a trenchant reply to Sir Harvey Adamson who had blamed the Liberals for not condemning the Extremists at public meetings. If you concede the right of self-defence to a Government, you cannot deny it to its people, and that, of course, means civil war. The immediate duty of the Liberals, to my mind, is to act as a reconciling influence between Government and the Gandhianites, to exert their full influence on the former to hasten on with reforms and to bring pressure to bear on the latter to await the result of the Round Table Conference before launching into civil disobedience and other disruptive propaganda. Mr. Gandhi has virtually promised this in

one of his articles in his *Young India* and however much we may differ from him, we cannot doubt that he will keep his word. Congressmen, after all, are nearer to the Liberals in spirit and aim, than the bureaucracy, and they would do well to bear in mind in dealing with Congressmen as political adversaries, that it will not be long, if their expectations materialise, before they will have to deal with them as political friends and colleagues in carrying on the great task of Indian Swaraj! If those expectations do not materialise—there will be an end to constitutional reform and reformers, and there is no need to forecast their future relations with the Independence school.

THE PROPOSALS OF THE CENTRAL SIMON COMMITTEE

By MR. S. K. SARMA, B.A., B.L.,

Author of "Towards Swaraj."

AFTER the 31st December last, when the Indian National Congress in solemn conclave assembled declared the immediate objective of the country to be Independence, it would seem to be a trifle odd to consider such simple things as the practical steps that may have to be taken for the attainment of responsible Government. The declaration of Independence has been followed by the renunciation of the only constructive scheme that had so far secured the recognition of as wide a body of thinking men as possible. The Nehru Report has been thrown overboard with a singular loyalty to principles for which the Congress is notorious and it is fondly believed that those powerful sections that looked askance at it—the Sikhs and the Moslems—would veer round the Congress banner and fight under the national flag. The unceremonious internment of the Nehru Report has failed, however, to evoke that enthusiastic response which was expected from it and the enemies of the Congress are even wilder in their denunciation of the Lahore Resolutions than ever. If of Congressmen they declare that

achieved by the march of a few Satyagrahis to jail can only be justified of those of whom it can be truly said that

If haply Knowledge, on a random tramp,

Hap shor'd them wi' a glimmer of his lamp,

And would to common-sense for once betrayed them,

Plain, dull Stupidity stept kindly in to aid them.

For sense they little owe to frugal heav'n—

To please the mob they hide the little giv'n,

they only do a great injury to the mob who are said to have incited them to such follies. Independence as an immediate objective which is to be

That however is entirely the outlook of those Congressmen who had resolved to wade through the experiences of the Satyagrahi for the achievement of the impossible. What is of more practical concern, however, is the refusal to concentrate on the definite steps that have to be taken for the political evolution of the country. To that end the Nehru Report contributed in ever so small a degree. Now that it is thrown overboard, the attention of those practical men who refuse to feed on imagination will be diverted to those schemes that are already afoot clothed with the authoritative sanction of responsible leadership. The Report of the Central Committee that co-operated with the Simon Commission, and the Report of the Simon Commission itself, when published, will challenge attention. They could not possibly be eclipsed, however much one may wish to ignore them, by simple shouts of non-co-operation. They remained to be overshadowed by the constructive

proposals of the intelligentsia; but that can hardly be. We have resolved not to construct, but to destroy and we believe it an easier process. We have ignored for the nonce the Report of the Central Committee and we may do likewise with the Report of the Simon Commission; but that can only be for a short while. When British statesmen and Indian politicians sit round a table to hammer out concrete proposals, they will have to work upon something. And then—and perhaps not till then—these proposals will hover over us like disembodied spirits directing our steps towards the destined end.

Indeed the more one thinks about the political reconstruction of this country the more deeply one becomes impressed with the practical need of devising schemes and measures which will be worked on the present institutions so that they might ultimately satisfy our national aspirations. Even in the exuberance of his enthusiasm Mr. Gandhi is convinced that there will have to be conference; only he is unwilling that there should be one before the country has passed through the travail of intensive agitation, repression and unavailing immolation of the fair youths of the land; he must needs make his experiment once more. Whether it is Independence or Dominion Status or a variety of it specially adapted to oriental regions, the thing that matters is what definite steps should be taken to improve upon existing conditions. We cannot like Moses of old give a new law to a new race of men who have no happy past. How one wishes that in the bitter controversies about catchwords we do not forget the kernel! It should have been open to Mr. Gandhi and the neo-patriots, who have resolved upon a wild-cut scheme without knowing how to attain it, to have gone to the Round Table Conference and placed before British democracy these concrete proposals which will secure the ideal without alarming people about it. It argues a state of mental incapacity if not of imbecility to refuse to participate in a conference where the representatives of all shades of opinion can have but one common object. It would certainly be not too late in the day if we find that British democracy does not mean business to launch upon such measures as may have the approbation of every section of the country. It is in that view that it is proposed to review briefly the more salient features of the Report of the Central Committee which saw publicity in the last week of December last.

I

Dr. Sir Hari Singh Gour has already expressed his chagrin at the very scant courtesy that has been shown by Indian publicists to the Report of the Central Committee, though he does not particularly refer to his own *magnum opus*, the explanatory memoranda. But one does not see how he can be surprised at it. He showed little regard to the feelings of his own countrymen who refused to co-operate with the Simon Commission. In the teeth of their opposition he accepted a seat on the Committee and

there is absolutely no grace in him if he complained against their fore-warned attitude. Even if the Report was unexceptionable in every respect and even if his own comments upon it were shorter, more compressed, less diffusive than they are, they are not likely to excite the generous sympathies of his fellow-countrymen whom he has so ungraciously betrayed. It is a sin which cannot be forgotten in any politician; much less forgiven. But there were other reasons besides which discounted considerably in advance the result of their deliberations. They did not share in confidences of the parent Commission which immediately after the Committee was ushered into existence treated it as a bastard. The members began to vent their spleen against each other, as they cannot apparently hurt the parent, and the Nine Worthies began to pull one another in all the various directions of the compass. They made such exhibition of themselves that they became a by-word of Indian jealousy, disunion and low-mindedness. It appeared as though they would break up as ignominiously as they sprang up; but it is a matter for congratulation that after all they have been able to sign a report, and issue it to the world. We have welcomed it as showing how difficult it is for any practical man to agree with another even on the fundamentals of the lines of progress if two such are capable of thinking for themselves. Each member of this Committee has thought too much for himself.

The Report is noteworthy in many respects, but not the least remarkable feature is the vast mass of commentaries which shroud the text. It has never been our fortune to read till now a Report which occupies an insignificant portion of the body of materials that comprise the text, explanatory notes and minutes of dissent. The Report comprises 142 paragraphs. Sir Sankaran Nair, Raja Nawab Ali Khan and Sardar Bahadur Shivdev Singh append a memorandum to it of another 140 paragraphs. This is perhaps the most readable part of the bulky volume. We detect in this memorandum the Roman hand of Sir Sankaran Nair who lets himself go in a manner which may not be appropriate to the body of a Report. We have a dissenting minute from Sir Arthur Froom who in respect of the more progressive proposals of the Committee cries in every alternate paragraph "fudge" like the amiable Burchell in Goldsmith's "Vicar of Wakefield." Mr. M. C. Rajah would not have justified his existence if he did not append a minute of his own. Nawab Sir Zulfikar Ali Khan and Dr. Sahrawardy controvert the proposals of the Committee on the question of Moslem representation. Raja Nawab Ali has a note of his own and Mr. Kikubhai Premchand, who had left the Committee to its own dissensions in London, has prepared a "Report" taking up nearly forty pages of print. Lastly there is, of course, Dr. Sir Hari Singh Gour who writes a treatise on the future constitution. Bulk is Dr. Gour's forte and it would take one's breath away if he were to wade through it all to understand and grasp the easy principles of the text. In this

wide mass of printed output one can find propositions as scathingly combated as they have been advanced, leaving the perplexed novice in a maze of indeterminate confusion. Of one thing he may well be convinced, that it is not what a considered Report ought to be. The reader ought not to be forced to read at public expense so much of rigmarole which, published at the individual expense of the authors, may not command any large audience.

There is enough in the body of the Report to show that it ought not to be taken as a serious solution of a problem by a body of men meeting with the sole purpose of striking out a path which command their approval. On the other hand their main object seems to be to wrangle about every petty matter and the result has been a treatise from every one, a disconnected piece of mosaic, if you like, but jarring to the eye. From the dithyrambic tirade of Mr. Zulfikar Ali Khan and Dr. Sahrawardy it appears that the discussion took the shape of a series of resolutions moved and voted upon and some of them at all events were carried by the casting vote of the Chairman. It is disclaimed with a certain amount of acerbity by them. But what is more important, however, is the total absence of confabulation with either the members of the Statutory Commission or the financial expert, Mr. Layton, on the most vital question of financial adjustment, which after all is the thing that really matters. Neither the Central Committee nor the Statutory Commission were apprised with reference to the changes that ought to be made in the Central Government and though the committee claim to be sufficiently well-acquainted with the ideas of that section which refrained from co-operation with them, they declare that their English colleagues "can have had few opportunities of acquainting themselves directly with the sentiments of this important group." Sir Sankaran Nair and two of his colleagues admit that though they have received help from the provincial councils, not only no non-official was examined as regards the Central Government, but the work of the joint conference proceeded in face of the active opposition of the Assembly. In preference to asking either the Central Committee or the Statutory Commission to solve the problem of the Central Government, they consider it desirable to entrust the task either to the Assembly, or a Committee which they propose, to solve it. Sir Arthur Froom in his minute points out that shortly after the commencement of their sittings Sir John Simon declared that he and his colleagues did not pretend to possess any extraordinary knowledge of higher finance and appointed Mr. Layton to assist them and the Central Committee who for their part "did not lay claim to the special financial perception which the Commission so modestly disclaimed." And at the time of writing their Report Mr. Layton had apparently not developed his studies so as to lay down definite conclusions. Mr. Premchand finds the question

of finance "too complicated to be settled by the obiter dicta of any individual," and so proposes a Committee for examining it, a recommendation similar to the one proposed by Sir Arthur Froom and, if one may also reluctantly state, by the Nehru Report.

II

Such being the admissions of some of the principal members of the Central Committee who have adverted to the subject, it is clear that the final proposals lack that informed and authoritative criticism in many of their fundamentals which one would naturally expect from them. And this defect is clearly perceivable in the main body of the Report. In developing a scheme of constitutional reform the first consideration is the cost that any system may impose upon the general body of tax-payers. Is a federal system likely to increase the cost and, if so, is the economic condition of the people such as to stand it? In the alternative, cannot political evolution chalk out a different line for its march if it will prove cheaper from the commencement to the end? It cannot be said that Sir Sankaran Nair is oblivious of the economic destitution of the people and their growing degeneracy. He is perhaps one of the best informed of the critics of the Government on their economic policy. We can even perceive in the financial proposals of the Committee and the elaborate note appended by him and two of his colleagues to the Report, a clear perception of the extravagant expenditure which has got to be supported by heavy taxation on the part of the Central Government. The very strong attitude that has been taken to deprive the Central Government of any power of taxation which is to be vested with the provincial governments leaving it to live upon doles,—a reversal of the state of things that existed before the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms—discloses the bias of the Committee against the reckless improvidence of the financial policy of the Government of India and an unfounded belief in the financial rectitude and uprightness of the provincial governments, for neither of which is there any historical foundation. Sir James Westland pointed out that the revenues of India are the constitutional possession of the Government of India, and apart from the impracticability of the proposal to deprive them of all their rights to them, there are difficulties in the way of financial federalism which do not seem to have been grasped by the Committee.

Briefly put, the Committee suggest that the provincial governments should keep every tax that they collect and the Government of India should be paid by each provincial government a sum which will have to be determined upon by an "impartial tribunal on which the Government of India and the provincial government are equally represented." We do not know if the Committee think that what is now called the "Meston Award" was made by an impartial tribunal. In assessing the provincial contribution, say the Committee, the

tribunal would be able to consider the actual financial position and requirements of each province; "the rich province would be required to pay a larger amount than its poor neighbour." It commonly happens that a rich province does usually require more than a poor province; but that apart, how is the richness or poverty of a province to be determined for the purposes of contribution to the Central Government? If the customs and income-tax were provincialised, Bombay, Bengal, Madras and Burma may have a tremendous accretion to their income. The United Provinces, the Central Provinces, Assam, and Bihar and Orissa have no customs revenue and their revenue from income-tax is meagre. Bengal was excused even during the regime of "provincial contributions" its quota and Bombay was pressing hard for relief though it is one of the richest provinces. If customs and income-tax were provincialised, the immediate effect may be that the provinces might need all the sum so released for their provincial purposes. If we are going to measure the quota of each province, from the excess revenues of the provinces we may have nothing left for the Central Government: we do not know of any province which cannot absorb for the nation-building services all the revenues they raise. Some basis will have to be accepted and then the quarrel will be just the same as followed the "Meston Award." Provincial contributions will have given place to "imperial contributions" and the Government of India will have to be wrangling with the provinces for their quota before deciding upon their budget. The answer does not lie in the criticism that "no financial scheme that can be devised is likely to meet with general acceptance throughout India." But it should certainly be intelligible and unobjectionable from the point of view of past experience.

Mr. Premchand cannot see how customs and income-tax can be held to be other than the prerogative of the Central Government and Sir Arthur Froom cannot see how they can be collected more economically than by a central organisation. Both these members are opposed to the handing over of the entire revenues of India to the provincial governments. For additional revenue Sir Arthur Froom invites the attention of the public to the Report of the Taxation Enquiry Committee which should by now have been forgotten by every one concerned. On the merits of the "scientific system" developed by that Committee nothing need be said now, but of one thing everyone is certain. The present system of taxation and tax administration has nothing to commend it save the want of earnest effort and clear thinking about the principles that should govern a just and equitable financial system least onerous to the taxpayer and the most profitable to the Government. To tax and to please is no more given to men, as the great Burke said, than to love and to be wise and it is perhaps all the more reason why the tax system should be so regulated as to wound the susceptibilities of the taxpayer in the least possible

manner. The fundamental principle of public finance is to estimate first the annual expenditure, and then to raise the revenue accordingly. The Central Government, according to the proposals of the Committee, will have its revenue fixed and then it is to be called on to regulate its expenditure. It is just like Alice in the Wonderland, looking at the financial world topsy turvy, for it has to be remembered that the Central Government will have no power of taxation should it find itself suddenly called upon to meet an emergency. Should a serious famine occur in any province the Central Government must send its hat round the provincial governments for their charity. We are not told what is to happen as to the power of raising loans, nor are we told as to how the revenues of the commercial services are to be disposed of. If the Procrustean bed of central revenues as laid by an "impartial tribunal" is to be expanded—and there cannot be an annual variation of the "imperial contribution"—it can only be from the profits of the commercial services; and if they yield a deficit, the hat, one should suppose, must go again round. We are certainly a logical-minded people; logic has been our bane. Such was the case with Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford. They thought that provincial autonomy meant financial autonomy. The Committee have carried the logic further; financial autonomy meant the exclusive right to enjoy the revenues arising from each province subject to any contribution the various provinces may be willing to make.

III

The whole difficulty seems to have arisen from the misconception that on the expenditure side the services of the imperial or central government are merely wasteful whereas those of the provincial governments are of a "nation-building" character and that on the revenue side the income of the former is expansive whereas that of the latter is stationary. Both these propositions are absolutely unfounded, and untrue. It has been pointed out from the figures supplied by the annual financial statements that during the last ten years the revenues of the Central Government not only do not show any marked increase, but indicate progressive deterioration of the people, in an article published by me in the quarterly issue of the "Hindustan Review" for April-June, 1929. The salt tax is stationary despite increase of population, the income-tax is deteriorating and the customs is showing a poor pittance of an increase of half a crore per year, which may perhaps be accounted for by the increased consumption of the Native States. The percentage of increase of the provincial revenues ought certainly to be higher than that of the Central Government. It may not do good to ignore the possibility of the gradual deterioration and

eventual extinction of the excise revenues, but that does not seem to be a practical proposition. Nor have the provincial governments been wiser in their expenditure of public funds than they would be if those departments were imperialised. Provincial governments are as good in dissipating public funds as the Central Government. It is purely a question of the development of a financial conscience among those who have vested in them the administration of these trust funds.

There is no disguising the fact that ever since the Montagu Reforms there has been a growing misconception as to the relative values of the imperial and provincial services which the funds of the annual tax-payer are expected to meet. Defence is said to be of minor importance compared with the other services now in charge of the provincial governments. But a little reflection would show that an independent India has not only to be independent of the British, but of the frontier governments as well and when Dominion Status or what is more, independence of British control is secured, the paramount consideration will be the security of external defence. It may be asserted with greater freedom that the military burden of an independent India will certainly be far heavier than what it is. Our contribution to the military burden of the Empire may be, and we for our part are prepared to maintain is certainly more onerous than what is to be legitimately allocated to a Dominion; but that is a different matter altogether. It will not be possible by the sheer force of Satyagraha to keep the frontier Powers from invasion and the military budget of an independent India is not worked out at Sabarmathi. In fact finance is not a problem that can invade the precincts or worry the intelligences of the neo-patriots. Defence is necessarily the first charge on the revenues and if so an "imperial contribution" can only be futile. And if the "nation-building" activities can only depend on the balance of public revenues, the need for an effective scrutiny with a view to keep the cost of collections and the other administrative services as low as possible becomes apparent. We have at present three different departments dealing with expenditure, Imperial, Provincial and Local. Is it necessary to keep them in their present state or is it possible to divide them into two compartments,—Imperial and Local, leaving to the Provincial administrations the control of local finance? It should be possible to divide the provincial services into two categories, leaving one branch to be absorbed by the Imperial Government and the other by the Local Boards and Municipalities. The matter has not been explored though the delimitation of the functions is the essential preliminary of all other considerations.

It is surprising that the question of the cost of administration by the present cumbrous machinery which has only historic justification for its existence

has not been considered by a committee which is not averse to making extravagant proposals, not the least of them being the proposal to deprive the Government of India of their power of taxation. The suggestion is the direct reverse of the one made by me in "Towards Swaraj" to centralise the administration of public finance and to constitute an entirely new department of tax administration which will have the necessary technical and expert qualifications needed for it. It is too much to believe that any of the members of the Committee would have done the author the honour of considering the arguments advanced for the same. That to have reserved certain services for the Central Government and transferred the rest to the provincial governments letting them tax only for those services—they being limited to what would naturally come under the category of local self-government—would have prevented all the waste, duplication of machinery and removed the out-of-date institutions, will be plain to those who really wish for a strong popular government responsible to an intelligent, patriotic and high-minded legislature. It is futile folly to think of the provincial legislatures ever displacing the Legislative Assembly either in capacity, a wide outlook of things or high-souled endeavour. It is the wish of Sir Sankaran Nair to make the provincial legislatures strong, powerful and highly gifted. For a different purpose and with altogether a sinister motive the *Manchester Guardian* has been preaching the development of provincial autonomy as against Central Government responsible to the legislature. Extremes sometimes meet and they have never done under more pathetic circumstances than in this instance.

What the country requires is not a series of petty principalities warring with each other—we are to have a Supreme Court to arbitrate between them—but a strong Central Government run by patriotic Indians who will take a large view of things. The objection to a single legislature and a single Finance Member responsible to that legislature developing the financial policy of the whole country can only come from those whose visions are dimmed by petty prejudices of a sectarian or a communal character. It ought to find favour with those who have no better end in life than to find equipoise for communal dissensions. Lord Morley wanted to set up a body of "notables" as equipoise against the intelligentsia and Lord Minto set up "Communal" Moslems against the Hindus. The Ali Brothers and Sir Mahomed Shafi would set up some more Moslem provinces in order that the Hindu population therein may be held as hostages for the good behaviour of their brethren elsewhere. To such die-hards provincial, financial, autonomy might make sympathetic appeal. But that a distinct Nationalist like Sir Sankaran Nair should, in his anxiety to put down the extravagance of the Central Government and their oppressive military and civil expenditure, recommend a similar proposal is one

of those ironies of politics for which history perhaps affords ample precedent. We have got sometimes to purchase our blessings at a price, but that we should similarly purchase our curses is an enigma. Sir Sankaran Nair claims to be fully acquainted with the views of the public who have not co-operated with the Committee or the Commission; but we are not told whether in making the proposals he has made he has the support of any publicist however high or low. No witness examined by the joint conference seems to have submitted such a proposal and to our knowledge none of those who have refused to cooperate with them has in public declarations recommended them. In this as in other respects the Report of the Committee is not based upon a dispassionate consideration of the evidence tendered before it, but is utilised only to ventilate personal views long since entertained. It is Sir Sankaran Nair's merit that he has won over a majority to his views. But we are forgetting Sir Arthur Froom's reminder that the Indian Central Committee "did not lay any claim to the special financial perception which the Commission so modestly disclaimed"; and the tutor had scarcely the time to instruct them in it.

IV

Indeed the delimitation of the functions of the central government and the provincial governments on the lines indicated above will have solved a number of problems which seem to be perplexing public mind at the present time. Among other things it will enable the provincial governments to devote themselves exclusively to those branches of public administration which are their primary concern. Education in all these various aspects specially appropriate to the genius and the requirements of every province, village sanitation and reconstruction, medical relief, agricultural improvements and irrigation works are matters exclusively within the domain of local governments. They do not affect the people either in their caste or their communities. Nor is the preservation of law and order an imperial affair. These functions can be discharged by provincial governments if suitable items of revenue are earmarked for them. So far as these services are concerned, the organisation of a purely provincial service will give the necessary satisfaction to the people affected by it. Defence and the administration of justice along with the collection of revenues would be suitable matters for the central government. An immediate effect of this re-arrangement will be the doing away of a number of superannuated and ornamental functionaries who are kept in office because nobody knows why. The financial disintegration which has followed the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms has resulted, as the Taxation Enquiry Committee has pointed out, in the duplication of the administrative machinery entailing considerable loss to public expenditure. A simpler and a

cheaper system is possible if we only apply ourselves to it.

Nor is there any difficulty in adjusting the financial burden for the purely local services that may be left to the Provincial Governments. In this respect also one can turn with profit to the recommendations of the Taxation Enquiry Committee. A number of taxes which may be purely of a local character may be retained or earmarked for local services. It should be possible to work out a scheme by which certain taxes can be uniformly left to meet the expenses of local governments the rest being told off to meet the expenses of the central government. Once public attention is diverted to the problem of running the administration with the maximum of benefit and the minimum of cost, it is easy to arrive at a workable scheme. But the Central Committee, like the rest of public organisations and bodies who have addressed themselves to the question, seems to be obsessed with the notion that provincial autonomy meant financial autonomy. It has forgotten the general taxpayer, for whose benefit alone systems of governments are devised, in the scramble for political power. We say the scramble for political power advisedly because, if the administration of the tax system is removed entirely from the provinces and vested with the central government we should not only have done away with the thousand and odd civilian heads of departments kept in idle plenty, but we should have also solved the communal problem in the provinces, and removed the fundamental cause for the demand of linguistic or communal provinces in the country. We should also have shifted the centre of gravity of political life from the provinces to the central government where men are apt to take a wider outlook of affairs and from a national point of view rather than from the narrow point of view of classes and castes as is the case now.

It will be doing a great piece of injustice to Sir Sankaran Nair and his Committee to say that they want to emphasise the importance and significance of the provinces at the expense of the central government by the proposals that they have adumbrated; and it is remarkable that though in his separate minute Sir Sankaran examines the question of financial autonomy, with its necessary implications, to some extent, Sir Hari Singh Gour makes no reference to it in his exhaustive survey. One can easily understand and appreciate though one may not sympathise with it, if the proposals had emanated from the two aggressive Moslem members who have signed a separate minute. Neither in their minute of dissent nor in the resolutions of the Delhi Moslem Conference, which met on the 31st December, 1928, under the presidency of the Aga Khan, do we find a plea for the extreme measure of financial independence asked for by the Central Committee. These at all events were interested in it; these were the people who even asked for the reservation of the residuary powers to provincial governments. Their mildness

compared with the revolutionary character of the proposal is significant. It can only be explained on the ground that Sir Sankaran Nair, as a close and intimate student of finance, has no faith in even a self-governing India with an adequate measure of responsibility in the central government to carry on the financial administration with prudent reserve. He need not be so suspicious of human nature. The administrators of public finance will have a more vigilant watch kept over them if they were concentrated in a particular locality than when dissipated throughout a number of provinces. In the latter case waste is likely to go unchecked. And there will be no proper realisation of the incidence of taxation or the need for lessening it if a dozen finance ministers wrangle about had best to worry the patient beast of burden.

V

While on the subject of finance we may turn to the most vexatious theme of the military administration of the country and the proposals of the Central Committee on it. It is not possible to know from the report of the Committee whether the proposals are the result in this case, as in similar cases, of the "opportunity for that free exchange of views and mutual influence which are best calculated to promote the largest measure of agreement that is possible" as claimed in Sir John Simon's letter to the Governor-General dated 6th February, 1928, or whether it reflects only the individual opinion of the Committee. Nor are we in a position to know if it was ever warranted or justified by the evidence tendered before the joint sittings of the Commission and the Committee. It appears from the minute of Sir Hari Singh Gour that a number of experts were examined by them in camera and naturally reference may not be made of their evidence in the body of the report. But the published documents on the subject of the relationship existing between the Government of India and the Secretary of State on the one hand and the War Office on the other shows the nature of the inequitable exactions made upon the helpless Indian exchequer by the British treasury as a price of the unequal partnership existing between them. The very able minute of Sir Sankaran Nair points out the injustice done to the finances of the country by the subordination of the internal and external demands to the demands of the empire and Sir Arthur Froom endorses in the main the justice of the contentions. Sir Hari Singh Gour only further amplifies the grounds taken by Sir Sankaran and his colleagues. Under the circumstances it is not possible to explain how the Committee felt justified in recommending the introduction of dyarchy in the central government. Students of Indian finance are painfully aware of the fact that ever since the Army Amalgamation Scheme of 1861 India is being forced to relieve the burden of the British exchequer by shouldering a portion of the cost of her army. Since Viscount Cardwell introduced the short service system to meet European

situation the contribution has been systematically increased. The revenues of the country have been prostituted for the purpose of keeping a portion of the imperial army in India and of the portion of it in training but doing garrison service at Home. Attention has been repeatedly drawn to this aspect of the problem for three-quarters of a century and it has been re-emphasised in the pages of this Report. Such being the case, it is surprising that the Committee wants to reserve the military budget in the hands of the Executive Council of the Viceroy. The Moslem members of the Committee must be feeling as acutely on the subject as the Hindu members, but their conservatism would not permit them to introduce a measure of responsibility in the central government. Sir Arthur Froom does not discuss the question, nor Sir Hari Singh Gour.

We confess to a feeling of surprise at the conclusion of the Committee to reserve the military administration to the Executive Council. It is perhaps the most unpatriotic act in the whole scheme of their recommendations. Once keep the military budget away from a responsible Government, there is no knowing what subtle inroads may not be made by the War Office on Indian finance. Sir Arthur Froom suggests that a technical committee should be set up to discuss the question of a dominion army. How is it possible with our practical enslavement to the War Office? The history of its transactions is the most direful picture in the contact between the two governments. Not only are we forced to regulate our budget according to the whims of the War Office, but we are also compelled to starve all measures of internal reform by the dead weight of the military Octopus. One cannot but sympathise with Sir Sankaran Nair's terrible onslaught against a system which fleeces the revenues of this poor country not for defending its shores, but for over-insuring the empire, and what is worse, those hateful sections—hateful because of their exclusiveness and racial antipathies towards us—which cannot expend for their own safety. It is this chagrin which has impelled him to suggest that the revenues of the country should not vest with the Secretary of State for India, but with the Governor-General in Council. This proposal must have its repercussions in many directions. It will prevent the Home Office from depending for garrison purposes on a portion of our Army permanently located in England; it will prevent the War Office from shifting a portion of its expenses on Indian shoulders; it will prevent the British Treasury and Throgmorton Street from perpetually relying upon a portion of our live capital, which will be of considerable usefulness to our trade; and it will enable us to start on that career of financial Swaraj which Sir Basil Blackett fondly hoped was to be ushered in by his ill-fated Reserve Bank Bill. A dominion army at any rate will be nearer solution than now, if at present it is not put off to the Greek Kalends. We agree with Sir Sankaran Nair and his two colleagues

in the exceedingly sensible suggestion that the "military budget should be under the control of the Legislative Assembly. In this respect the Committee's recommendations should not be accepted." It is gratifying to me to find Sir Sankaran Nair in agreement with the suggestion I had ventured to make in "Towards Swaraj."

It may be pointed out that there appears to be a general misapprehension as to the function of the Army in India. On the authority of the rhetorical outburst of Lord Curzon it is pointed out that it has a three-fold function, namely, to preserve internal peace, to preserve peace in the frontiers and to be moved to any theatre on behalf of the empire. From these the deduction is made that the army is capable of being cut down if one or other of its functions should cease to operate. This is certainly not a correct perspective. The same can be said of every standing army which is kept in a war footing. The army may be too large in a time of peace but it may be too small to discharge even a single function in times of disquiet. It may be extremely meagre and inadequate in a time of stress. It would be difficult to postulate of the Army which is its true function if the object is to cut it down to the fulfilment of the same. When Lord Curzon spoke of the function, he simply referred to the uses to which it is occasionally put. But the Army in India differs in one important particular from the armies of all other countries in that it is always in a war-footing with its cadres ever full. It is an inexpansive army, rigid and inexorable. A frugal attempt has been of late made to create a reserve of the Indian section of the Army, but so far as the British section is concerned, the reserve is in England. Sir Hari Singh Gour quotes the authority of Lieut.-Colonel Guinness, when Under-Secretary of State for War, to the position that "the British regiments in India are all parts of our reserve-making machinery. Their reduction must delay the building up of your reserves, and also has a serious effect upon our power of mobilisation. If we agree to the Indian Government making excessive decreases, it must mean eventually further cost being thrown on our Budget for making up reserves in other ways." But there is nothing new in this confession. It has been stressed more eloquently by a succession of War Ministers and by none more bluntly than by Sir Henry Brackenbury before the Welby Commission. The most surprising part of the arrangement, however, is that the reserve which we help to make up at considerable sacrifice by way of non-effective changes will not be available to India in her time of need. The entire disposition of the reserves is so meticulously worked out that not a single man will be sent to India in the event of an invasion. What India requires, as the last great war has abundantly shown, is an experienced army, maintained at peace footing, with considerable scope for expansion. A copious Indian reserve is not possible as the Sepoy is not trusted. The function of the Indian army appears to be always to be ready for war in or outside the frontiers to do the dirty work of the empire-builder and of the British Army to spy the Indian section.

In that felicitous arrangement there is scarcely hope for the development of a dominion army.

Sir Sankaran Nair obviously perceives the need for creating an Indian reserve and it is apparently with that view rather than for the purpose of maintaining law and order that he proposes the creation of local armies in certain provinces. The introduction of the armed soldiers to quell civilian disturbances has become a common practice of the Government whose police force has been found to be invariably below the mark. And Sir Sankaran Nair has a natural horror of letting loose General Dyers on an excited population when a few peaceful words would have brought to their senses, and following them with crawling orders of a most despicable kind, so thoroughly debasing to those who issue them and to those who are their victims. It is possible that the growth of a civic conscience would minimise the chances of collision between the rulers and the ruled and the occasions for the employment of the Sepoys may be reduced to a minimum. All the same, it is a live issue. And Sir Arthur Froom is equally impressed with the need for relieving the army of the function of quelling internal disturbances. He is for strengthening the Police to such an extent as may relieve the army of the obligation of internal security. To that end he proposes referring the question to a conference of the central government and all the provincial governments after five years' experience is gained of the new reforms, to find out how far the extra cost of the police can be met from the savings effected from the army. Sir Arthur Froom's plea for strengthening the police is likely to commend itself to the general taxpayer more than the creation of local armies. The three presidency commands were abolished in the nineties of the last century and their resuscitation is not likely to commend itself to the military authorities. The problem of the reserve must be attacked boldly and not in this circumlocutory fashion. If the objection to the intervention of the soldiers in civil disturbances is to the character of the authority whose protection is invoked as such, there is no essential difference between local and imperial armies. A vigilant police could have averted many a disturbance which has ended in serious loss of life by the invocation of the soldiery and you cannot have a vigilant police if it is sure that the military will take its place when it feels the work a bit irksome and nasty.

VI

It is time we brought these reflections to a close. The recommendations of the Committee with regard to the provincial governments will certainly command general acceptance except the one relating to the reservation of law and order in Bengal. Differences of opinion are sure to exist with reference to majority of three-fourths required to remove a ministry and the extraordinary powers

given to the governors of the provinces for preserving law and order. Their view on the constitution of the public services will also need revision in view of the observations set out in the preceding paragraphs. It is more interesting to turn to the subject on which we can generally agree with the Committee. The question of adult suffrage is one in which the conclusions of the Committee have our hearty support. The impracticability of adult suffrage is recognised by it and the plea for gradual enfranchisement is one which must meet with the approval of all practical-minded men. Enfranchisement is not an end in itself, but is only a means to an end and adult suffrage for men and women with purdah prevailing in large parts of the country and the people sunk in ignorance, can only be a phantom. The solution for the communal problem has no novelty about it; it is only an improvement of the recommendations of the Nehru Report as is frankly admitted by it.

But the cleavage between the Moslem members of the Committee and the rest, however, shows that the solution makes no nearer approach to finality or peacefulness than any other attempt made till now. If in such a simple matter as the recognition of certain fundamental rights there can be difference of opinion of a kind which has to be recorded with emphasis, we can only regret that instead of recording diverse views in picturesque language, the Committee has not seen its way to recommend these views on which the greatest measure of unanimity was possible with them and avoid striking discordant notes. But the Committee was not appointed to secure that end, nor have we the right to expect from its members that higher patriotism which alone will lead to the effacement of the self in the service of the many. And with that regret we pause for the present on the labours of this costly and deservedly much-abused Committee.

A GLIMPSE OF AMERICAN CIVILIZATION

By MR. VISHNU V. OAK, (WILBERFORCE, OHIO, U.S.A.)

G. S. is a Hindu student who came to this country at the same time I did. Coming with an Eastern background and brought up as he was in a good family, G. S. is excellent specimen of a Hindu youth in every respect. Obliging to the degree of hurting himself, he has a charming personality and splendid ideals. Like many of us he was dissatisfied with the political conditions in India and came to this country for higher education with a view to utilise his knowledge thus acquired for the service of his motherland.

To the average oriental America is not only a land of rich and plenty but also a land of people who freed themselves from the English yoke and gave to the world that immortal "Declaration of Independence"; a land of idealists like Washington, Lincoln, Wilson and others; a land of men whose charitable disposition is directly felt whenever there is a distress in any country in the world; a land where men like Carnegie, Rockefeller and others have donated their

millions to the public good; a land which has a unique democratic educational system, unrivalled by any other country; a land which had the power to hold the fate of entire Europe in its hand in 1917; in fact, a land of tremendous and almost magical attraction. The Oriental newspapers have not as yet studied the art of doping the public with sensational news. Hence, until we come to this country, we know nothing of the bad side of America, its hideous crimes, mob-spirit, universal corruption, greed for dollars, and revolting sex-immorality in big cities and slums.

As we were studying in different universities I had not seen my friend for three long years. I was, therefore, very anxious to meet him and find out what his reactions were towards American civilization. So, while I was in Chicago during the summer vacation I called on him one day. After a little preliminary conversation about things in general I asked him if his life had been dreadfully busy in that ever-busy, ever-noisy, and ever-awake city of Chicago.

"Call my life here dreadfully busy?" he said with a grim smile. "No, I call it idling, futile idling. First, this American life has robbed me of my confidence in civilization as they interpret it in the West. Secondly, it has failed to give me any inspiration to present any worthwhile ideas. From a distance, this life looks marvelous, beautiful, full of meaning and purpose. But examine it at close quarters and look at its seamy side! No, even on the surface it is not so pleasing. It is positively wicked."

"What is it that has disappointed you so much?" I asked. "Is it the irreligious attitude of the people or the promiscuous mingling of the sexes in cheap dance halls and cabarets or the morbid and revolting sex-relations that exist in the red districts of all big cities or the unpardonable criminal tendencies of men and women? All these used to shock me at one time, but now I am so used to them that I take them as part of the Western civilization. You should not expect goodness without some mixture of dirt in it. America is not a heaven anyhow. I feel....."

"I am not talking of the lack of religious feeling or immorality that abounds in this country," he said impatiently. "What hurts me, what annoys me, is its ugliness, its lack of harmony. Talking of physical appearance, the people here are matchless in health and vigor. These American beauties with their buoyancy and freedom, their bob and rouge, are surely pretty. But then, are they beautiful? Now, I do not wish to become a platitudinarian or a doctrinaire and proclaim with authority as Tagore does that prettiness *under* the restraint of morality alone is truly beautiful. This bold self-assertion we find here, this heedless trampling of conventional morality—perhaps shocking to the Hindu because of his lack of under-

standing and courage—are all good and proper. But even this is not done rightly. They lack confidence in their healthy desires and suspect them to be a form of morbidity. The curtain still hangs on sex-relations and behind the veil there is much mischief and quite a mistaken understanding."

"But," I suggested quietly, "this country is young. Have we not made a mess of our sex-relations in India with our child-marriages, prohibition of widow-remarriage, caste system, etc.? These institutions were good at one time but we have outgrown them. Time and hard work by reformers can alone bring the desired change."

"Yes, it's true, Oak, but that is not all I have to say about America," he responded betraying a little irritation in his tone. "What I lament most is the lack of fineness and culture and an abject indifference to the things of the mind and the spirit. How little chance has the man of ideals, the man of literary or artistic talents, in this country, and how much more the mediocre, the unscrupulous ignoramus who knows the knack of salesmanship! The whole American psychology is that of the salesman. Here man has stored his highest ideals in a bank-book and his aspirations never transcend the limitations of the kingdom of Mammon. Sometimes I wonder, are they happy—these human beings with their economic wants satisfied? And why should they be? Man is not merely a physiological organism.* Isn't there anything beyond his organic sense-perception? If there were nothing, how ugly would our world become! As it is there is much ugliness, much hatred and selfishness. But have not there been people who have revealed to us something hidden from the physiological man? This revelation has brought beauty in life and a finer joy. The songs that poured forth from the ancient bards, the beautiful

* Satiation of desires is a source to happiness. A fool, who does not know any better, is happy in what-ever he does. A thinker, on the other hand, especially pangs of misery and unhappiness throughout his life. That is why the life of a poet is full of painful suffering. One can hypnotize oneself into believing that the only desires worth pursuing are economic ones. This acts as an anesthetic. Under its influence one is happy in the pursuit of economic desires unless one can free oneself from this hypnotism. And if one feels that his highest happiness lies in the it. Unhappiness comes after the acquisition, for it is the acquisition of money he will be happy while he is doing it. people never acquire enough and therefore continue the chase for the dollar throughout their lives. Hence they never feel that vacuum the "Thinker" worries about.

works of art that men of spirit (for it was only thru the spirit that they saw the hidden) have bequeathed to their children who were just groping out of animalism, the inspired musicians, the men who loved and died, the seers who explored the future—all these and many more are an answer to this modern defiance of the finer man, of the spiritual man."

I did not like to interrupt him even though he was wandering away from the subject. It is really hard for any one to make G. S. eloquent as he then was. Besides, I had noticed that he was no more the serene, calm, quiet, patient, hopeful optimist I had seen three years ago. There was in him a tinge of cynicism and despondency, of hopelessness and impatience, of disappointment and disillusion. I even suspected that he was getting intolerant like the radical communists who are inspired with high idealism but are hopelessly impatient with everyone whose ideas do not conform to their own.

"Money is sapping the soul of American life," he went on. "Everywhere you see greed and corruption, from the highest to the lowest. The family, the church, the state, all are corrupted with this invincible passion for dollars. They relinquished the arts long ago. What have they substituted instead? Vulgar, frivolous amusements which do not elevate the tone of life, but simply give it rest and diversion! A few men of courage and conviction whom the American dollar has not dazzled are weeping at the corpse of all that is fine and beautiful in man, while the average American continues to 'make his pile'—to use an American colloquialism—at the cost of everything else if necessary. A little too bitter, eh? Yes, but that's how it appears to me."

"I am glad, however, of one thing," he said with a smile that showed self-satisfaction. "I have been granted a power by somebody, or, to put it better, a power has been acquired by me through the reaction of environments—have it any way you please—which helps me to pass thru the fire without scorching myself. These diverse experiences of the two worlds are no enigma to me. If I cannot judge them individually, if I fail to see thru them, they seem at least to melt away in my

'inner fire'—a holy lie perhaps—and appear before me completer and nobler. If I had the artist's power to give a beautiful form to that molten mass of experiences I would have produced at least a faint image which I see but cannot produce. Perhaps I am mistaken; the image does not appear before me in its clear distinctness, with every expression and twitch of the countenance. Croce, whom the literary critic Huneker defines as the only living modern comparable to Aristotle, states in his magnificent treatise on 'æsthetics' that it is wrong to assume that all men get the same kind of impressions as the artist does and that all cannot express it because they do not have the artist's capacity. He avers that an impression could always be expressed if it were a clear and vivid one. In his opinion the average person fails to catch the details and their harmonic arrangement in an object. Art, he defines, is the expression of impressions. There is a great deal of truth in what he says. When we see a thing we imagine everyone views it with the same eyes, the same intuition. What a mistake! It is thru our subjective self that we really view an object. As Anatole France puts it: 'What would we not give to see, if but for a minute, the sky and the earth with the many-faceted eyes of a fly, or to understand nature with the rude and simple brain of an ape.'"

"Tell me, G.S.," I said to him earnestly, "what impression has this country made on you regarding its economic and political institutions? To me that is more vital than its social customs and manners."

He seemed to like that question and apparently had very definite ideas about it. "One of the strongest of impressions that I have obtained in both the worlds is in regard to our social organization and social control," answered my friend. "To me the present order appears to be unjust and cruel. There is much that democracy brought in its wake, but we have now outlived it. All around us are the marks of its crumbling edifice. European democracy is almost gasping for its last breath. Oh! it's a pity that our wise men, the leaders so-called, are so uncritical of their ideas of government! Class interests, of course, working consciously! Democracy

is a dead corpse and its foul odour is already nauseating Europe. Its brilliant ornaments of liberty, equality, and fraternity have long been dropped and crushed to the dust. Imperialist capitalism, strongly entrenched in America, is now only short-lived. Far away within the walls of the Kremlin they are sowing new seeds. The world may reap the harvest. As you might guess, I am deeply interested in the experiments and developments in Russia, where they are creating a new social order. Asia must look to Russia for her salvation, at least for a sincere help and guidance. Look at China. The Kuo-mintang under the leadership of the late Dr. Sun Yat Sen recognized this fact and acted wisely. That's why this nervousness in the West about China's awakening. There you have my political ideas—not quite mature as yet, I admit."

"Just one more question, G.S., and I am thru with all serious discussion for the day. Tell me, just what plans do you have for India's liberation?" I asked.

G.S. gave a hearty laugh in response to my question—a laugh which was anything but pessimistic, and added, "Oak, it's impossible to answer your question in a few words. Besides my plans have not yet assumed a tangible shape. There is a lot to be done in India. But before I tell you about it let me express my feelings for my country's past. I almost worship the mode of life, the social order of our ancient days. No less a philosopher than Nietzsche—that brilliant iconoclast—has written much in admiration of the Indian social order. For instance, it happened only in India that the laws were made by that section of the society which was least interested in things material. The intellectual elite, the philosophers, the forest-dwellers worked out the details of law and polity. What a finer scheme this than to let the mass, the indiscriminate rabble, be the dictator! Further, do you not know that it was ordained by law in India not to establish any large workshops where many workers could be employed—a safeguard for the small industries? We had also the guild system and the village Soviets* (the panchayats). To digress a little, have

you ever pondered over the idea that the Russian experiment in administration, apart from its marxist economics, has far greater promise for us than the Western democracy? Just study the Soviet system (mind you, I am not talking about communism) and you will see how well it fits into our society."

"Now, coming back to the main question about a plan for India's liberation. Yes, we had all those beautiful systems I spoke about just now, and to cap it all we had that wonderful view of life—the philosophic and the contemplative. Those systems are lost, perhaps irretrievably lost and what is more they could not have served us well today. But that philosophical attitude towards life is a thing we must firmly grasp. We should understand it better and try to get at its depth of meaning. With our attention on this polar star we must proceed to reorganize our society. There is much there that is undesirable. We shall discuss that later. But as soon as the problem of reorganization suggests itself there arises the colossal task of India's political liberation. That is preliminary to *everything* else, tho' this does not imply that social, educational, and other movements should be abandoned in favour of strictly political movements. It is a product of Gandhi's fantastic brain—no slur on the Mahatma whom you respect so much, for I realize, perhaps more than anybody else, the grandeur of his soul and the magnificence of his work—that every child in India should dedicate his life to the Charkha and the Congress programme. Let there be independent movements but always let them keep in view the national goal. As to my own individual plans for India's liberation I cannot say anything now. Of course, I have some but I do not fool myself into believing that they will liberate India. I hardly can become such a braggadosio. I shall only give my plan a fair trial and shall devote my life to it. My life does not mean much, it cannot achieve much, but I cannot expect anything more. That's all I have to say on this question." Then suddenly changing the conversation he turned to me and said, "Let's go for a ten cent ride. Poor as I am I can

* *Vide* Dance of Shiva by Havelock Ellis.

afford it." After a moment's pause he added, "there are two things I like the most in this

city—the ten cent bus and the ten cent* store—a boon to the poor!"

THE INDUSTRIAL FUTURE OF INDIA : ITS POSSIBILITIES AND POSTULATES

By MR. C. V. HANUMANTHA RAO, M.A.

AT a time when there is a prospect of new reforms coming into force and the investing of the Indian and Provincial Governments with larger powers and greater freedom to deal with the industrial advancement of the country is inevitable, it is appropriate that an attempt should be made to understand the need for a progressive policy of intensive industrialization. But before the question is considered in all its bearings, it is necessary to make the preliminary observation and to be clear in our own minds about the initial fact, that India, at the present time, stands in imperative need of an industrial programme and that her progress will not be as all-embracing or her prosperity as assured as it ought to be unless the policy of simultaneous advancement along the dual lines of industrial and agricultural regeneration is followed. The one without the other results in the consigning of our country to the condition of a perpetual producer of raw-materials and the importer of the world's manufactured goods—a condition of which no one can feel proud. It is nowadays generally agreed upon that a country's progress cannot be said to be complete, if she has not enough resources which can be exploited and at the same time enough facilities for utilizing those resources for her own benefit; and from this point of view, while every effort should be made to put the agricultural industry on its legs, a strenuous and sustained attempt should also be made

to develop the industrial side of the country. We must recognize in this connection that there can be no two opinions about the expediency of abandoning the too-excessive dependence on agriculture in the case of our country and about the inexpediency of not being carried away by the seeming glamour of an unreal advantage in International trade secured by countries which like India, are in the position of producers of mere raw materials. It is a fallacy which in former times was sought to be imposed on our gullible intelligences by people who constituted themselves the over-solicitous trustees of our interests that our advantage consisted in confining ourselves to our ancient and age-long occupation of agriculture and leaving the supply of our industrial requirements in the hands of our betters. But post-war economic theory has clearly and successfully exploded the soundness and the correctness of this view by unmistakably showing that the theory of comparative costs is a determinant factor of the direction of a country's productive activities and her position in international trade and that the relative advantages of countries for industrial development consist, other things being equal, in the qualities of "initial momentum, habit, inertia" and other characteristics of the people concerned. It is essential to bear these facts in mind whenever any interested persons try to pooh-pooh the Indian attempt at industrial regeneration and to remember that there is no unbridgable antagonism,

* The Utility of ten cents (about five annas in exchange value) to the average American whose average annual income is over two thousand Rupees is just about equal to the utility of one pice to the average Indian.

beyond a seeming incompatibility, between agricultural and industrial developments and that, in India, they can be carried on side by side.

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The question of the industrial progress of India had been the topic of considerable discussion for a number of years and the subject of investigation by a number of commissions of inquiry set up by the Government. The Industrial Commission which carried out the first detailed investigation into the industrial possibilities of the country recommended the adoption of a policy of intensive industrial development with special reference to the cottage industries; the Fiscal Commission recommended a policy of discriminatory protection to indigenous industries, which happen to be in an infant stage of existence and which show promise of being able to stand on their own legs provided adequate protection is afforded to them; and several other Committees, among which a prominent place is to be given to the Tariff Board, have inquired into the state of particular industries with a view to finding out what prospects there are for their being protected on the conditions prescribed by the Fiscal Commission. The Government, it is evident from all these things, is keenly alive to the industrial possibilities of the country and to the necessity there is for taking advantage of those possibilities to secure a full-blown, industrially self-contained, condition in the country.

The main point to note as being peculiar in its application to India is that there is a large, nay, an almost illimitable field for the intervention of the state for securing a rapid industrial development and promoting national industrial enterprise. Indian Industrialists of the first rank are few and far between; Indian initiative is not developed in its proper proportion; and Indian capital is comparatively shy and improperly and inadequately mobilized. It will take some time before these deficiencies are got over, before any thing like a sustained effort can be put forward by indigenous talent to bestir itself and employ itself in pushing forward industrial development; but a noticeable tendency

in this direction is already in progress, with the growing post-war recognition of the need for such industrial activity. Till, however, the time arrives when the tendency takes a quite definite shape and begins to yield fruitful results, it is absolutely essential the state should step in as an active promoter of our industrial interests. It is not, of course, to be thought of that the state should, as at present constituted, take up the functions of entrepreneur and manager of every industry, though it has already committed itself to something in that nature when the principle of State management of Railways, State promotion of irrigational facilities and State monopoly of such manufactured articles of consumption as salt, opium, etc., has been acknowledged and acted upon. What the State is required to do is to adopt a policy of active assistance to the development of industrial undertakings by giving them encouragement, by aiding to make good start, by protecting them from outside competition and ruination at the hands of strong rivals, and by rendering them financial aid or creating facilities for such aid to industries, which may be incapable of standing on their own legs. It can also indirectly help particular industries, by creating favourable opportunities for the easy transportation of its manufactures and by removing discriminatory treatment on the part of railway and steamship companies, such as is obtaining at present. There are many industries, the revival of which can be brought about by direct Government assistance, thus enabling us to give up our dependence on foreign articles of consumption. The cases of the textile industry, the steel industry, the coal industry, and the sugar manufacturing industry are instances in point—instances, which go to prove how, with state assistance, they can develop to the full extent of their possibilities and compete on equal ground with foreign imports in capturing the home market. In the case of the textile industry in particular, not only is it falling a victim to cut-throat competition with Japan on the one hand and Lancashire on the other, but it is also subject to a very grave disadvantage in that it has to depend for its staple raw-material-cotton,

on other countries like Egypt and America. The latter country with its enormous resources and up-to-date stock exchange methods is cornering the entire supply and monopolizing important raw products, thereby starving other countries, which require the same article. There are immense possibilities of India being able to produce all the raw cotton required for her industrial needs, in so far as there are vast areas, especially in the Deccan which can grow excellent cotton at a cheap price and on easily marketable conditions, which have not been exploited as yet. The lack of initiative on the part of the Indian producer of raw materials of industry is a great stumbling block in the way of our industrial progress and a fruitful cause, on the one hand, of our daily increasing importing propensities, and, on the other, of playing into the hands of foreign capitalistic concerns like the British Cotton Growing Association. As regards the Steel Industry, it is as a result of the far-seeing and statesmanlike policy of affording protection to the industry that it was able to stand on its own legs; but there is a greater prospect of its becoming an increasingly profitable and productive industrial undertaking, if the Government of India are prepared to place all, or at least a great proportion of, their orders for their steel requirements with the Tata steel concerns. In a similar way other industries, like the Match, the cement and the paper and the sugar industries, which are either not securely established or languishing for want of proper assistance can be put on their feet and made to feel their way by a judicious and careful handling of the situation by the Government.

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It must be clear from the above discussion that one primary factor which will contribute very materially to the industrial advancement of the country in the shape of strengthening the existing industries and encouraging the establishment of new ones, is the pursuit by the Government of India of a consistent and coherent policy of thorough-going protection to indigenous industries. As has already been pointed out, the Fiscal Commission it was that first formulated the prin-

ciple of discriminatory protection, which had been supported and amplified in its meaning by the recommendation of the Joint Parliamentary Committee that, as far as possible the Secretary of State's interference in the direction of Indian fiscal policy shall be reduced to a minimum, while, in matters and on occasions, where the Government of India and the Indian Legislature are in agreement as regards a certain line of fiscal action, the Secretary of State should not seek to exercise his discretion but allow their joint will to prevail. It is something on which the successive Secretaries of State for India ought to be congratulated, that, except in the one instance of the institution of the Reserve Bank, they have within these last ten years, endeavoured to keep themselves free from the temptation of going behind the convention adumbrated by the Joint Committee. But it is not enough if the Secretary of State sits with folded hands and assumes an attitude of pious unconcern; he should see to it that, in the first place, the Government of India takes the initiative in the direction of an active policy of state assistance to Indian industries, and secondly that no insidious attempt calculated to entangle the country in the meshes of a scheme of Imperial preference by the backdoor succeeds in its work. There is reason for apprehension that something in this nature is being canvassed by Imperialist industrialists like Lord Melchett and Lord Inchcape, with whom the primary consideration is the prosperity of the British industry and the increase in the dividends of British shareholders of industrial undertakings, and only secondarily the well-being of such component parts of the empire like India. To them the idea of sacrificing Indian interests to imperial ends does not occasion even a pang of conscience, as can be evidenced from their unreasoning and dogged opposition to such an eminently reasonable piece of legislation as the Coastal Traffic Reservation Bill of Mr. Haji.

If protection is followed as a national policy in the future in view of the immense potentialities which India possesses in the shape of industrial resources, it will not only help in the resurrection of her industrial glory, but also bring about a rehabilitation

of the financial position of the Government. It will result in the stimulation of a desire on the part of the people to take to indigenous articles, for it is becoming increasingly manifest that with the progress of every country along its own line of industrial development, and with the self-sufficiency that each nation is attaining in supplying herself with her national needs, the manufactured goods of each country will find the home market a better and more profitable place for exchange than the exportation to a foreign market, with its incidental uncertainties, and difficulties, tariff and otherwise. It is a matter for gratification that the activities of the Tariff Board are contributing to the discovery of the possibilities of the various industries for being accorded protection, though it has to be regretted that the Government of India have not acted up to its recommendations, but took them into consideration only when the demand for protection is either too overwhelming to be easily resisted or where it does not conflict with the prospects of industries which though established in India are managed by non-Indian firms, as is the case with the Match industry.

While on the question of the Tariff Board it will not be out of place to consider whether, after all, it will not lead to diffusion of precious energy and wastage of precious time, if the essentially unified character of the Indian economic problem is not envisaged in its proper perspective and if the various spheres into which it may appear to have been divided are investigated into separately. The truncated nature of the various enquiries will not only lead to no substantial results but will also prevent the coordination of the activities and recommendations of the various agencies of enquiry, which is a necessary factor in the evolution of a coherent industrial and economic policy for India. At least, the findings of the Tariff Board about the various industries and on the various aspects of tariff policy, will constitute relevant material for being compiled into a comprehensive report, which will form the basis for reference and authoritative guidance. If the work such as the one suggested is undertaken and a very strong plea had been made for it by Mr. N. S. Subbarao, in his Presi-

dential Address to the Economic Conference held in Allahabad in December last—it will make an irresistible case for our demand for an economic policy on the part of the Government, which will fall into line with thorough-going protection. It is no wonder that this demand for protection and the raising of tariff walls is so very insistent on the Indian side, when everywhere else, not even excepting the industrially advanced countries of the West and America, similar principle of protecting home-industries is followed as a state policy in the interests of the respective countries. There is, of course, a move now set on foot by England to persuade European nations to put a stop to this tariff war and to proclaim a temporary tariff truce with the idea of considering the possibilities of a system of international free trade; but there are very grave doubts if this attempt proves successful and bears any fruit.

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An intensive programme of industrial regeneration necessitates the existence of a well-ordered scheme of financial assistance to industries through the agency of a perfect Banking system. Now as regards India, her Banking System is strong and efficient only on the side of her sea-borne trade, while the financing of her internal industrial schemes is in a highly unsatisfactory position. The Exchange Banks which are mostly of foreign origin and managed by foreigners, operate only in the direction of financing the import and export trade of the country and do not concern themselves with any other business; and the import and export trade of India, though grand and striking in its money figures, constitutes a very potent means for the egress of Indian wealth in the form of invisible exports and imports, resulting the whole process only in the accentuation of Indian poverty. Besides these institutions, there are the Indian joint stock banks, which are by far the most important agencies for the supply of industrial credit, but their number is so small and their resources are, in many cases, so meagre, that the assistance which they can render cannot carry us very far in the work of industrial advancement. Lastly there is the Imperial Bank, which occupies at present the

position of a central bank, but which is hedged in in its actual working by so many restrictions and by its character of an essentially commercial banking institution, that it is practically shut out from the field as an agency of industrial support. The Co-operative Banks, however, are performing a very useful and needful function in that they are the main supports to which the agriculturists in the villages and the small artisans in urban areas can turn for the financing of their respective activities; but even here the point to be noted is the limited scope of their resources, which prevent the Co-operative Banks from advancing long-term or substantial credits to their constituents. The agricultural industry is from this point of view in a very much worse plight as the age-long dependence on the *sowcar* which the agriculturists are victims to has steeped them in indebtedness, from which it will require Herculean efforts to extricate them and set them on their feet again.

There is a large field for investigation, therefore, into this problem of agricultural and industrial finance and there is a great necessity for the laying out of proper schemes for the improvement of existing financing facilities and the exploration of fresh methods; but two important directions in which this needed reform can be worked out are first Government assistance through a Central banking agency and secondly the establishment of a number of joint stock banks by the people themselves and mobilizing the available resources in the country through them by encouraging the investment habit. The Reforms of 1919 have placed the industries departments in the various provinces under ministers responsible to the Legislatures, who are thereby directly saddled with the duty of stimulating industrial development. But no province in India in the post-Reform era had been fortunate enough to find itself in a financial position sufficiently sound to enable it to carry through a consistent programme of industrial development; nor were the industries departments in the different provinces manned by efficient staffs technically qualified and sympathetically inclined towards indigenous industrial progress to be able to take large views regard-

ing promotion of industrial policies. The result had been that there has ensued a stagnation of industry, which the passing of state aid to Industries Acts in a few provinces has failed to relieve or overcome in sufficient measure.

We have in this connection to take note of the unwelcome but glaring truth that India's industrial capital is in insignificant proportion to the needs of her industrial requirements, and that almost every one of the well-financed industries in our country except the textile industry owes its origin and growth to the initiative, the enterprise and the business acumen of the foreign capitalist. Not that Indian capital is lacking or unenterprising but that hitherto it has not made itself felt owing to the absence of any systematic efforts to bring it out of its seclusion by the organisation of a country-wide banking system and owing also to the infusion of the foreigner and the favourable terms on which the foreign element in the Indian financial market had been introduced for the purposes of securing to the foreign element a firm hold on the rate of Indian industrial progress. Only one serious and large-scale scheme had been launched to systematize Industrial Financing in India when the Tatas started an Industrial Bank with indigenous capital; but that attempt collapsed after a short span of life, confirming the obvious fact that Indian industrial leadership had not yet risen to the full height of its responsibilities and also showing how an isolated attempt to finance Indian industry without being linked to the central money market of the country would not prove a success. But as regards foreign capital, it cannot be considered a deplorable thing in itself, as the requirements of Indian finance are so vast that it may not be possible for her people alone to satisfy all of them and she would have had to draw upon the resources of foreign markets also in any event. Our industrial needs have been estimated at anywhere between 1,500 and 2,000 millions of rupees and it is a matter for doubt if we would be able to raise the whole amount in our own country and give up all idea of resorting to the foreign market. Nevertheless, the policy of external borrowing for India's needs cannot but

be criticized as suicidal and unpatriotic, firstly because no serious attempt was made before the Great War to tap Indian resources and discover their potentialities and secondly because the introduction of foreign capital has brought along with it the foreign capitalist also, who, after once finding his feet in the soil, has developed a huge system of vested interests, which developed into an organized attempt at systematic exploitation, with its natural consequence of suppression of indigenous enterprises and morbidity in the mobilization of indigenous capital. It is a great step in advance that the Government of India, while giving support to the recommendations of the external capital committee, acceded to the wholesome principle, that, whenever a demand is made for protection by any particular industry, it should be shown that that industry possessed a certain amount of rupee capital and a certain proportion of Indian Directors and that it should afford facilities for the training of Indian apprentices. There will be cases in which attempts will be made to exploit the inevitable loopholes in this arrangement and to evade its requirements, but that the soundness of the principle has been recognized is in itself a landmark in Indian industrial advancement. When, as will inevitably be the case after Indians have acquired sufficient training in the industrial arts and in the management and working of large-scale industries, there are the necessary numbers and the required amount of capital is forthcoming, the work of the foreign capitalist will be over and the leadership of Indian industry will automatically pass into the hands of the natives. But till then it is the duty of the Government to take an active part in assisting them to fight the vested interests behind which the foreigner is entrenched and from which he delivers his attacks against Indian initiative, to set up new industries on strong foundations both of intelligence and money, and to enable these industries to become self-sufficing and efficient instruments for the amelioration of the country and the interests of our countrymen. One important method whereby all these desirable consummations can be attained is by providing more and extensive banking facilities,

which would enable Indian capital to find its way into the industrial channels and by excluding the foreign capitalist and businessman, who have done their work and are no longer required although welcoming foreign capital, if it could be got on terms advantageous to us.

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One essential prerequisite of any successful pursuit of a comprehensive industrial programme is that there should be sufficient number of people in the country capable of manning the different branches of industrial undertakings and of filling up the ranks of skilled workmen in factories and other crafts. In other words, there should be a class of people who have received the required education or training for the pursuit of an industrial or business calling and willing and ready enough to enter those callings without considering any kind of manual labour as being beneath their dignity. There is a deplorable tendency amongst our educated young men and in the country generally to regard all manual labour as something unworthy of being undertaken by those belonging to other than a particular uneducated and lowest order of society, a tendency which is leading to disastrous consequences in the direction of increased unemployment among the educated middle classes. The vertical division of our society into so many compartmentalized groups, which are compendiously designated as the caste system, has been mainly responsible for the perpetuation of this feeling in the country; and though the rigidity of the caste system is breaking down under the irresistible onward march of modern ideals of civilization, there is no endeavour generally to recognize the effeteness of that institution and to remodel it to suit the changed conditions. In order to get over this state of affairs which is inimical to the economic progress and advancement of the country, it is essential not only to remould the caste system, but also to bring about a thorough re-orientation of the educational system. The highly imperative nature of the latter change has been borne in upon us in recent times in a very incisive manner by the numerous instances of public men,

educationists and Government committees, all of which have come to recognize it and to suggest methods for introducing the necessary modifications in the system of education. And an important direction in which this change is working itself out is the growing desire that is manifesting itself everywhere to lend to education in its primary and secondary stages as great a bias in favour of vocational and technical instruction as it is possible to do. To mention only one instance, the Government of Madras have this year allotted a considerable amount of money as subsidy to the various industrial schools in the presidency and have supported that step with the argument that there is a real need for the resuscitation of national industries and the improvement of facilities to young men to get themselves qualified for an industrial career, either independently or as an apprentice in any established industrial concern. It is a well-known fact that the sort of education now obtaining in our schools has so little relation to the life and environment in which the pupils live, and so remotely calculated, in these days, to enable a young man to earn his living, that it is considered, and rightly too, that a great wastage in the man-power of the nation is being occasioned and will continue to be occasioned unless steps are taken to put a stop to this state of affairs. The divorce of technical and vocational education from general education is a great drawback which not only renders possible and feasible this wasteful process but also results in the utter failure of education to perform the task for which it is intended in so far as it prevents even those who have an aptitude for some vocational or occupational work to take to it and profit by its pursuit. In the West this truth has long ago been recognised and Germany and America have set the pace, which has lately been followed by England, in bringing about a coordination between vocational and technical education and in stressing the importance of the former as a means of advancing the country's cause and improving her material condition. The work of industrial production will be immensely facilitated and more efficiently carried on, by the employment in industries of people spe-

cially trained for the purpose; and in these days of rapid industrialization, that country alone can succeed in the race for economic prosperity which has the greatest productive capacity. In our own country, the Hartog Committee on Indian education has unequivocally brought out the intimate relationship that exists between educational progress and industrial and economic advancement and how the one is a necessary consequence of the other; the thread was taken up with much earnestness by Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Iyer, who presided over the All-India Federation of Teachers and Mr. N. S. Subbarao, the President of the Indian Economic Conference; and a tangible result of all this awakening we find embodied in the instance quoted above of the action taken by the Madras Government.

It is but natural that a question should arise in this connection as to whether any good purpose will be served by our postulating the existence of a number of technically qualified men as a condition precedent, when there are not sufficient openings to absorb all of them, if turned out in large numbers. But it can be stated as a matter of substantial truth that when there are men who have got the requisite qualifications, openings will necessarily be created, for it is well-known that we are 'in' for significant changes in the near future in the direction of new industrial undertakings, in which case the law of demand and supply will work itself out by establishing a state of equilibrium between the two forces. For example, the mercantile marine for India is going to be stabilized in spite of the stubborn and cussed opposition of British vested interests and the usefulness of the opportunities afforded for marine-training by the institution of the H.M.S. 'Dufferin' will be extended; the ship-building industry will naturally revive as a necessary corollary of the reservation of coastal traffic for Indian shipping; there are vast possibilities in the harnessing of electrical energy to industry which will be canvassed and exploited; and new industries, both large-scale and cottage industries will be established in various centres, though at a necessarily slow pace. All these will provide openings for the educated young men of the middle class, who can themselves also help

in the regeneration of our rural industries, by going to the villages and help to introduce new ideas into the villagers about the possibilities there are for establishing new industries and strengthening existing ones. One final fact to note in this connection is that while technical and vocational education is all important, general elementary and secondary education is no less so; the latter is, in fact, more important since it is general education that will induce in the people at large a sense of appreciation of acquiring a generally high standard of living and inspire in them the necessary hopes for attempting to attain that standard.

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One of the prime requisites for the pursuit and promotion of a successful industrial policy is the evolution of a class of industrial workers, which is steadfastly chained to the rock of industry by strong and not easily perishable bonds and can be expected to identify itself with the ideal of the industrial development of the country. The absence of a permanent body of factory and industrial workers due to the lure of the land which draws them away during the agricultural season from the work of industrial production is a spoke in the wheel of steady advancement of industries and an impediment to the continuous employment by industrial undertakings of an assuredly permanent contingent of skilled workers. There is a deplorable tendency on the part of Indian labour, naturally noticed by many foreign and also Indian observers, to migrate from place to place and from agriculture to industry and *vice versa*, which prevents the acquisition by it of skill in the work of manufacturing industries and which is responsible for the comparatively low productive capacity and general intelligence of the Indian workers. It is the duty of the leaders of industry to take this matter in hand and attract to industry a class of workers, which will throw itself heart and soul into its work, by following a policy of providing better working condition in the way of education, housing and such other benefits. So long as labourers are allowed to live a degraded existence and are not brought to consider themselves as an impor-

tant and indispensable agents of production by the infusion into them of the spirit of self-respect and dignity of work, so long is the progress of industrial production bound to be unsatisfactory and uneconomic. Also, the spell of industrial unrest that has become so rampant a feature in such industrial centres as Bombay, Calcutta and Jamshedpur is bound to continue and corrode the political and industrial life of the country; because the degrading condition under which labourers have to work provides ample opportunities and adequate justification to them to resort to the weapon of industrial strike. The Indian industrialists should profit by the experience of Western countries, where the evils of industrialism have manifested themselves in all their ugly aspects and they should bestir themselves to avoid them if possible by providing remedies against the occurrence of similar evils in this country also. On the side of the labourers also there is need for organisation and efficient leadership. The growth of the Trade Union movement, which is becoming a vigorous force in the country, should be directed along proper channels, so that it may become a powerful agency for the restraining of industrial unrest and the promotion of industrial peace by affecting a harmonious co-operation between the two wings of industry. At present, it is difficult to pronounce any judgment on the achievements of the Trade Union movement in India; but it may be stated that there is an imperative need for the exercise of the qualities of caution and restraint on the part of its leaders, on whom rests a heavy responsibility, which they must discharge and for successfully discharging which their motives must be absolutely unselfish and above board. An enquiry is now being conducted into the condition of industrial labour in India by a Royal Commission, whose report, it may be expected, will open out a new chapter in the evolution of an industrial policy for the country, by suggesting the lines along which the labour movement should advance and the relations that should subsist between Labour and Capital.

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It is possible that, in our enthusiasm for the spectacular side of industrial development, we will lose sight of the equally important and more stable but less ostentatious ideal of the development of small industries and handicrafts, which play so large a part in village economy and serve to increase the capacity of the village artisans to earn a decent livelihood and rehabilitate themselves. The best way and by far the most difficult way to bring about this desirable consummation is to introduce better and improved methods of cultivation, better standards of health and sanitation, better facilities for general education—all of which tend to enable the agriculturists to secure better remuneration from land and loftier ideas of living and comfort. This is not the occasion for dilating upon how these various innovations will operate in the direction desired; but it may be pointed out that improved and scientific methods of cultivation are as much necessary and as much deserving of encouragement by Government as other industries of the manufacturing variety. For it has to be remembered that after everything has been said and done, agriculture continues to be, as has been stated at the very outset of this article, the main, the staple industry of India providing occupation for more than 70 % of the population of the country and its improvement will have to occupy the fore-front in the attention of the Government as well as of everybody else concerned with the welfare and economic prosperity of the country. But agriculture is capable of providing only a seasonal occupation to those engaged in it, say for about 4 or 5 months in the year and the rest of the time the agriculturists have to remain in a state of enforced idleness and unemployment. An important and pressing problem therefore arises as to how best to utilize the spare time of the agriculturists and how best to enable them to supplement their income from land by doing something which will profitably engage their hands. This problem has never more satisfactorily been diagnosed and attempted to be solved than when it was recognised that the agriculturists can very usefully spend their spare time in the pursuit of such occupations as spinning and

weaving, basket-making and bangle manufacture and similar others, which require only a small capital investment and meagre organisation and therefore can be carried on in the homes of the people concerned, and also by both the male and the female members of the family. The possibilities for the successful and profitable working of some of these cottage industries have been explored in some provinces, e.g., in Madras, by special officers appointed by the Government; but there has not yet been coherent attempt to draft a programme or scheme for their progressive development, though it is encouraging to note that, at least in Madras, a serious effort will be put forth to carry the recommendations of the special officer. However that be, the duty rests upon the governments in the provinces to encourage and assist in the promotion of cottage industries and thus provide supplementary occupation to the villagers and relieve them of their poverty.

Besides affording supplementary sources of income to the agriculturists, the small-scale industries, whose importance has been urged above, will help in the reinstatement of the village artisan in his former position of importance and usefulness in the village economy, by again making him a prosperous and contented member of society. The artisan is a self-contained worker famed for his skill in the particular craft to which he had been apprenticed; and though lack of encouragement, due to the popular fancy for cheap imported articles of foreign origin, has benumbed his talent, he still carries on his avocation on a limited scale. The transition that has been going on from small-scale to large-scale system industry had worked havoc with him, as was but inevitable; but if proper steps are immediately taken to rescue him from oblivion, re-invigorate him and put him on his legs again and if further he is taught the advantages accruing from the pursuit of modern industrial methods and the benefits of utilizing electric and steam power, then he will be able to play his role once more in the economy of the nation, as a useful member thereof. In India, which is a country of long expanses, large-scale industries on a localized basis,

cannot, however much they may be developed, provide adequate means for the satisfaction of all the national wants their efforts have to be supplemented and their products added to, and enriched by, the manufacture by the village artisans of extremely durable and artistic material, which will find a profitable market anywhere.

There is, in addition to the above, a large field for exploration and exploitation in the domain of village industries, which can very profitably be taken in hand by the Government as an earnest of their desire to promote cottage industries. There many such industries, *e.g.*, carpentry, black-smithy, oil-pressing, doll-making, dyeing, carpet-weaving and others, which have established themselves on firm soil in certain localities, but which have been languishing of late owing mainly to lack of capital and the competition of foreign articles: all of them are, however, capable of resuscitation, if Government goes to their assistance with advances of adequate capital. The village industries constitute, in fine, the main arteries through which the life-blood of national economic prosperity courses, even as the villages themselves form the basis of the Indian political organisation and the core of real Indian life.

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The problem of industrial development in India is not an insignificant one but has huge dimensions: it cannot be solved easily and in a very short time, but requires intense efforts, immense initiative and patriotic co-operation. Above all, it requires a sympathetic National Government, which has the interests of the country at heart and strives to pursue these interests with a single-minded purpose, undeterred and uncowed by considerations of commiseration towards the unholy desires and intentions of foreign interests. We have, no doubt, fiscal freedom of a sort; but it is not freedom which is adequate enough to carry us very far, for at every turn we are faced with the wholly discouraging prospect of having to overcome the opposition of foreign vested interests, which a government, constituted as it is at present, cannot be expected to combat and defeat, however well-intentioned particular Viceroys may be towards

Indian aspirations. This is a serious enough matter, when we take into account the large amount of work there is in our country which can be successfully accomplished only by the state. For protecting Indian industries by the imposition of import duties, we have to seek the assistance of the state; for expanding the Banking facilities and encouraging Industrial Banking and Indian Banking generally, we look up to the state; for lending financial and other help to the tottering indigenous industries for encouraging the policy of village reorganization and the development of village handicrafts, we require government initiative; for providing educational facilities and to dispel the vast mass of ignorance that pervades the people, we again have to depend upon the state and so on. But, if in spite of the necessity for all these reforms, the Government do not follow a consistent and comprehensive line of policy of national advancement, it is but inevitable that progress should either be very very slow or that there should be complete stagnation all over. The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Wedgwood Benn, spoke some time back of raising the standard of living of the people—not for the purpose of securing a market for British goods but as a good thing in itself—and the inducement in them of a spirit of hopefulness; but there is little scope for the fulfilment of these hopes, if there is not a full-fledged National Government pledged to a national programme. He also spoke of 'Dominion Status in action' and cited the instances of the existence of an Indian High Commissioner and the Indian Trade Commissioner in London, of India's participation in the international conferences and her so-called fiscal freedom, to prove his point; but if one examines how these concessions to India's demand for freedom and national rights are actually being executed in practice, it can be realised how all of them are mere sops to lull down the Indian people and not real rights accorded to the country for raising her economic or political status among nations. The ruinous and highly injurious exchange policy followed by the Government in the teeth of popular opposition, the abandonment of the cotton

industry to shift for itself in spite of the persistent demand by the mill-owners for protective action on the part of the Government, and the inability of the Government to cow down the inordinate demands of foreign shipping companies and their opposition to the reservation of coastal traffic to the Indian mercantile marine—these are but a few of the instances which go to prove the hollow-

ness and the camouflage contained in sonorous phrases like 'Dominion Status in action.' The economic prosperity of India is bound up inseparably with her industrial development; and it is the duty of the Government to do everything to bring about the latter and the duty of the people to press for the necessity of bringing it about before everything else.

NUR JEHAN, A MOGHUL EMPRESS

By MR. A. HAMEED HASAN, B.A., LL.B. (ALIG.)

EMPRESS NUR JEHAN (Light of the World), the beloved consort of the Moghul Emperor Jehangir, is acclaimed by all historians and men of letters as one of the talented celebrities of the world. She occupies a unique place not only in the annals of the Muslim womanhood but also in those of the world. Who knew that a girl born in actual poverty and penury on a highway would rise to an indelible fame? At the time of her birth in an Afghan jungle near Kandahar her mother had no sheltering roof for the confinement itself. Her parents were then very, very poor. Her father's father was a governor of one of the provinces of Iran. Her father, unjustly deprived of his ancestral property, was ordered to leave Persia with the clothes on his person and that of his wife as all their effects and valuables were confiscated by the Government. The new-born babe was then not lucky even to have new cloth to be attired in.

Is it not a great wonder of the world that a girl whose parents were not able to maintain and bring her up rose by a stroke of good fortune to rule the famous peninsula of Hindustan? One who was once herself a destitute became the benefactress and patroness of the needy and destitute. Her maiden name was Meharun-Nisa. Her bewitching beauty and attractive face, which fascinated every one who had the good fortune to behold it, had really made her the Light of the World. She was one of the

most beautiful and prettiest women who rose to adorn the Royal Throne as the Empresses and Queens. History chronicles Prince Salim's warm ardour and love for this blooming girl at a time she had not reached an age of two figures. It was not only her fascinating face but also winning charms which won the heart of Prince Salim. It was through her striking beauty and wonderful accomplishments that her father, Mirza Ghias, afterwards called Khwaja Ghias, came in prominence in Akbar's court and rose to the coveted post of the Prime Minister under Jehangir.

STORY OF HER BIRTH

Her parents had to leave their home with practically nothing except the clothes on their persons. Her father's faithful servant secretly furnished her pregnant mother one horse to ride on her journey to India. Her father and two brothers walked on foot on both the sides of the horse. They had nothing to eat during their journey except what was doled out to them by the generous-hearted travellers of the caravan. None had arms or weapons to shoot any games or birds on their journey and to satisfy their hunger. In such a state of helplessness Mehrun-Nisa was born in a jungle near Kandahar. The caravan people, who were heartless, left the parents and the child behind and commenced their onward journey.

Her parents were so poor at that time that it was most difficult for them to maintain this infant babe of few days. They left this infant under a shady tree and tried to follow the caravan. But the mother's heart yearned for her babe and the couple again came back to the tree to have a final look of and bid farewell to the infant. This innocent child was happy and smiling under that solitary tree. It was picked up with all warm love they possessed. They were loth to leave the child there alone. At such a critical time another caravan passed by that route and witnessed this touching scene which moved them very much. The caravan people took the couple and child also along with them. When the caravan reached Lahore, Akbar was holding his Court there. Now Providence seemed to be kind to Mirza Ghias. Through a Darbari Mirza Ghias got an audience at Akbar's Court. Akbar was much impressed and recognized the sterling worth of Mirza Ghias. He was immediately appointed to the post of Yek-Hazari (an officer in charge of 1,000 sepoys). Mirza Ghias was a very capable man. His scholarly attainments and robust commonsense made him popular with all the Durbar. Gradually he rose to the high distinction of Etimadud-dowla.

EARLY DAYS OF MEHRUN-NISA

Now Mehrun-Nisa, to whom her parents were greatly attached, was a well-known and popular figure in the Royal Palace of Akbar. She would always accompany her mother to the palace. Even before she attained her tenth year her attractive features, her melodious voice, her sweet conversation and her wonderful accomplishments began to attract the attention of Prince Salim. It may be true that he fell in love with her at first sight, but it is historically incorrect to say that she was given away in marriage to Ali Naki Khan to divert Prince Salim's intense attention which he is alleged to have shown towards her. On this point, I must say with all emphasis that Tallboys Wheeler's version of her story is not based on historical facts but on imagination, both his own and borrowed. The two pigeons' incident is the work of a Shia man of letters whose object was to glorify her as she was a Shia gem. It is alleged

that Prince Salim loved her since her childhood. One day he entrusted into her hands two pretty pigeons of his own for a short while when he went out. Before he returned one of the two pigeons flew away from the hands of Mehrun-Nisa. On his return he asked her about it and she replied that it had flown away. 'How' ? asked he. She replied 'Lo, it flew away as this is flying.' She flew that pigeon also. It is alleged that this child-like innocence enhanced Salim's love for her further. Historically it is nothing but a myth. Narratives of her childhood are very interesting and instructive. An Astrologer, on seeing her for the first time in the royal palace, prophesied that the entire Hindustan would one day prostrate at her feet. She was an expert in drawing and painting, in horse-riding and archery, hunting and shooting. She used to ride and hunt along with the princes and princesses. Her lively conversation and enchanting music were highly appreciated in the palace. She was indeed a very popular figure in all the Mahals of Akbar whose company was sought by one and all princesses. She was immensely loved by the queens of Akbar.

HER FIRST MARRIAGE

History records that the Emperor Akbar loved Mehrun-Nisa as his own pet child and selected an able officer, Ali Naki Khan, for her hand and married them. A girl was born to her during her wedlock with Ali Naki Khan. This daughter was subsequently married to Prince Shaharyar, one of the sons of Jehangir. Both seemed to be happy in their married life.

THE ALLEGED ASSASSINATION OF SHER AFGHAN

It is really very surprising that the most serious allegation levelled against the Emperor Jehangir for his alleged responsibility in the assassination of Sher Afghan is absolutely false and baseless. Jehangir's alleged love for and attachment to Mehrun-Nisa had misled people to accept his alleged complicity without sifting facts from romance.

It is a historical fact that Mehrun-Nisa was four or five years old when she entered

the Royal Mahal along with her mother. Jehangir was then about seven or eight years old. It is preposterous to say that at such a tender age Prince Salim, as he was then called, should have fallen in intense love with the handsome girl, Mehrun-Nisa, as she is alleged to be. It may be true that her beauty caught his fancy for the time being, but love, if any, was childish and innocent. It is still wild to state as a matter of history that Salim, at this tender infant age, should have shown his obstinacy to marry this girl only and Akbar should have deemed it advisable to marry her immediately to Ali Kuli Khan who rose to be the famous Sher Afghan of Bengal.

It is a matter of history that Salim ascended the throne as Emperor Jehangir in 1605 A.H. and married Mehrun-Nisa in 1611 A.H. after a period of six years of his reign. If Jehangir was really in love with Mehrun-Nisa, would he wait for over six years to get his desires gratified? If it was true, he would have got her husband done away with immediately after he ascended the throne.

It may be said that "he was waiting for an opportunity or that he was helpless." Jehangir, as the Crown Prince Salim, was powerful enough to get Abul Fazl murdered during the very lifetime of the Emperor Akbar. Jehangir is wrongly described as an easy-going and wine-drinking sovereign, but his critics have forgotten to note that he was a good-natured and justice-loving sovereign. He was himself an able historian and a vigorous man of letters. It is very, very strange that if the assassination of Sher Afghan was really true, his "Tuzk-e-Jehangiri," or "Karnama-e-Jehangir" should be absolutely silent about this incident. When Jehangir himself states in his "Tuzke" about the murder of Abul Fazl, he would have certainly stated the assassination of Sher Afghan also if it was a fact. Tareekh-e-Ferishta, which is a very reliable history of the time, has not a single word to say about it. The great scholar and historian, Moulana Zakaullah, whose life has just appeared in English from the pen of Revd. Mr Andrews, did not come across a single scrap of paper historically important which could attest or verify this incident. If Jehangir really wanted the hand

of Mehrun-Nisa, would he have honoured her husband in any way? As soon as he ascended the throne he honoured him with the coveted title of "Sher Afghan" (Thrower of Lion). This public honour bestowed upon his own alleged rival falsifies the allegation because history has not yet recorded a rival honoured in this right royal manner.

Now to come to real facts, Sher Afghan, as soon as he became the Governor of Burdwan Province, commenced to oppress the people under him and tales of his oppression and tortures reached the ears of Jehangir's Royal Durbar. Jehangir ordered Qutbuddin Khan, Governor of Bengal to investigate into the matter. Now Sher Afghan saw that his oppression would be exposed and apprehended his fall and humiliation to follow. He conspired to get Qutbuddin assassinated. He succeeded after all but had to pay the penalty by himself being assassinated by a party of Qutbuddin's followers who had hidden themselves in an ambush. Sher Afghan's body was cut into smallest pieces. The ladies of his harem including Mehrun-Nisa were conveyed to Jehangir's Durbar.

HER WIDOWHOOD

Jehangir's step-mother, who was very fond of Mehrun-Nisa when she was an inmate of the palace, received her kindly and treated her most affectionately. Mehrun-Nisa led her widowed life for full four years during which time Jehangir had no vision or sight of her. After the fourth year Mehrun-Nisa addresses a thrilling letter to Jehangir depicting the sad tale of her widowhood. Fortunately that letter finds a place in "The Historical Facts of Jehangir" penned by Karimuddin Sialkoti. It reminds him of their happy days of childhood. It asks him to forgive her if she has offended him in any way. Jehangir was visibly moved on the receipt of her petition and he forthwith entered her apartments with this petition in his hand where she was doing needle work. Simplicity and helplessness had enhanced her beauty very considerably and she sat there like a paragon of beauty, serene and undisturbed. Her charming beauty again fascinated the emperor who sought her hand.

But she was not willing. His love for her increased from day to day and Mehrun-Nisa after all succumbed to his entreaties.

HOW JEHANGIR WON HER

It is alleged that Jehangir, mad with love for Mehrun-Nisa, tried his best to win back her first love, engendered in their childhood, but failed hopelessly. One day, he entered her apartments and encircled round her throat one of the costliest pearl necklaces. When she rose up to pay her humble respects to the Sovereign, he honoured her again with another highly valuable necklace of diamonds and whispered in her ears "You will be now styled Empress." She accepted his offer and discarded the white clothes of her widowhood. Her marriage with the emperor was celebrated with the greatest pomp possible. Her name was also struck on Jehangir's coin. She was first called Nur-Mahal, and subsequently Nur Jehan, by which name she is so well known. Her father became the Prime Minister and her brother Asif Khan was elevated to the high dignity of Amirul-Umra in the Royal Durbar. Asif Khan's daughter, Mumtaz Mahal of Taj Mahal fame, was given in marriage to Shah Jehan. Nur Jehan's daughter by Sher Afghan was married to Prince Shaharyar.

For full twenty years Nur Jehan dominated the Royal Court. She ably ruled the country behind the Purdah. As long as her father was alive, her influence on the emperor was greatest possible. Her word was law in the eyes of her most affectionate husband. She ruled justly and efficiently.

HER FALL

Look at another turn of the Wheel : The conspiracy fomented by Mahabat Khan against her, her arrest and downfall. Mahabat Khan plays a double game. He succeeds

in making Jehangir distrust her and sign her death warrant. One who decided for years the question of life and death as his consort now stood before the emperor to have the final look at her beloved husband. He forgives her. But both of them still remain prisoners in the hands of the intriguing Mahabat Khan. It is through her diplomacy and cunningness that the emperor regains his liberty. Jehangir died in 1627 A.D. on his way from Kashmir to Lahore and Nur Jehan followed him twenty years later. At Shahdara, one of the loveliest spots in the Punjab, near the river Ravi, close to Lahore, she lies buried near her husband, Jehangir, in an imposing mausoleum raised over his tomb. She died in 1650 A.D. She was getting an annual pension of thirty-eight lakhs from the royal treasury after the death of Jehangir. Now where is she, the child of fortune, the darling wife of Sher Afghan, and the beloved Consort of Jehangir? She truly says :—

*"Bar Mazar-e-Man Ghariban nai
Chirag-o-nai gule"*

*"Nai par-e-parwana ya'bi nai
sada'-e-bulbale"*

"At the tomb of us, the poor, [there is] neither lamp nor flower; neither moth burns its wings, nor nightingale [there] sings."

Kings and Queens may come and go but their good works remain. Nur Jehan stands in the history of India as an accomplished lady, a talented consort and the right hand of Jehangir. Her influence on Jehangir was so great that he used to say "I have entrusted the government to Nur Jehan Begum and I do not require more than one seer of wine and a half seer of mutton." His choice was rightly justified as she was an efficient ruler.

THE MEANING OF DEMOCRACY

By MR. B. NATESAN

BACK TO FUNDAMENTALS

"God gave all men all earth to love,
But, since our hearts are small,
Ordained for each one spot should prove
Beloved over all."

—Kipling.

IT is an admirable way with our old Pundits to begin from the very beginning. When you engage them in a controversy they insist on going back to fundamentals,—to creation, to the Vedas, to the Laws of Manu. For one thing such a procedure clears the ground and leaves no doubt as to the validity of their hypothesis. Round that solid basis they weave their arguments of engaging dialectics; and upon that impregnable rock they build their edifices of faith secure against the contentions of unbelief and scepticism. They define the meaning of the terms they employ and familiarise you with the exact connotations of their terminology so that you may not play ducks and drakes with the processes of reasoning or the inevitable conclusions of their syllogism.

Now a mass of irrelevant ideas has gathered round such familiar words as Democracy and Self-Government, rights and liberties, and it is of primary importance that we should be clear in our mind as to what it is that we mean exactly when we use these words. There are again certain fundamentals that we should recognize in our dealings with these subjects. Fundamentals are in the nature of commonplaces. Take, for instance, the paradox of liberty and self-government. Now it is a commonplace that we are progressively democratising our institutions. That means in popular parlance that we are moving towards greater freedom. And yet what do we see? Day by day we are multiplying legislation, which means in effect forging new checks on our freedom. Huxley said that the more civilized the man the less his freedom; and that is true; for freedom is self-restraint.

NEWMAN'S DILEMMA

Seventy years ago Cardinal Newman taught us that the liberty of which Britons proudly boast must be purchased by the sacrifice of greater efficiency. With characteristic lucidity he put the alternative in unequivocal terms:—

A State or polity implies two things, Power on the one hand, and Liberty on the other, a Rule and a Constitution. Power, when freely developed, results in centralisation; Liberty in self-government. The two principles are in antagonism from their very nature; so far forth as you have Rule you have not Liberty; so far forth as you have Liberty you have not Rule. If a people gives up nothing at all it remains a mere people, and does not rise to be a State. If it gives up everything, it could not be worse off, though it gave up nothing. Accordingly it always must give up something; and in every case the problem to be decided is, what is the most advisable compromise, what point is the maximum of at once protection and independence.

DEAN INGE'S FALLACY

A typical instance of the misunderstanding of words is supplied by our gloomy Dean. In one of his recent articles Dean Inge castigates democracy; because he finds there is no democracy without a permanent civil service nor a Chamber of Elders and a Cabinet of Ministers chosen at random by the head of the Government; just as there is no autocracy nor bureaucracy without these instruments of Government. He forgets that the defenders of democracy seldom minimise the importance of the mechanism of Government. He writes with a sneer:

"One of the advantages of Democracy is that it is so unworkable that it covers a whole system of shams, some of which are tolerably serviceable. Public opinion mediates between herd-morality and the much higher

morality of conscientious individuals. It is also more intelligent than the impulses of the herd, being to some extent inspired by respectable thinkers. Representative Government still produces a capable set of men to act as legislators; and though they are no longer allowed to vote as they please, their masters for the time being are not so much the electors as the Cabinet—a secret committee which is quite undemocratic and in a sense unconstitutional; it has grown because it was needed. We have also the equivalent of a second chamber in the permanent civil service—a very able body of men who could make it difficult for a Labour Government to fulfil its wilder promises. It is those mitigations of Democracy which make its continued existence possible."

BAGEHOT'S EXPOSURE OF BUREAUCRATIC PRETENSIONS

But what ultimately is the work of the Civil Service? It is there merely to execute the will of the people in a democracy just as it has to execute the will of one man in an irresponsible autocracy. The larger policies, the governing principle and the ideas inspiring its administration are derived from the multitudes who elect their representatives in a democracy; while the autocrat is responsible to none and the bureaucrat is but an instrument to register the decrees of his self-chosen superiors. That makes all the difference in the world. And do you think a bureaucracy will be more efficient because it has no need to trim its sails to the passing gusts of public opinion? Let us hear Walter Bagehot:

"Not only does a bureaucracy tend to undergovernment in point of quality; it tends to overgovernment in point of quantity. The trained official hates the rude, untrained public. We think they are stupid, ignorant, reckless that they cannot tell their own interest. Bureaucracy is sure to think that its duty is to augment official power, official business, or official numbers rather than leave free the energies of mankind; it overdoes the quantity of government as well as impairs its quality."

And so when we talk of democracy we mean the whole institution with all its checks and

guarantees against abuses of power either from above or from below, that is to say, the Cabinet or from the Multitudes who elect their governing men.

A REPRESENTATIVE IS NOT A DELEGATE

This leads us directly to another fallacy that a representative in a democracy does not always represent the will of the electorates. It is one of the standing jokes of Chesterton's that the House of Commons is the most unrepresentative assembly in the world. That is to say, the candidate is chosen for being as far different from the elector as possible! That is probably true. For a representative is not a delegate. He is elected because in the main, he can be trusted to act for his constituency to the best of his ability. It ought to be, said Burke in a historic speech to his Bristol constituents:

"It ought to be the happiness and glory of a representative to live in the strictest union, the closest correspondence, and the most unreserved communication with his constituents. Their wishes ought to have great weight with him; their opinions high respect, their business unremitted attention. It is his duty to sacrifice his repose, his pleasure, his satisfactions, to theirs; and above all, ever, and in all cases to prefer their interest to his own. But his unbiased opinion, his mature judgment, his enlightened conscience, he ought not to sacrifice to you, to any man, or to any set of men living. Your representative owes you not his industry only, but his judgment; and he betrays, instead of serving you, if he sacrifices it to your opinion."

Thus whereas a delegate goes with his marching orders a representative is free to form his own conclusion in the light of the situation that confronts him from time to time, only taking care that he is in close touch with his constituency and derives his authority from his electors. That is why there is no anomaly in a peer representing peasants and in a Brahmin acting for the dumb millions in India. It is a mercy that such things are possible in a democracy, for democracy cannot afford to be guided by unworthy hands. It is its glory to unearth excellence wherever it may dwell and the

multitude instinctively looks up for leadership among the elect as it knows that its interests can best be served by men who, however unlike them, are yet worthy of their confidence.

PARTY GOVERNMENT

But the freedom of choice is sometimes hampered by the exigencies of Party interests, and in a newspaper-ridden world it is easy to be hoodwinked by the most blatant propagandist. In a field so enormous we can at best strive for a sort of rough justice, and though power goes with plutocracy we may trust to the simple instinct, that where a man seeks public office amidst the trials of modern life he may yet be the instrument of some public benefaction. The same ability he brings to the achievement of his position in public life may yet serve him in his self-chosen task of public service.

Party Government is in itself not an ideal system, but we see no getting rid of it, under modern conditions. Indeed the tendency is to develop groups with varying ideals and programmes. The paradox of Party Government is quite apparent, there is danger in conceding too much to the opposition just as it would be futile to go on ignoring it. In the one case it would be government by opposition and in the other, tyranny of the governing class. Nor is there any wisdom in merely diluting your programme to the point of neutralising your ideals (what Aristotle called a drop of honey in a bucket of water) for in that case you might as well have left the opposition a free hand. And then there is the anomaly of saying ditto to party whips in the name of party discipline. No man can surrender his judgment and conscience to any one even for the sake of party discipline. That would ultimately mean the negation of reason and the enthronement of machinery. For it is sometimes forgotten that even democracy is not an end in itself, but a means to the good life; and the good life "must be lived not by a majority but by all the members of the community."

THE PROBLEM OF FRANCHISE

But by far the most crucial question that will come up for decision in the near future

is the problem of franchise. Already the race between property and education has been pretty close, and now woman suffrage has come on the heels of universal suffrage. For good or ill there is no going back on these fundamentals. It may be that some prefer vocational or functioning representation to regional representation, but every attempt to cripple the free life of democracy will be resisted, whether it comes in the disguise of formulas or in the open way of violence. Modern reactions are often more subtle in their way,—economic strangulation, legal oppression, reactionary propaganda,—methods sometimes invidious and not less odious because these conform to certain outward forms of law and procedure. But the sanity of mankind will assert itself in the end.

Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, and an uninstructed or apathetic democracy will share the fate of effete autocracies. Indeed education and a certain amount of economic competency are the very basis of democratic freedom. You cannot build a democracy on empty stomachs any more than you can make a spiritual democracy of wealthy citizens. Illiteracy and poverty will make short work of freedom in the modern world. And freedom is never complete until you have freedom of all kinds—individual freedom, civic freedom, economic freedom, social freedom, political freedom and religious freedom. And none of these things is possible without national freedom.

NATIONAL FREEDOM

This last opens up a series of problems requiring a new psychology to interpret its literature. There is nothing more deceitful than the language of imperialism in relation to subject nations. A new and strange relationship demands a new etymology. Thus patriotism, so highly prized as a national virtue is tantamount to disloyalty in a citizen of the subject country. One who exhibits a spirit of independence may be condemned as a rebel while the fawning aspirant to the favours of the Crown may be reckoned a sagacious statesman. We are living in a world of false relationships where

words lose their meaning and change their significance. It is all a question of sides, of attitudes, of what we call the angle of vision. Feats of courage and daring may pass for foolhardiness, while cowardice may masquerade under the pompous cloak of caution and circumspection. What is cunning and chicanery in one may pass for tactics and diplomacy in the other. Thin is the wedge that divides virtue from vice, but few realise that there are some failings which are corollaries of virtue and you can never escape the defects of character which are inherent in strong and vital natures.

Doubtless this perverse mentality is provoking its reaction and only the other day a cynical friend challenged me with the monstrous proportion that the most distinguished among us are really the most depraved. For he argued, "You cannot please both God and Mammon, where one country rules over another, the natural order of things will be always reversed. It is the day of Mir Jaffers. Excellence must hide its head in ignominy or will be silenced by ruthlessness. The real place for truth or valour is the prison or the gallows. Tell me the man who is most honoured by Government and I will tell you who is your worst enemy. His public distinction is in proportion to his intrinsic degradation. For climbing and creeping, said the good Old Dean, are done at the same altitude." This was a bit too sweeping and is yet another proof that the iron has entered his soul. For I believe a man may have more than one claim on his loyalty and these may differ or conflict. For the patriotism of those who reconciled themselves to the Free State is no less sound than the patriotism of the intransigents who swore by the Republic.

PATRIOTISM AND INTERNATIONALISM.

People seldom realise that patriotism itself is but a relative virtue and a stepping-stone to the realisation of the 'brotherhood of man.' The accident of a dividing line no more separates country from country than the accident of creed or colour. And yet there are those who behave as if a patriot can ill afford to be a gentleman. Cavour

confessed that he had done things for his country, of which as a private gentleman, he should be ashamed. Johnson thought that somehow patriotism goes with scoundralism. The whole point of the new patriotism is to prove it worthy of a gentleman. For nationalism is, under existing circumstances, the only means of international co-operation; and they are the worst sinners who, under the cloak of a tepid humanitarianism love any country but their own. Our first duty is to our neighbours and those nearest to us, and an administrative unit is but a means to cultivate and enforce those virtues which in the end, tend to develop a virile character. There is no need for character in a desert island where you do not come in contact with your kind. Character is formed only in the storm of life amidst the passions and interests of multitudes, forming various relationships and acting and reacting on the life and fortunes of your kind. A sloppy, tepid kind of love is not worth its name. Either you bubble over with enthusiasm and take the fruits and thorns of exuberant living or dandle into the inanity of what the poet calls 'living death.' It is therefore in a sense better and more bracing to go full-foamed into the adventure of living than saunter with ease on the isles of indolence and pusillanimity. Prudence is but a negative virtue. There are old men in spectacles who would laugh at the foolhardiness of the Three hundred defying the odds at Thermopylæ as there are those who point the finger of scorn at the unthinking steadfastness of Casabianca. But the Casabiancas are the creators of the world and its sustainers as well. They are the salt of the earth without which life would lose its flavour. Mark you : Peace itself is by no means the greatest of virtues any more than all wars are criminal. There are occasions when peace would be ignominy and war a sacred duty.

Law and order, says Mr. Ivor Brown in his illuminating book on "The Meaning of Democracy," is an essential of social life, but it can be bought at too great a cost.

To bring the legal sovereign into constant contempt is to upset the whole basis of a community, but it may at times

be a moral duty to act illegally. The truth that underlies the fiction of a social contract is that Government rests upon agreement. We give our rulers power on the understanding that they are going to do certain things ; that is our tacit contract. If they refuse to

do these things, if they laugh at protests and abuse their legal sovereignty for immoral ends, then it is they who have broken the social contract, they who justify an appeal to direct action. There are limits to human endurance.

DAMASCUS TODAY

A TURQUOISE SET IN AN EMERALD

By MR. K. T. PAUL

THE imagery is not mine. It is attributed to no less a person than the Prophet of Arabia. Some dispute this origin and say it was one of the very early Caliphs who said it. Whoever it was there is no question that it described Damascus, and on a historic occasion. The teeming tribes of Arabia had been led up to Damascus. They were flushed with their unbroken series of victories. All Arabia was at their feet. Even Syria with all its ancient prestige and power had not so far withstood the vigour of the invaders, unorganised and primitive as they still were so far. And there was ahead now the crown and treasury of Syria, the great city of Damascus whose fame had been sung in all the languages of the tribes in all the ages. But there was no fear of resistance. Its strength was already known. It was just to be taken with all its untold wealth of gold and silver, and of beautiful boys and girls. With no small eagerness therefore the hordes of the desert spurred on their wild horses, on and on through the blazing heat of the desert. We may well assume that the keenness of their leader was as great as that of his followers, if not for their cupidity, certainly for the thirst of conquest, and if you like, the sense of mission.

Coming up through the many many miles of the desert, with sand and sand, around for days and nights together, the Commander rode up to the wild bleak hill whence he could

view the whole city and determine the points of strategic advantage for the attack. As he rode upward and upward the city was coming more and more into view but it was to his back. He reached the platform on the ledge of a rock (still marked by tradition) where he turned his horse round, and there suddenly came into his vision the great city in all its glory. For undoubtedly Damascus shows to best advantage under a blazing sun. So I saw the emerald. It is an elongated oval, with a wider end and a tapering end. And the turquoise is set in the middle of the wider end. It looked to me like a great green whale with a huge bluish fin lying close on its giant body. But my imagery is only realistic. The Prophet's imagery is more poetic, much more appropriate and certainly sounded entirely true as I looked down from the ledge, 'his ledge,' under a fierce sun last April.

THE APPROACH

The Prophet's approach was from the eastward desert and his poetic outburst was well accounted for by the contrast and by the fact that the very first vision was from an elevation and therefore of the whole city and its entire setting. My first approach was from the south-west and on level and I had read about what I was to expect. None the less was my first view a thrilling surprise. Leaving Tiberius in the early morning I ran

for the better of an hour along the sea of Galilee much loath to bid farewell to its tantalising beauty as it played all the time hide and seek with me as I sped northward; then the Jordan not very far from its source; and on it the bridge, at the very point over which the armies of empires have thundered from the most ancient days of Egypt and Chaldea down to Allenby whose struggles have left marks on it still visible to the traveller; then a stony wilderness decked like Palestine with a great variety of wild flowers; then snow-clad Hermon, majestic and sublime, as I ran along its base for what seemed many hours of glorious fellowship with the angels of God; then the stony wilderness again but, with no flowers or verdure, bleak and forbidding. Then you cross the valley and hurry northward toward another range of mountains, the Anti-Lebanons which stand like a wall along the horizon barren and dark, unrelieved by verdure or snow. Presently you have reached them and you turn suddenly into a deep defile between two spurs of the mountain. The sides of the crag look even more terribly seared than what you have been passing through for hours. The road is thick with dust. The heat is like a furnace in the narrowness in which you are now hemmed in. But presently you turn a corner and behold your car is rumbling over a bridge, under you there is the ancient Abana and before your eyes the beginning of the great 'Emerald' created by the Abana.

All the time you were being rushed through the furnace of the ravine, there was on the other side of you, this same Abana rushing down a parallel defile, rushing and rising as fast as the sun melted the snows of the distant Lebanons. But its defile was too narrow and too steep to permit of a road. And so you were condemned to a furnace while a few yards from you there was the gift of the gods hastening on to create a veritable paradise for man. And it is that paradise that you now enter.

THE CITY

You cross the bridge but not all the waters; for a canal starts just above the

bridge. While your road sinks toward the valley the canal keeps to its level in the bed which was made for it two thousand years ago, and anon it is higher than your head! The main river sinks ever lower, putting out at every furlong almost a new canal. From the bridge has begun the magic creation of the waters. Pomegranates, oranges, grapes, pears, apples, palms, many trees of the temperate and sub-tropical zones of the earth gather here along the river and its many daughters. In these orchards are the villas, small and large. And as you approach gradually the centre of the city you find it built on both sides of the main stream of the river. Great buildings of all the centuries flank its sides. But it still continues to break into branches. Every house is entitled to a rill, in proportion to the size of the house. The large houses have the water of the Abana playing in fountains in their courtyard cooling the air and watering the pomegranates and oranges which flank their verandahs; the smallest house has these waters of the distant Lebanon gurgling across its tiny yard giving life perhaps to a solitary orange tree which grows there. And so Damascus is a net-work of streams pure and pellucid, ever refreshed. We talk of garden cities. Here is a city in a garden. It cannot help being a garden, and so it has been a garden from the earliest times. And within the garden is the city, its streets and bazaars, its markets and mosques, its slums and palaces, its every human haunt and habitation is in the garden as much by necessity as is by design. And where the river ends the city ends likewise. For there is no other water-supply and so no house is built which cannot get Abana water. It is a wonderful system: there is nothing like it in the world in my knowledge.

'Damascus is the most ancient city in the world' such is the claim. More ancient than Benares or Pekin? I cannot say. Certainly that very capable slave secretary of Abraham was 'of Damascus.' That was about two thousand years before Christ, when the Aryans were still watching their cattle under God's free skies while composing the devotional-bellicose hymns of the Rig and calling down divine curses on the despicable folk of Harappa and Mahenjardaro

who shut themselves up in towns! Abraham was a king and shepherd and comprehensive institution in himself and from his numerous slaves if a Damascene rose to be the chief it was apparently because of his antecedents. So in succeeding ages Damascus made itself useful to the more powerful but less cultivated neighbours, so useful that it was commonsense not to destroy it utterly. You may plunder it: that is a different matter. But you must let it recover, if you must have some one to make your swords and armour, and somewhere to halt in comfort when you have passed painfully through the desert and have a long stretch of wilderness before you. So Damascus owes its long life, in spite of the allurements of its wealth, to the Abana which makes of it a welcome oasis and generally to the industry of its people in all the generations who grew the fruit and the food and also made the vessels and the weapons which each age required. A significant spot of many lessons in the philosophy of international relations in the ancient and mediæval times, down to our day.

But what about the altered conditions of 'our day'? Are not conditions so changed that Damascus must recede into insignificance and decay? Apparently not. The latest route from India to Europe is up Persian Gulf to Bagdad by rail, thence by motor through the desert to Damascus, where you find the International Waggon—lit ready to take you anywhere westward. Once more the Damascene is adjusting himself. All his ancient arts and crafts in brass and steel, in ivory and turquoise is reviving to adorn the parlours of New York, London and Calcutta. All his orchards are treated to fresh fertilisers to cater to the palate of the nations. All his capacity to serve is drawn out in multifarious ways. Damascus is still most charmingly oriental, but it is rapidly putting on a thick veneer of modernisation.

And the Street which is called the 'Straight' still runs through it from end to end almost. As when Paul of Tarsus groped through it, the bottom third of it, from the gate in, is residential; the rest of it is bazaar, now covered over like an arcade. Part of

the arcade was gone, smashed by a French bombardment, which happened a week before I stood there and saw the sun streaming through the tragic crash. So also the Window on the Wall whence Paul had to be let down in the night in a basket, is still there, but well-hemmed in by barbed wire entanglements! Apparently the Syrians have not all come yet to appreciate the advantages of the French Mandate!

INSTITUTE OF DAMASCUS

But the symbol of power was happily not the only evidence of the French in the city. The destruction of a part of the ancient street called Straight was not wilful or ignorant vandalism but, like the ugly entanglements, an incident of the wilful and ignorant monster called Warfare, of which man is not yet ashamed. The deliberate efforts of the French are in many forms of public utility services which are demanded by modern standards of civic well-being. These need not be catalogued here. But mention should be made of the commendable interest in indigenous Art. These centre in an establishment which is called the French Institute of Damascus. But it is not a French Institute: it is an institute of Mussalman Art and Archæology. It was founded in October 1922 by General Gouraud, the then High Commissioner, and is in the palace of As'ad pacha el-'Azem vali of Damascus, which was built in 1749. This unique residence with its original decoration preserved almost intact, was completely neglected, and it would have been broken up into lots if it had not been acquired by General Gouraud. The work of restoration has been executed with great care. The French Institute of Damascus is intended to become a centre for advanced studies. The archæology of the Mahomedan East is studied in the same way as the arts of antiquity are studied in the French schools of Athens, Rome and Cairo. Not only Syrian students but also foreign students are welcomed and the latter have the opportunity to complete their knowledge of Mahomedan history, architecture and arts in the very country which was their cradle. Materials for their studies are

provided by a library which is already considerable and by a museum which contains a beautiful collection of pottery found in the excavations of Bab Charqi and Hannaniya at Damascus, in those of Samarra and Fostat. There are also a certain number of particularly interesting and remarkable objects such as the Hittite lion of Cheykh Sa'ad, the votive altar bearing the first known effigy of Manaf, the tutelar divinity of the family of Muhammad before the revelation of Islam, and a fragment of high-relief from a Persian palace of the tenth century representing a personage clothed in a coloured caftan. This is claimed there to be the most important human figure made by a Musalman artist which has survived until the present day. In addition there is a series

of Roman sculptures and inscriptions, and a collection of Mahomedan coins. The Institute is responsible for the restoration and classification of historical monuments throughout Syria. It hopes moreover, by means of a subsidiary school of Arab decorative Arts, to restore to the local craftsmen their knowledge and practice of the ancient crafts long fallen into decadence, and to revive the traditions of art and good taste which formerly won universal appreciation.

Standing as it does on what is becoming once more a chief highway of the world, Damascus certainly has yet another chapter to its long useful history, thanks to its own vigour and life, and thanks, let us hope, to a sympathetic and disinterested assistance from cultured France.

WITH SASTRI IN SOUTH AFRICA—I*

By MR. P. KODANDA RAO

THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

"WE leave Cape Town pleased with our labours and if Indians in South Africa will play the game, the future is full of hope." This was the gist of an unpremeditated speech made by the Rt. Hon. V.S. Srinivasa Sastri on the spur of the moment in response to the persistent call for a speech from him at the farewell reception given to the Indian delegation by the Indians of Cape Town. The proceedings of the Round Table Conference were kept a dead secret. Even the cunning cross-examination of the pertinacious press-reporters failed to ferret out any hint from the members of the Conference. The Indian farewell reception was to be a silent spectacle, except for the discussion of the weather, the tea and the cakes, and the mid-summer X-mas that had just passed. Nevertheless, despite undertakings to the contrary, Dr. Abdurehman manoeuvred a speech from the leader of the Indian delega-

tion, Sir Muhammad Habibullah, who severely confined it to returning thanks to the hosts. Then arose an insistent demand from the disappointed audience for a speech from Mr. Sastri. Mr. Sastri was well on the move towards the exit door in company with Col. Creswell, the Minister of Defence, when he was persuaded to halt for a brief while. And then he made that *impromptu* speech referred to above. The speech was received with wild cheering for the message of hope that it contained. In another hour or two, thanks to Reuters, the tense anxiety with which the results of the Conference were awaited in India, England, the Union of South Africa was relieved and congratulations came pouring in from all quarters. Indians in the Union experienced the joy that a man under a suspended sentence of death feels when he obtains a discharge. The vow of silence was broken and that was a breach of discipline! Would the "indiscretion" embarrass the Union Government and imperil the Agreement? The fears proved in the

* This article has also been sent for publication to the *Modern Review*.

event unfounded. On the other hand the speech was necessary and justified in every way. But it required the unerring political instinct of a master-mind to make just that speech and say no more and no less.

In India the public reception of the Cape Town Agreement would turn largely on the opinion of Mahatma Gandhi, who more than any other Indian understood the conflicting interests in South Africa and could appraise it in proper perspective. If he approved of the Agreement generally and gave a lead to that effect in good time, much amateurish, captious and arm-chair criticism would be choked off. It was necessary that Mr. Gandhi's opinion should be published simultaneously with the Agreement. Mr. Sastri travelled down to meet Mr. Gandhi who was then touring in the Central Provinces. In the brief intervals between the latter's numerous engagements crowded into a few hours—the Mahatma had to cut out a meal also to steal some time!—Mr. Sastri explained the situation. Mr. Gandhi's favourable opinion was published simultaneously with the Agreement on the 21st February, 1927.

The old repatriation scheme demanded of the Indian a specific and irrevocable surrender of his South African domicile, and that stung the sense of self-respect of India. The assisted emigration scheme obviates this humiliation. Domicile need no longer be surrendered, and can be resumed within three years—just like an European emigrant. The upliftment section of the Agreement is a unique achievement, which now constitutes the Magna Charta not only of the Indians but also of the Bantus of South Africa. The publication of the Annexure containing a summary of the conclusions arrived at by the Conference was a wise procedure: it would minimise, if not obviate, disputes about private understandings and interpretations. All these bear the impress of far-seeing statesmanship.

THE AGENT ARRIVES IN SOUTH AFRICA

For a member of the "Servants of India Society," and its President at that, it is one thing to accept a place in the Round Table Conference with freedom of thought and action, and quite another to become a

regular servant of the Government of India, subject to its discipline and orders. Mr. Sastri's health was causing grave anxiety. The place of the Agent of the Government of India in South Africa was no bed of roses: it would severely tax even the most robust health. But Mr. Gandhi's insistence that Mr. Sastri must be the first Agent was echoed both in India and in South Africa. Mr. Gandhi and the Government of India, whom he had solemnly promised to displace on account of its "Satanic" nature, sat hand in hand and cheek by jowl in this matter! Reluctantly Mr. Sastri bowed to the unanimous will of the people and resigned himself to the life of an exile, personal as well as political.

When he arrived in South Africa the situation was anything but encouraging. True, the Agreement went through the Union Parliament unscathed; true, the Union Government had promptly passed legislation to implement these sections of the Agreement which promoted, assisted emigration and restricted further immigration of Indians. But no action had been taken with regard to the section of "upliftment" of Indians. Eight-tenths of our nationals in the Union are concentrated in Natal, and therefore, the main burden of uplift falls on Natal. The sympathy and support of the Natal Provincial Government and of the Durban Corporation are essential for the purpose. Unfortunately they were not forthcoming at the time. Natal felt many grievances against the Union Government. Natal is almost entirely British and the Union Government was Dutch; Natal owes allegiance to the South African Party led by Gen. Smuts, while the Union Government is of the Nationalist persuasion and is led by Gen. Hertzog. In Natal the Indian population is about equal to the European population—a potent cause for the violent anti-Indian feeling in that Province. The white people of Natal felt that without their express consent being sought and obtained, the Union Government had been generous with their promises of Indian upliftment at the expense of Natal. The Natal Provincial Council had formally repudiated the Agreement by a majority of 17 to 3! Under these circumstances, the Union Government felt it

impolitic and useless to put pressure on the Natal Government. It wisely kept mum.

In certain quarters there were suspicions and doubts as to why, instead of sending a junior member of the civil service for the comparatively minor post of the Agent of the Government of India, the Indian Government, backed for a wonder by Mahatma Gandhi and the Indian people, sent out so eminent an Indian as Mr. Sastri. Had Mr. Sastri any ambitious instructions up his sleeve?

The Indian community was divided into two hostile camps. The South African Indian Congress had tentatively and cautiously accepted the Agreement, while the Transvaal British Indian Association had repudiated it and the Congress as well. And all the earnest efforts of Mr. C. F. Andrews to bring the Association into line with the Congress proved futile.

As for Mr. Sastri himself, though, thanks to the efforts of the Commissioner of Asiatic Affairs, the Grand Hotel of Pretoria agreed to accommodate Mr. Sastri and his Indian Private Secretary, not all the persuasion of the Commissioner would induce any hotel in Johannesburg or Durban or Pietermaritzburg to follow suit.

THE CONVERSION OF NATAL

After taking stock of the situation in Pretoria the Seat of the Union Government, Mr. Sastri entered Natal in the middle of July, 1927, a fortnight after his arrival in the Union. The Indian Congress had arranged a grand reception in the local Town Hall which was attended by a large number of Europeans also. It was presided over, in the absence of the Mayor on other duty, by the Deputy Mayor, Mrs. Seidle, who struck the first welcome note when she said that Durban would stand by the Agreement faithfully (though later events belied that promise, as far as the Durban Corporation was concerned). At this reception Mr. Sastri made his first great speech in which he set out his policy. Whatever his personal opinions, he would not, as Agent of the Government of India, travel beyond the four corners of the Agreement, and the Agreement contained no reference

to the political franchise. If occasionally the young Indians spoke of the franchise, he pleaded with the whites to exercise some little toleration and forbearance, for it was only natural that the South African Indian should feel inspired by the recent attainment of full Dominion Status by South Africa and by the development of responsible institutions in India. He would stand by the Agreement, the whole of it and nothing beyond it. With solemn and impressive eloquence he adjured the Natal whites, who are more British than the British themselves, not to forget and betray the honour of the Union Jack and its traditions of chivalry, fair-play and freedom of oppressed nationalities while they remembered its might and majesty and the political gains and advantages it brought to them. With the Indians he pleaded that they should get the utmost advantage out of the Agreement, that they should utilise to the full such facilities for education as then existed and as might in the near future be made available, and that they should exercise some measure of self-help. The speech was electrical in its effects. His good faith was at once acknowledged and he won the confidence and trust of Natal.

His Royal Highness the Earl of Athlone, the Governor General of the Union, is not a mere figurehead. His great and unique, though unobtrusive services towards the reconciliation of the two contending factions over the flag controversy which very nearly developed into a civil war, were publicly acknowledged by Gen. Smuts and the Prime Minister in Parliament. Happily His Royal Highness was in Durban when Mr. Sastri newly arrived there. Soon Mr. Sastri had an opportunity of meeting the Administrator of Natal, His Honour Sir George Plowman. Subsequently Mr. Sastri was given special facilities to meet the Executive, and later the Provincial, Council of Natal and of expounding to them the nature and contents of the Agreement and the obligations under it. Mr. Sastri visited almost every centre in Natal where Indians are to be found in numbers and explained the Agreement to large, and in several cases record, audiences of Europeans and Indians. Many a European, who had hitherto been fed exclusively on anti-Indian propaganda, learnt

for the first time that there was another side to the question and that the Indian had a case, and that the Agreement was a fair compromise and not a one-sided surrender to the Indians. In a little over two months Mr. Sastri had the gratification of realising the first fruits of his labours. On the 22nd of September, which was his birthday, he was authorised to announce that the Natal administration had, in pursuance of the Agreement, decided to appoint the Education Commission adumbrated in it. No birthday present was more welcome to Mr. Sastri. His hope and faith that Natal "may travel from repudiation to tolerance and so through to complete consent" had come true. In the normal course of things the task properly belonged to the Union Ministers: it was for the Government that concluded the Agreement to defend it in public and get their people to accept it. But in this case, the job had to be done by Mr. Sastri. So deep had the anti-Indian prejudice sunk into the minds of the white people and so contrary was the avowed policy of the present Government when it came to power in 1924 that no responsible Minister yet finds it safe and prudent to go to the country and publicly defend the uplift of the Indians and is therefore, content to emphasise the success (from the European point of view) of assisted emigration.

THE TRANSVAAL

The task of reconciling the whites of the Transvaal to the Agreement was even more difficult. The Britishers in Natal were susceptible to appeals to their Empire sentiment. They were thrilled to be reminded of their mighty and glorious heritage and they paused to listen and dwell on the obligations that were part and parcel of that heritage. It was a potent instrument, this appeal to their Empire sentiment, in reconciling them to the uplift of the Indians amongst them, and Mr. Sastri knew how to use it to good purpose. The whites in the Transvaal are Dutch and to them the Empire was an anathema. It was difficult to find a responsive chord among them. The Dutch people and the Dutch press have on the whole bestowed only sullen acquiescence and frigid toleration. If they did not repudiate the Agreement, it was

because it was their leaders who now form the Government that concluded it. Though no serious frontal attack against the Agreement has yet developed, a more or less continuous anti-Indian snipping has been kept up in that Province. And again and again Mr. Sastri had to hurry up there and intercede in order to stave off an impending danger.

THE AGREEMENT AND PARTY POLITICS

Although Mr. Sastri's exposition of the Cape Town Agreement helped largely to dispel the misconceptions regarding it, and as a consequence made it less unacceptable to the dominant communities, still it was not safe from party politics and party controversy. The South African party were not represented at the Round Table Conference: which seemed to justify their taking a purely party attitude towards its results and of opposing them and of denouncing them when they came to power. Natal, the stronghold of the S. A. P., was, as has already been indicated, opposed to the Agreement and was chafing under it. Though happily it encountered no serious opposition or challenge in Parliament, Gen. Smuts, the leader of the S. A. P., sat a silent spectator, inscrutable as the sphinx. The S. A. P. were not of one mind in the matter, and there was no small danger of the anti-Indians weighing down the scale in the balance.

There was yet another and graver danger. The Government of Gen. Hertzog had, in putting their seal to the upliftment section of the Agreement, reversed their former policy towards Indians and gone back on their election promises. From the purely party point of view, apart from the merits of the Agreement, it was a sore temptation to the S. A. P. to show up the Government for their change of front. Once the Agreement was dragged into party controversy, the discussion would not be confined to the inconsistency of the Government, but would extend to the merits of the Agreement; and the embers of the anti-Indian agitation which Mr. Sastri's labours have helped to still, would soon be fanned into a blaze. And the general elections were looming ahead. And anything is possible at election time.

These two dangers to the Agreement could be staved off if the leading members of the two political parties could be prevailed upon to give the Agreement not merely gingerly toleration but cordial support. Mr. Sastri celebrated the first anniversary of the publication of the Agreement with a dinner at which were present the leading members of the Cabinet and of the Opposition, except Gen. Smuts. While Dr. D. F. Malan, the Minister in charge, was rather cautious and timorous, Gen. Hertzog, the Prime Minister and Mr. Patrick Duncan, the chief lieutenant of Gen. Smuts, gave it their hearty blessing. The English Press in the whole Union followed the better example. It was a welcome chorus, and most heartening.

The absence of Gen. Smuts at the anniversary dinner was significant and was a portent that the Agreement was not wholly secure from party criticism and exploitation. In October 1928 the gallant General made a public attack on the Agreement: rather he pilloried the Nationalist Government for having fallen an easy prey to the diplomacy of Mr. Sastri, and given away more rights to the Indians! Next morning the "Cape Times," the leading British journal in the Union and in sympathy with the political party of Gen. Smuts, came out with a slashing attack on the General for his mischievous action; and protested that, if the Nationalists had done one good thing during their regime, it was the Cape Town Agreement. This was no isolated instance. On numerous occasions leaders of political thought, members of Parliament and the English Press have sworn to and sworn by the Agreement. Speaking at the farewell meeting organised by the Indians in Durban in honour of Mr. Sastri, Senator Sir Charles Smith, Chairman of the South African Party in Natal, said publicly that it was unthinkable that any party in South Africa would ever think of going back upon the Cape Town Agreement.

CHANGE OF HEART

Nevertheless, the South African Party at its last annual conference held in Bloemfontein, passed, at the insistent pressure of its Natal members, a resolution on the Indian question in the following terms:—

"The South African Party favours the maintenance of restrictions on Asiatic immigration and of Government assistance for permanent repatriation." There is no mention of uplift! Strange are the exigencies of politics. If the position of Indians in the Union is not to slide back but to improve, something more than the Government's signature to a bond is necessary—a change of heart among the European citizens. That is the only permanent security.

Having known the Indians amidst them principally as either coolies or petty traders who undercut them, the Europeans had formed a low and contemptuous opinion of Indians as a community, unworthy of their appreciation and respect. The higher aspects of Indian civilisation and culture were a sealed book to them. Mr. Sastri opened their eyes to these treasures of the East. At numerous addresses to crowded audiences at schools and colleges and universities, at city halls and church gatherings, even from the pulpits of European churches Mr. Sastri expounded with a clarity and eloquence all his own, the philosophy and literature of India, and described her peoples and her institutions. He was no apologist, no propagandist for India. If Mr. Sastri admired the British Empire, he was no less proud of the rich heritage of India. His fair and impartial statements, his balanced judgment and his persuasive eloquence captivated the intellectual aristocracy of the land, and won its willing homage. His own character and personality gave concreteness to what his words conjured up. His was an unprecedented triumph of personality over race prejudice, of culture over politics. Doors which were closed to him when he arrived in the country were now open and those who barred his entrance felt proud if he entered. The Bishop of Johannesburg, that uncompromising champion of Christian relations between the races, had anticipated this and had Mr. Sastri as the guest of himself and his wife. The first hotels in the land competed for his patronage. When it was feared that Mr. Sastri would not consent to prolong his stay in the Union beyond the year he had stipulated for, the press joined the Indians in persuading him to change his mind. When

he toured in the country the mayors of each town he visited received him with civic honours and presided over his meetings, and in some cases entertained him at lunches and in one instance, made him the guest of the City. Even the Dutch Reformed Church, conservative in its race prejudice, fell under his spell and prevailed upon him to speak to a large public meeting on Christianity as he saw it. When at Klerksdorp in the Transvaal the Deputy Mayor attempted unsuccessfully to break up his meeting, the indignant condemnation of his conduct and the enthusiastic appreciation of Mr. Sastri's services not only to the Indian cause but to South Africa as well were revealing. The citizens of Cape Town raised funds by public subscription for a bust of Mr. Sastri executed by a talented European sculptor. And when finally, after eighteen months of strenuous service, he left the country to return to India, numerous and remarkable tributes were paid to his popularity, his hold on the affections of the peoples of South Africa and his great services to the country.

This was in the main a triumph of personality. But it was not without a favourable reaction on the Indians as a whole. The Lord Bishop of Natal was not speaking only for himself when, in his address to his clergy and laity at the Diocesan Synod, he said, "We, English people, cannot—can we?—afford to despise any longer a people out of whom has come one whom many of us have had the privilege of meeting, the present Agent in South Africa of the Indian Government" and when he exhorted the Churchmen that in case of need they "must stand by him and give him the help and the encouragement which he will look for and welcome from us for his people's sake." When the South African Indian Congress held its annual sessions in Kimberley and in Durban, representatives of the European press attended; and the proceedings received wider publicity and notice. Several departments of Government were, in response to invitations, represented at the meetings, and they offered explanations or took notes for submission to higher authorities. For the first time meetings organised by Europeans in honour of Mr. Sastri were thrown open to

Indians. When the Indo-European Council of Johannesburg gave a farewell dinner to Mr. Sastri, more than a score of local Indians dined at the Carlton Hotel which once had refused to open its doors to Mr. Sastri himself. At his instance the Orient Club, the splendid country club of the Indians of Durban, made it a feature of its activities to invite prominent Europeans to its Sunday lunches. Its invitations were readily and eagerly accepted. Mr. Sastri was able to entertain local Indian friends at European hotels in Cape Town and in Natal. The word "coolie" is no longer the synonym for the Indian, and paragraphs of wanton offence to the Indians have ceased to be the delight of the leading newspapers. It was cheerfully and thankfully acknowledged on all hands that there has been a change of heart in large sections of thinking people. This is perhaps the most valuable part of Mr. Sastri's services. Whether this improvement will last will depend on the continuity of cultural contact between South Africa and India and the facilities that the Europeans are provided with for such contact. Since returning to India Mr. Sastri has pleaded for some of our first-rate men and women of culture to visit South Africa, where they are assured of a cordial welcome.

JOINT COUNCILS

As the local Indians are denied the political franchise and social intercourse with Europeans, their point of view has very little chance of reaching and influencing the enfranchised class. In the time of Mr. Gandhi the Indian cause had many friends among Europeans, some of whom had so far identified themselves with it that they suffered jail for it. Unluckily, however, when the anti-Indian agitation was at its worst in the first half of this decade there was hardly a European in South Africa who would interpose a kindly word for the Indian. And in South Africa a word of defence or remonstrance from a European carries greater influence with the politically dominant class than the anguished cry of the injured Indian or the Native. A group of Europeans who were willing to meet the Indians and understand

their point of view, and, if convinced, publicly espouse their cause and in turn, explain to the Indians the viewpoint of the Europeans and prevent unfounded misconceptions would be an invaluable asset to the Indians. The Native has such friends in the Joint Councils of Europeans and Bantus. A parallel organisation to bring together the Indians and the Europeans was conceived very soon after Mr. Sastri's arrival in Durban, but the time was not ripe for launching it. It was, therefore, left on the simmer. In about a year the situation had so far improved that some Europeans themselves felt the need for such an organisation and sought Mr. Sastri's assistance to form one, which was readily forthcoming. Two Indo-European Councils have been formed, one in Johannesburg and another in Durban, which have already justified themselves by their excellent work. For instance, the Indo-European Council of Johannesburg under the chairmanship of Prof. J. M. Watt of the local University, interceded publicly and effectively in rescuing the Indian waiters and barmen from a law that proposed to deprive them of their means of living; and the Bishop of Johannesburg, another member of the Council, went so far as to administer a public rebuke to the Government for contemplating the grave injustice to the Indian waiters.

THE SASTRI COLLEGE

Appreciation of Indian culture engendered by Mr. Sastri's work had no doubt induced a kindlier feeling among the Europeans towards the local Indians. But the surest guarantee for the permanence of this feeling lay in the creation among the Europeans of appreciation and respect for the local Indians. Their own actions and achievements must consolidate the gains and accelerate the progress. Self-help should take forms which, while useful to the community, shall strike the imagination of the Europeans. Indians had made commendable sacrifices to provide education for their children in Tamil schools, Koranic schools and some general schools. Nevertheless, the legend was current that they did not care for education and that, unlike other

communities, they would make no sacrifices for it and that they expected the Government to do everything for them. The Natal Education Department under the high-minded leadership of Mr. Hugh Bryan, advised Mr. Sastri that the greatest educational need of the Indians was a Training School for Indian teachers. A well-equipped and well-staffed High School appealed to the Indians better. So Mr. Sastri combined both, and invited the community to raise some twenty thousand pounds from among themselves, without seeking or accepting any contributions from non-Indians.

Self-help on such an imposing scale did not come easy to the Indians. For years together, they had maintained with their backs to the wall, a fight for the preservation of their slender rights from encroachment and extinction. Reverses and defeats had made them despondent and desperate. Moreover, it happens that the Indians who seek the maximum available education are predominantly Hindu Tamilians, who are comparatively poor while the section which is comparatively rich are the Muhammadan traders whose educational ambitions, however, are rather limited. The project was full of delicacy, and a slight mishandling might create unfortunate cleavage in the Indian community which had so far held together. Mr. Sastri himself went about from town to town accompanied by his trusted friends of the Congress; and soon the sum of seventeen thousand pounds was raised, an achievement which more than any other raised the Indians in the estimation of the Europeans, and won for them great and widespread sympathy. When, for instance, the Durban Corporation under the influence of anti-Indian Councillors, cut down the site for the school building, the European press pilloried the Corporation for the grudging grant of a measly piece of land.

The foundation stone of the combined training school and high school was laid by the Administrator of Natal, Mr. Gordon Watson, who, at the wish of the generous donors, christened it the "Sastri College." The building was recently opened by His Royal Highness Earl Athlone, the Governor General of South Africa. The legend that

Indians were indifferent to education has been effectively killed. The "Natal Advertiser" went so far as to read a lesson to the Europeans that the Indians had done more for their education in nine months than the Europeans had done for theirs in as many years!

SOCIAL SERVICE

Other expressions of self-help born of the new hope are the Social Service Committee and the Child Welfare Society started at the instance of Mr. Sastri. Both of them have done good and creditable work. The former brought to light the unsatisfactory conditions under which the Indian employees of the Government Railways and the Durban Corporation were housed and secured some improvement in the same. The Committee paid weekly visits to the Indian quarters in the borough, preached higher standards of sanitation and drew public attention to much-needed improvements. It soon won the sympathy and co-operation of the Municipal Corporation and its Medical Officer of Health, and generally made a favourable impression on the European community. The Child Welfare Society had European co-operation from the very start. It has recently secured recognition from the National Child Welfare Association of South Africa and the Durban Corporation and, what is more encouraging, money grants as well.

INDIAN UNITY

It has been stated earlier that when Mr. Sastri arrived in the Union of South Africa, he found the Indian community divided. For a small unenfranchised community struggling to make itself heard by the politically dominant community, its only effective chance lay in speaking with one voice. Divided opinions were a disastrous luxury which it could ill-afford. Further, the Congress itself gave a hesitant approval to the Agreement; others outside it frankly repudiated it. The efforts of Mr. Sastri, strenuous and continuous for over a long period, unfortunately failed to bring about unity among the Indians. The seceders from the Congress have organised themselves into the South African

Indian Federation. The Congress, which at the start had no avowed followers in the Transvaal, has later secured a large and influential following in that Province and stands to-day the most representative, the most influential, and the most competent Indian organisation. It is recognised by the Government of South Africa, the Government of India and the Indian National Congress. The differences that now divide the Congress and the Federation are mainly personal rather than political. For even the Federation ultimately came round to approve of the Agreement and did not lag behind the Congress in giving it its full support.

INDIAN EDUCATION COMMISSION

Reference has already been made to the difficulties that Mr. Sastri experienced in getting the Natal administration to accept the agreement and implement it by appointing the Education Commission to enquire into the condition of Indian education in Natal. When the Administration eventually appointed the Commission it was discovered that it consisted of the members of the Executive Council together with some members of the Provincial Council and no educational experts. The Executive were to sit in judgment over their own policies, which were thoroughly anti-Indian in the past! It inspired no confidence. Nevertheless, Mr. Sastri advised the Indians to accept the Commission and tender evidence before it. And the Indians came in numbers to give evidence in strange contrast to the experience of a previous Education Commission appointed to enquire into European Education which had great difficulty in securing, even by offering special invitations, European witnesses to give evidence! Mr. Sastri himself gave evidence. He had established very cordial relations with the head of the Education Department, Mr. Hugh Bryan, an enthusiastic friend of education, irrespective of race and colour; and Mr. K.P. Kichlu and Miss C. Gordon, the educationists deputed by the Government of India, obtained the ungrudging co-operation of the Natal Education Department in preparing the Indian case. The lack of initial sympathy

in the Commission had to be made good by the strength of the evidence led before it. The result of the Commission's labours was a fillip to Indian education. The Administration undertook to run the Sastri College as a Government Institution with the first set of teachers selected in India by Mr. Sastri. The grant for Indian education went up from £23,000 to £56,000. The number of scholars went up, from 9,000 to 11,000 in one year—a record increase. Mr. Hugh Bryan contemplates that within ten years all the school-going Indian children will have facilities for education.

INDIAN HOUSING COMMITTEE

In the Agreement the Union Government had undertaken to institute an enquiry into the housing conditions of Indians in and around Durban. Though this matter lay within the purview of the Union Government, they wisely hesitated to take action thereon until Natal was prepared for it. A Committee was eventually appointed in September, 1928. It was originally contemplated that the personnel of it should include, as assessors but not as members, two representatives of the Indian Congress selected by Mr. Sastri. Unfortunately, for reasons not relevant to the merits of the enquiry, the inclusion of Indian assessors was dropped, much to the disappointment of the Indian community. Mr. Sastri again advised the Indian community to accept the Committee and tender evidence, which they did with excellent effect. The Committee upheld almost all the Indian contentions and put the Durban Corporation and the traducers of Indians in the wrong.

TRADE UNIONS

The Agreement contained a clause to the effect that Indians should conform to the industrial legislation of the country based on the principle of equal pay for equal work. But the actual status of Indians in industry was very unsatisfactory and prejudicial to them. The organisations recognised under these laws, such as trade unions, industrial councils, apprenticeship boards, were all exclusively European and closed to Indians.

The law did not permit of the registration of even parallel trade unions unless they were mutually exclusive: unions initiated by Indians had expressly to exclude the non-Indian, a course to which the Indians were opposed on the principle that trade unions should not be racially exclusive. The Natal Indian Congress organised a separate Indian Trade Union Congress, subsequently changed into "Natal Workers' Congress" to discuss these and allied problems. In the presence of the representatives of the Department of Labour, of the European trade unions and the general public, European and Indian, Mr. Sastri opened the Congress with a fighting speech appealing for fair-play. The Congress decided on a joint conference with the representative of the European trade unionists in Johannesburg in order to persuade the latter to admit Indians to the trade unions then controlled by Europeans. Mr. Sastri spoke at the conference. Some months previous to it he had addressed a meeting of these European trade unionists on trade unionism in India and emphasised the national and international solidarity of labour, and had thus prepared the ground. The Conference agreed that a single union for each trade open to workers of all races was the best method of organisation. Before Mr. Sastri left South Africa he had the pleasure of knowing that the Typographic Union in Durban opened its doors to Indians. Its action has since been ratified by the parent body, the Typographical Union of South Africa, and publicly defended by Mr. W.H. Sampson, the present Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, who was President of that Union.

CONDONATION OF ILLEGAL ENTRANTS

Though not arising directly from the Cape Town Agreement, the problem that exercised the Indians most when Mr. Sastri arrived in South Africa was the condonation of illegal entrants. It was common ground that there were an indefinite number of Indians in the Union, and particularly in the Transvaal, who were there in contravention of the Immigration laws of the land, and who were liable, on discovery, to be deported to India. A judgment of the Supreme Court in the

Transvaal—in which Province every adult Indian has to carry a Registration certificate—had, however, given immunity from deportation to one class of Indians who were proved to have obtained their registration certificates by making fraudulent representations. In the legislation meant to implement the Agreement the Government took away this immunity. Every illegal entrant, whatever the length of his residence in the Union, was liable to deportation on discovery. At the intercession of Mr. C. F. Andrews, the Minister had, in response to the suggestion of Mr. Patrick Duncan, promised in Parliament that he would, by administrative action, and subject to certain conditions, condone the illegal entry of all such as asked for it. This was to be on the part of the Government “an act of grace to mark the appointment of the Right Honourable V. S. S. Sastri, P. C., as the first Agent of the Government of India in the Union.” The Transvaal Indians declined the advice of Mr. Andrews to accept the condonation. They resented the action of the Government in completing their power to deport all illegal entrants, and demanded its abrogation. Next they asked that no retrospective effect should be given to the section; and next again that illegal entrants of 1914 and earlier should go unchallenged and yet again the line was to be drawn at 1908. They objected to the condition laid down by the Minister that no condonee was to be allowed to introduce into the country his wife and minor children if they were not already in the country. They also suspected the *bona fides* of the Government in offering them condonation. The Government, whilst protesting their *bona fides*, saw no valid reason why the illegal entrants of a certain year and before should be exempted from the need of seeking condonation. It was the policy of the Government to reduce the Indian population by holding out inducements to Indians to leave the country: they were spending £50,000 a year on this account. Consistently with their policy, they could not, besides allowing illegal entrants to stay on, permit each of them to introduce three to four other Indians, thereby neutralising assisted emigration. Against this it

was contended on behalf of the Indians that in the interests of the happy family life, a condonee should not be prohibited to introduce his wife and minor children. The Minister saw the weight of this, and promised consideration to the request when he knew the number of persons involved. There were not Indians wanting who argued that the Government could reduce the Indian population with greater justice and less expense by deporting the illegal entrants than by inducing the poorer class of domiciled Indians to leave the land of their birth and emigrate to India, a foreign land to them. The amount now spent on the deportation of innocents might be spent better on their uplift.

No problem caused the Indians, Mr. Sastri and the Union Government more vexation of spirit, more loss of temper, more fruitless controversy, and more unhappiness than this condonation affair. It is a matter of opinion if the Indians would not have received more concessions if at the very outset they had put their unreserved confidence in Mr. Sastri and trusted him to do his best for them. As it was, the negotiations dragged for over a year by which time all grace was knocked out of the offer. When at last agreement was finally reached, Mr. Sastri and the Congress representatives visited the provinces concerned and at public meetings and private conferences pleaded with the Indians, whose entry into the country was not according to law, to clean up their past and secure their future, and this, not only in their own personal interests, but that of the character of India. As a result, over 1,500 Indians have received protection certificates.

ASSISTED EMIGRATION

It was no part of the duty of the Agent of the Government of India to stimulate assisted emigration, as the Union Government themselves publicly recognised. There were no well-founded complaints that undue pressure was being put on Indians to emigrate at the instance of the Union Government. Mr. Sastri himself toured the localities where Indian labourers worked, and explained in Tamil the provisions of the Agreement and

emphasised the voluntary character of assisted emigration. The new scheme of assisted emigration stimulated stream of emigration to India, as the following figures before and after the Agreement indicate:—1925—1,358; 1926—2,100; 1927—2,850; and 1928—3,259. The last quarter of 1928 had the record number—1,046. This sudden rise is due in part, it is reported, to a rumour—the origin of which nobody knows—that the increased bonus of £20 per adult emigrant would be withdrawn when Mr. Sastri returned to India!

SAFEGUARDING EXISTING RIGHTS

Besides helping the governments concerned to discharge their obligations under the Agreement, besides raising the Indians in the estimation of the Europeans, the Agent of the Government of India had another set of duties. It was the negative task of protecting the existing rights and privileges, few in themselves, from encroachment and diminution. Now and again some action of the Government, or Administration or Municipalities or private bodies would, deliberately or unintentionally, threaten some right or other of the Indian. The Liquor Bill of the Minister of Justice deliberately proposed not only to close the professions of waiters and barmen to Indians but also to throw out of employment those already serving in those capacities. Over three thousand Indians and their families were doomed to unemployment and distress. It was a testing time for the Agreement. Happily the doom was called off: the offending provision was withdrawn by the Minister himself. It was a triumph not only for Mr. Sastri's diplomacy but also for the Agreement. The chief basis of European opposition to the clause both in Parliament and outside was that it violated the Agreement.

Even after the deletion of that objectionable provision in the Bill, the Act, when it was put into operation, revealed that the interaction of two different sections had a prejudicial effect on Indian employment, though on a smaller scale. This danger was also averted. The attempts of the Johannesburg Municipality to segregate Indians on municipal trams by regulation, the efforts of the Durban Corporation to evict the Indian

tenants long established on the Springfield estate, of the Transvaal Provincial Council to pass regulations which prejudiced Indian hawkers and pedlars, and of the Durban Corporation to establish an Indian colony in Cato Manor outside the Borough of Durban—all these were successfully resisted.

TRADE LICENSES

But more serious than these were the efforts made to increase to difficulties of Indians in getting trading licenses. As it is, large powers are vested in municipalities and licensing boards in the matter of the issue of trade licenses, with the result that licensing authorities, on which European traders are represented in it but not their Indian rivals, have often used their powers deliberately and unashamedly to the disadvantage of Indians. The law left a very narrow opening for the interference of the judicial courts, so that most injustices went unchallenged. A Mr. Schonk gave notice of an amendment to the law in the Transvaal which would close up even this narrow opening and completely oust the jurisdiction of the judicial courts. The European press vigorously supported the Indian protest. Unfortunately for the gallant white gentleman, he was convicted of a serious offence against a black woman, and the amendment lapsed for want of a mover. The episode is symptomatic of the feeling in the Transvaal. The times were not propitious to ask the Union Government to undertake a revision of the licensing laws in the Union and give consideration to the Indian request that the power of the judicial courts to review the decisions of licensing bodies should be greatly increased.

It is again in the Transvaal that some private individuals had recourse to the expedient of invoking musty old anti-Indian laws of the republican times to eliminate the Indian traders. These laws prohibited the occupation by Indians and other non-Europeans of whole areas in townships in the mining districts. These laws were never strictly enforced, and Indians have occupied and traded in the prohibited areas and established businesses. Alarmed, as some say at the success of Mr. Sastri's labours, and fearful lest the licensing authorities should

abate their campaign against Indian traders, some European traders invoked the laws against Indian occupation, thereby eliminating the discretion of the licensing authorities to give trade licenses. The Johannesburg Municipality has had to withhold the renewal of several hundred Indian trade licenses in certain parts of the city because of a judicial decision declaring it illegal for the affected Indians to occupy and reside on those areas. It is, however, significant of the change that has come over since the advent of Mr. Sastri in South Africa that the Johannesburg Municipality has tacitly permitted the affected Indians to continue to trade and undertook not to prosecute them for trading without licenses, pending some way out of the *impasse* being discovered.

The only radical remedy for this state of affairs is the repeal of the laws against Indian ownership of land in the Transvaal. And that is impossible without creating a great upheaval in the settled convictions of the white people of the Province. In time it may be achieved. In the meanwhile Mr. Sastri was able to secure a concession. Under the law Indians may not own land even for communal purposes like temples and mosques and churches. There is a Hindu temple in Johannesburg the site of which was paid for by Hindus but which had to be registered in the name of a European! The temple came under the hammer when that European friend went bankrupt. The Indians bought it up in the auction and registered it in the name of another European. The unfortunate process got repeated. It is now registered in the name of a third European friend. The greatest blessing that the devotees now pray for is the solvency of their third European friend! The Government have now offered that, if such communal properties were unconditionally made over to the Government, they would reserve them formally in the name of the trustees for the purpose for which they were intended.

Many another grievance, hardship and discrimination still dogs the footstep of the Indian in South Africa. But the corner has been turned: the old sullen despondency has disappeared and a new hope has taken its place. The Indians realise they have to

fight long and hard before they are done with their troubles; but they fight with courage and confidence. A new start has been made, and they mean to play the game.

UNIQUE FEATURES

Unique was the episode in several respects. Mr. Gandhi and the Government of India sing in unison over Mr. Sastri's appointment to South Africa; the President of the Servants of India Society becomes a limb of the bureaucracy; his official time is wholly devoted to essentially unofficial duties, like public speeches on Indian civilisation, raising funds for the Sastri College, organising social service bodies; as a servant of the Government of India he does the work of the Government of South Africa in expounding and defending the Cape Town Agreement; and converting the people of South Africa to the policy of their own government.

On arrival in South Africa he found the Cape Town Agreement ill-understood and in Natal, repudiated. He left the country with the satisfaction that the Agreement was well-understood, widely approved and largely implemented. He laboured strenuously that the Agreement might be accepted, might be kept above party politics and that the policy underlying it might never be departed from. He roused the Indian community to acts of self-help which, while benefiting the community, struck the imagination of the Europeans and won their appreciation and regard. He created organisations for Indo-European co-operation, that surest guarantee of inter-racial understanding and inter-racial justice. He raised India in the estimation of the European population, and pushed back racial barriers. The man who a decade ago was warned off South Africa as an undesirable was received in its most exclusive homes as an honoured guest, was accorded high civic honours, and was acclaimed by its universities and churches. He wrought these achievements not with any extraneous aids but by the sheer force of his own character and personality and statesmanship. Such was Sastri in South Africa. God bless him.

WINTER DAYS IN AN OUDH VILLAGE

By MR. D. N. BONARJEE

DURING the past forty years, ever since, in fact, politics came to be seriously debated in India, the humble Indian peasant has figured prominently in the purview of the political propagandist. Advertised raucously by the official English apologist as a silent tribute to the beneficence of British rule, his exiguous raiment and scanty meals have moved Congress orators to tears; so that, what with the favours of the one and the commiseration of the other, his position is as unenviable as that of Dickens' little Rob the Grinder, in the act of imploring the old Charity Inspectress, "can't you be fond of a cove without squeedging and throttling of him?" That he is all too unconscious of himself is, perhaps, to his credit. As a pawn in the chess-board of the politicians, his potentialities for good and evil are only imperfectly realised. And therein lies the danger. History has a curious trick of repeating itself.

What kind of man then is this, on whom the fate of an empire depends? You will find the Oudh variety in any Oudh district, in much the same condition of moral and economic viscosity that obtained in the early years of the British annexation. Nothing in India changes under one hundred years, and then only a little. If tomorrow the British Government were to sing its swan-song in India, it is only a materialised Soviet bogey that would prevent a Juggernath car from crashing into Chowringhi or Hornby Road.

But to return to our peasant. He may be of any caste, for the average Oudh village is composed of high and low alike. There are Brahmins and Thakurs and Kurmis and Ahirs; quite a big handful of Julahas, who carry "tahzias" during Moharram and make merry at Holi; and last, but not least, Pasis and Chamars, the "untouchables" of the village, albeit in separate "tolahs." Pasis, when they do not recruit the provincial village police as the watchman caste, make

excellent organisers; and it was a Pasi who organised the "Eka" movement that convulsed many parts of Oudh some years back. Chamars are mostly notorious for the expiatory dinners of their "punchayets," and the rigour with which caste delinquents are punished.

It is still winter time, and the crisp morning air acts like a tonic on our blasé urban nerves. We wake to see the sun rise in a flood of shell-pink and yellow light, because it is accounted for merit in this part of India to open one's eyes to the auspicious moment with the prescribed text on one's lips: if you are not a Hindu something sage from Marcus Aurelius might be found to answer, but the village pundit will have none of it. As the day gets older, a panorama of simple scenes spreads before us. We watch a villager eat the scanty meal which his wife has spread for him under the shade of a tree. An all but naked village urchin rattles a tin can to scare away the bats from the guava grove, whereupon a pair of "sauras" fly upwards, uttering shrill cries of outraged privacy. Some men are cutting the sugarcane for pressing; others water their fields from the village well, crying "Ram" as they swing the uprising buckets over the side. Here an "arhar" field waves yellow flowers and green pods; there the tall stalks of the castor-oil plants show up against a grey-blue sky. The birds are busy amongst the plantains pecking at the ripening fruit. Everywhere women pass to draw water, or to toil in the fields like the men. Old or young, sad or happy, all cling to life with inexplicable tenacity.

Every day the villagers come to solicit "darsan," because the Indian countryside is still feudal at heart, and many will even touch our feet. There is a curious saying in Oudh, "rayiat ko payiat tau sukh payiat"—grind the cultivator if comfort is desired—which may be used to explain the mentality of a people who have clung to their great

landlords from time immemorial with a tenacity not more explicable than their proverbially blind dependence upon destiny : a "slave" mentality if you will, the outcome of a "Kaliyug" of foreign domination, of which the end is still imperfectly discernible. But there it is. In immemorial India one generation does what its predecessors did, and tradition never varies. "There is one God above," the people will say, "and below we are the father of the people, who are like the birds picking under the shadow of our wings, or the kine whom we had to feed in return for their milk." Such is Oriental sentiment.

Then will follow a recital of village affairs, how Kishori's bullock had died, and Lekhraj was encroaching upon his neighbour's land, or the "teli" was not pressing sufficient oil from the mustard seed delivered to him. The "sonar," too, he filched half the good silver that was entrusted to him to make the village ornaments ; and as for his sister, did not everybody know that she was no better than she should be ? Beni Pershad, the wily mahajan, whom we would give much to see hanged, he had bought up the entire sugarcane crop of his judgment-debtor for seven rupees which was worth twenty times as much, and the "kurk amin" conducting the sale had got twenty rupees to report to the court that no higher offer was forthcoming, and so on ; and, perhaps, the village crone will remind us, *apropos* of nothing, that on ; the previous occasion of our coming, we had distributed sweetmeats to the children, and the "nats" had come and mimicked the "patwari" to the great delight of all.

Presently the tinkle of a little bell will announce the approach of the "baba achari," a Vaishnava recluse who lived in the seclusion of a garden where tuberoses and marigolds grew in defiant confusion. He comes with his platter of twisted leaves containing a sweetmeat, the "prasad" of the god. "Convey our salutations to Thakurji, Lord of the World," we say ; and the answer comes, "wherefore commend I to him ye who art of us, withal apart." Then will follow a carefully regulated programme of ablution and worship on a small masonry platform

near the village well, which we watch with solicitous interest. A sacred tulsi plant on one side of the platform suffuses the air with aromatic scents. Bathing and anointing with punctilious precision, now the little bell rings, followed by the sonorous repetition of verses from the prescribed courses. Then some water sipped from the palm of the hand ; "Govind, Govind," the old man murmurs. Again the little bell tinkles. Some "ghi" dropped on a small wood fire crackles and blazes. The bamboo clump in the background rustles in the breeze, and a fan palm catches up the refrain, "Hari, Hari, Narayan."

In the afternoon the village watchman, who acts as orderly for the occasion, ushers in the "bhadralog" of the neighbourhood, amongst them the aged widow of a deceased village proprietor. Time was when this seemingly lucky woman had daily measured out the foodstuffs for half-a-hundred mouths. Rural India appraises the prosperity of a family by the sustenance that it affords to the number ; and here if the children were few the servants were many. Then misfortune came, the husband died, a powerful neighbour asserted a superior claim to the village, leaving the still young widow, sonless with only one daughter, to degenerate into a miserable cultivator. Out of the abundance of the lingering memories of "purdah-nashin" days, she will come veiled to request some advice for her next "rubquari," her wasted form outlining with grim clearness the story of her life.

The "bhadralog" enquire if we are well ; and our children, are they not coming to make hearts glad by their presence ? We answer that our health is a small matter compared with the pleasure it gives to see them ; and as for the children, no doubt they will come soon. In the meantime what is the condition of the crops, and has the winter rain been sufficient to ensure a good harvest ? Then there is a pause for our permission to converse further. A story is told of a Deputy Commissioner who, in the course of an enquiry into the condition of the people in a lean year, was assured that, while no doubt there was suffering elsewhere, there could be none where "Huzoor" was concerned. As

we are not Deputy Commissioners, the "katcha hal" of the countryside is reserved for us instead; how the "daroga" of Mirpur had implicated the innocents of the village in a dacoity case and released them for a consideration, and unjustly "challaned" the "lambardar" for a "badmash"; how all the carts and cartmen of Nimganj had been commandeered for the shikar party of a great "Lord Saheb" who was coming from "Bilayet"; and Bhim Singh, the notorious dacoit, was known to visit his brother twice weekly within a stone's throw of the police outpost.

In the evening, as we set out to "take the air," we pass small groups of women on their way to the village well, their metal "kalsas" and mud-baked "gharras" poised on hip and arm with a grace that has become proverbial. Convention ordains that they shall turn their backs to us; but occasionally one may stand aside as if to prefer a request. Advancing shyly, with her "chaddar" drawn closely over her head and face, she will settle herself on the ground at our feet, and touch them six or eight times, believing to achieve merit thereby. Again we shrug our shoulders, and enquire if these things should be; we, to whom "karm" is a shibboleth and faith the pabulum of fools. We may not ask the woman whose wife she is, or even her name, for this would be contrary to Oriental etiquette; so we ask instead whose mother she is, and what is it she would like us to do for her? At the well a curious scene of discrimination is enacted, whereby a lower-caste woman may not approach too near to pollute the mud-baked vessel of a better-caste woman, the metal vessel being exempt from pollution; and if we ask why, the answer will follow that it is custom. So, too, any high-caste man may eat certain sweetmeats made by the village "halwai" but not others, or take milk and "ghi" from an "untouchable" but not water. Honey is acceptable from a caste of people who eat jackals; and in the village bazaars are sweepers selling "soops" for the household use of all. Indian life is full of these curious anomalies.

A self-contained life in its way. There is the "lohar" who beats the shares for

the ploughs and the iron tyres for the carts; the "barhai" who fashions the wood work—just now he is engaged on an ambitious door, in which large brass nails will alternate with circles and squares of curious design; and the one-eyed "teli" of whom it was said that he was the harbinger of evil, he pressed the oilseeds of the villagers in return for the oilcake, in his little creaking mill worked by a diminutive bullock with a cloth tied over its eyes. Then the "kumhar" who bakes the earthen pots for the village use, and the "bhurji" who roasts the corn; the barber, the "bari" who carries the wedding invitations, and the "muraos" or "kachi" who grows the country vegetables with infinite skill and patience. If the "dhobi" was a useful non-entity, who has not heard of his wife, the village scold and *sage femme*? The "naut" who exorcised the devils from sick people, he is the village physician for the humbler folks who do not affect a "hakim" or "vaid"; and last, but not least, come the "panda" or priest and the "maulvie" to perform the village rites and ceremonies. A motley crew of more or less estimable individuals, each claiming a fixed share of the village produce, or otherwise as custom ordained.

On the other hand, combined with the simplicity of village life, are the vices inseparable from ignorance and superstition; chicanery and deceit and litigiousness, and an appalling capacity to harass one another. Incendiarism is a nightmare from which rural Oudh is never wholly free; and revenge furnishes the motive for more crimes than poverty or drink. Of passive indifference to suffering there is practically no end. A village proprietor, in whose village the writer once helped to extinguish a fire, enquired why he had done so when he stood to lose nothing. The incident is the exception that proves the rule that the late Swami Vivekananda enunciated when he upbraided his countrymen for their readiness to build hospitals for bugs while human life and welfare went by the board. Nothing, perhaps, will ever eradicate these outcrops of moral obliquity. They are like the tares that come up everywhere to sap the vitality of the cornlands of life.

The occasion is not inopportune for a consideration of the Englishman's attitude towards the Indian peasantry. What is the reason why so much of his best rent legislation, with its large admixture of contractual rights and obligations, has failed to appreciably alter their material condition? The writer once asked an old and much respected village proprietor, who had lived under the previous Nawabi rule, if he could say in what way it differed from British rule. "In these days we have security of life," he answered; "but as for property, in the old days the King's men came once a year and took all that we had whereas now the "Sirkar" comes every day and takes a little at a time." A rough estimate of difference, no doubt. But for a thoughtful observer of the passing show in India, how eminently illuminating.

How much the Indian countryside is destructive of political sophistry is not sufficiently known or recognised. The

complacent English official, who talks glibly about his divine mission in India weighing more heavily upon him than exchange compensation and leave rules, is as much to be pitied as the perfervid Congress patriot, who talks glibly about his own misrule being better than the best of alien rule. Readers of the late Sir William Hunter's "India of the Queen" are aware of his lugubrious confession that "during a whole generation, the natives had learnt to regard us as a people whose arms it was impossible to resist, and to whose mercy it was useless to appeal." Whatever cleansing the official English slate may have undergone since, much moral obliquity still persists. If the Indian peasantry of today are found heading for civil disobedience and violence, it is up to the Englishman to own that his administration of India has proved a failure. No, not Satanic. But not made in Heaven either, or anywhere near it.

INDIA AND WORLD PEACE

By MR. U. C. GOPALAN, B.A.

THOSE optimists who thought at the beginning of the Great War, that it would put an end to all wars in the future and would ensure peace, concord and amity among the various nations of the continent and of the world have come to realise that the world is getting into a more bloody war than ever it witnessed before. The treaty of Versailles is regarded by Germany as the "Vendetta of Versailles." The statesmen who assembled in the historic hall of mirrors at Versailles, continued to meet at Saw Remo, London, Paris, Genoa, Cannes, Geneva, Washington, Locarno and are going to meet at London again. What is it that makes the European statesmen to grow suspicious so often that they feel ill at ease if they do not meet and let off some of their steam?

The three great disturbing elements which keep the continental diplomats ever

awake, are Armaments, Reparations, War debts and the Freedom of smaller nations. Perhaps the most talkative is France. France is afraid of the fast reorganisation of Germany and the possibility of time bringing its own sweet revenges. Monsieur Poincaré is adamant, does not yield to Germany and insists on the occupation of Cologne and the Rhineland, whether in or out of office. M. Briand the adroit French Minister whistling for fear talks of the Utopia of the United States of Europe. Afar sits Mussolini the "Il Duce" with closed lips waiting for the favourable wind. Above all Uncle Sam the Shylock with bond in hand demands the pound of flesh. Great Britain sways the situation and hits upon fraternising Uncle Sam. The result is the Hoover-MacDonald conversations on questions of disarmament and war-debts.

The Kellogg Pact, which was hurriedly brought into, disclosed the secret treaty between England and France, not long after the Pact was signed. Thus in the whirlpool of European politics the bone is lost and the shadow hovers along, driving away the Dove of Peace to the borders of the horizon. Hence the crisis in European politics.

It is past recalling to the mind of the reader that the idea of the League of Nations, brought as a panacea for all ills by Woodrow Wilson was accepted by Lloyd George and Clemancio more out of deference for the American nation than with any real intention of making it as an instrument of establishing perpetual peace. It was to lure Uncle Sam from the close preserve in his Monroe Doctrine, into the vortex of European politics. It was a game at which two could play and soon the Harding Government finding the candle not worth the games annulled the Wilson Pact and withdrew from the League of Nations, the dream and ideal of the great American President Woodrow Wilson. Thus the Wilson Doctrine gave place to Monroe Doctrine and America who was chiefly instrumental for the success of allies stands to-day isolated from the diplomatic circles of Europe.

The withdrawal of America from European politics gave the signal for the petty wranglings and mutual jealousies among the war-ridden nations. Russia under the cloak of communism has marshalled a national militia and as Norman Angel remarks, "which can be scarcely competed by the other nations of the continent" with which she is making repercussions into Siberia and China. Detectives disclose concealed armaments in Germany and it was quite lately when a conference of Ambassadors was held at Berlin to consider the question of German armaments. France has consistently refused to be a party to the proposals for the reductions of land army and navy. Italy under the Fascist regime, has become a first-class power. The smaller nations are at sword's end to fight for trivials. The Balkans is yet the veritable volcano of world war. The near-east is fast becoming a first-rate power. England whilst constantly speaking of disarmaments has an eye

on the construction of a strong naval-basin at Singapore. Japan the only Asiatic power of some note in European politics has an unsympathetic nature who pulls down the castle soon as it is built. Besides the question of war-debts has resulted in the gladiatorial performances of Sir Philip Snowden at the Hague Conference. Thus after a decade of the Great War, the problem remains unsolved and as Lloyd George observes—"there are a million more men armed than there were before 1914." Hence an European conflict, much worse than the previous one, is inevitable and time will not be long when it might come to pass. Rightly asks H. G. Wells, "where are we going to?" "Towards Mars" answers the popular cartoonist.

Why is it Europe thinks of war whilst speaking of world peace is not so much the want of spirit as the want of the necessary atmosphere. The ultra-materialistic nature of post-war life has shut out the spiritual atmosphere which is so much wanted for "health and healing." Since the fall of the Holy Roman Empire, Europe had lost the spiritual touch and later developments were devoted only to the materialistic prosperity of the continent. With the growth of materialism competition and jealousy became the watchword of the nations. To obtain the largest possible gain the coloured nations were sought to be exploited and all possible atrocities were committed, as in Congo, China, and Kenya. The Great War has come to be viewed more as due to economic reasons than to political machinations. The menace of Europe in the near future is the economic competition among the nations.

The one Asiatic nation which has been sending out tidal waves of spirituality and philosophy into the ultra-materialistic nations of the West is now under bondage struggling to become free so that she might again ascend the position of spiritual mentor of the world. India is the mother of philosophy and spiritualism and the Buddhistic doctrine of Ahimsa is echoed in materialistic language as "disarmament." India's political weapon to gain her freedom, strange in the history of nations that had now

freedom, is again non-violent non-co-operation, the apostle of which is Mahatma Gandhi whose contribution to political philosophy is unique in many respects. A free India occupying equal place among the comity of nations is sure to exert her influence on the Western nations and expedite the disarmament and the resulting World Peace. There ought to be a change of heart among the European nations and not a change in weapons. However much the weapons could be minimised and restricted, if there was no change of heart, the crisis is bound to occur. The one country that could effect a change of heart in the warring nations of Europe is indeed India, but her political inferiority makes her position inferior in the councils of European nations. She is not able to command, that same respect and reverence, which a small state as Belgium is able to do. Thus whilst India can greatly contribute to the solving of the problem of World Peace, she is restrained from achieving her glorious purpose by the political inferiority imposed on her.

Besides it is a well-known fact that the War Love is being slowly brought from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Hence it was Rt. Hon. Hughes, the Australian Premier at the Imperial Conference of 1923 demanded the construction of a naval base at Singapore to keep the far-east far out of danger. If a Pacific peril is to come, which indeed is looming large in the horizon, the position of India will become one for anxious thought. If India becomes a strong and powerful

nation with an efficient army and navy, the Pacific peril will vanish like a dream. Thus it is imperative, for the permanence of World Peace, India should hold a strong position among the Asiatic nations, a neglect of which will indeed pinch the shoe when the Pacific peril becomes a reality.

The colour war is a thorn in the way of World Peace. Much of antagonism between East and West is due to colour hatred. Much of this will be annulled if India becomes a free nation. The racial conflict in Kenya and South Africa will cease the moment India becomes a free nation.

If the World Peace is a sincere desire, the first step to the same should be the releasing India from her present political inferiority complex. A free India will be a source of strength to the cause of World Peace. India never during the course of her chequered history advocated war. Her fight for freedom has 'non-violence' and 'peaceful and constitutional means' as watchwords. But so long as India is in bondage, so long as she is denied her rightful place among the free nations of the world, so long as she is shut out from the councils of nations, so long shall the world be rent in dissension, discord and rancour. The world will be in momentary danger of war and the World Peace the ideal and ambition of Woodrow Wilson, will be but a vision and a dream. It is for England and the world to choose between a free India and a world of wars and the resultant decadence of civilisation.

HENRY GEORGE AND "PROGRESS AND POVERTY"*

By MR. JOHN DEWEY

IT was a happy thought of Professor Brown to select and arrange passages from Henry George's immortal work that give the gist of his contribution to political economy and social philosophy, while the pages which follow show that the task has been executed with a skill equal to the idea. The fact that Henry George has an ardent group of disciples who have a practical program for reform of taxation has tended to obscure from the recognition of students of social theory that his is one of the great names among the world's social philosophers. It would require less than the fingers of the two hands to enumerate those who from Plato down rank with him. Were he a native of some European country, it is safe to assert that he would long ago have taken the place upon the roll of the world's thinkers which belongs to him, irrespective, moreover, of adherence to his practical plan. But for some reason we Americans are slow to perceive and celebrate intellectual claims in comparison with the merits of inventors, political leaders and great industrialists. In the case of the author of *Progress and Poverty* the failure has doubtless been accentuated in academic circles by the fact that Henry George thought, wrote, and worked outside of them. And in the world at large, in spite of the fact that no works on political economy have had the circulation and reading obtained by his writings, discussion of the practical merits of his plan of reform of taxation has actually tended to blur his outstanding position as a thinker. This has been the case because the enormous inertia of social habit and the force of tremendous vested interests have depreciated his intellectual claims in order to strengthen opposition to his practical measures.

I do not say these things in order to vaunt his place as a thinker in contrast with

the merits of his proposals for a change in methods of distributing the burdens of taxation. To my mind the two things go together. His clear intellectual insight into social conditions, his passionate feeling for the remediable ills from which humanity suffers, find their logical conclusion in his plan for liberating labor and capital from the shackles which now bind them. But I am especially concerned in connection with Professor Brown's clear and well-ordered summary, to point out the claims which his social theory has upon the attention of students. No man, no graduate of a higher educational institution, has a right to regard himself as an educated man in social thought unless he has some first-hand acquaintance with the theoretical contribution of this great American thinker.

This is not the time and place, nor is there need, to dwell upon the nature of this contribution. Henry George is as clear as he is eloquent. But I cannot refrain from pointing out one feature of his thought which is too often ignored: his emphasis upon ideal factors of life, upon what are sometimes called the imponderables. It is a poor version of his ideas which insists only upon the material effect of increase of population in producing the material or monetary increment in the value of land. One has only to read the third section of these extracts to note that Henry George puts even greater stress upon the fact that community life increases land value because it opens "a wider, fuller, and more varied life," so that the desire to share in the higher values which the community brings with it is a decisive factor in raising the rental value of land. And it is because the present system not only depresses the material status of the mass of the population, but especially because it renders one-sided and inequitable the people's

* Introduction to "Significant Paragraphs from *Progress and Poverty*," compiled by Professor H. G. Brown (Robert Schalkenbach Foundation Trust, 11 Park Place, New York, U.S.A.). Mr. Dewey is the most famous of American educators and philosophers. (Ed.)

share in these higher values that we find in *Progress and Poverty* the analysis of the scientist combined with the sympathies and aspirations of a great lover of mankind. There have been economists of great repute who in their pretension to be scientific have ignored the most significant elements in human nature. There have been others who

were emotionally stirred by social ills and who proposed glowing schemes of betterment, but who passed lightly over facts. It is the thorough fusion of insight into actual facts and forces, with recognition of their bearing upon what makes human life worth living, that constitutes Henry George one of the world's great social philosophers.

LORD IRWIN'S ENGLISH HOME

By THE REV. W. R. SHEPHERD, M.A.

MANY in India will be interested in the English home of the Viceroy (Lord Irwin). Last year a book was published called "The History of Kirby Underdale" (with Garrowby), with a Preface by Lord Irwin, and dedicated to his father, Viscount Halifax, who is still active though ninety-one years of age. The author is the Rev. W. R. Shepherd, who has been Rector there for thirty-three years. A distinguished ancestor was George Wood, of Monk Bretton, near Barnsley, in West Yorkshire, who purchased that Manor House in 1610. The first to become a Baronet, Sir Francis Wood, of Barnsley, was born in 1729, and created Baronet in 1784. He died in 1795, and was succeeded by his nephew, Sir Francis Lindley Wood, the second Baronet, who was born in 1771 and bought the Garrowby estate in 1804. This includes the village of Kirby Underdale, of over five thousand acres, besides Buckthorpe and other property. He was High Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1814, and died in 1846. Sir Francis Wood was succeeded in his title and estates by his eldest son, Sir Charles Lindley Wood. He was Member of Parliament for Great Grimsby, 1826—31: Wareham, 1831—32: Halifax, 1832—65: Ripon, 1865—66. He held important offices in the Liberal Ministry. He was Joint Secretary to the Treasury, 1832—34: Secretary to the Admiralty, 1835—39: Chancellor of Exchequer, 1846—52: President of the Board of Control, 1852—55: First Lord

of the Admiralty, 1855—58: Secretary of State for India, 1859—66: Lord Privy Seal, 1870—74. While Secretary of State for India he took much interest in education, and in a well-known Despatch expressed the hope that it should be extended to all. He is regarded as a most enlightened Secretary, a forerunner in the beneficial legislation which is being carried out now while his grandson is Viceroy. He was raised to the Peerage as Viscount Halifax of Mount Bretton, in the County of York, in 1866. He died in 1885. Viscount Halifax was succeeded by his eldest son, the Hon. Charles Lindley Wood, who then became the second Viscount Halifax. He was formerly a Captain in the First West Riding Yeomanry Cavalry. He was Groom of the Bedchamber to King Edward VII, when Prince of Wales, from 1862—77. He has devoted his long life to the work of the Church of England, and is greatly respected.

II

The Hon. Edward Frederick Lindley Wood (now Lord Irwin) was born in 1881 and educated at Eton, and at Christ Church, Oxford. He was elected a Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford, in 1903,—a high honour only obtained by men of marked ability. The Garrowby estate was transferred to him by his father, Viscount Halifax, in the year 1906. He was Member of Parliament for Ripon 1910—1925, Under-

Secretary for the Colonies, 1921-22, President of the Board of Education, 1922-24, Minister of Agriculture, 1924-25. He was raised to the peerage in 1925 as Baron Irwin of Kirby Underdale, in the County of York, and became Viceroy of India in 1926, being well-qualified for this responsible position. He married in 1909 Lady Dorothy Evelyn Augusta Onslow, younger daughter of the fourth Earl of Onslow. Their children are: Anne Dorothy, born 1910, Charles Ingram Courtenay, born 1912, Francis Hugh Peter Courtenay, born 1916, and Richard Frederick, born 1920. The sons are being educated at Eton, the famous school where many English noblemen have been educated. Garrowby Hall was reconstructed in 1892, in the style of an old English country house. It is one and a half miles from the village of Kirby Underdale and the ancient Parish Church. There are evidences of human habitation in the hills near the village from early times, and many "barrows" or circular mounds covering burial places. They belong to the Neolithic or New Stone Age, about eight thousand years old. Two thousand years ago came the Romans, who conquered the land and remained for four hundred years. Recently a stone was found, which had been in the Church wall, on which a Roman soldier had carved a figure of Mercury, their god of good luck. The large city of York was fifteen miles off, where many Roman remains have been found. In the seventh century the Saxons settled at Kirby Underdale. Later came the Danes, whose mark is found in the names of places where they settled. Kirby means Kirkby, the "farm by the Church." This shows that there was a church, perhaps built by Christian Saxons before the Danes came. Underdale means "Hundaldfale" the "Valley of Handalf," a Dane. Garrowby means "Gerward's farmstead," from the name of a Dane called Geirvarth. The present church of Kirby Underdale was built about the year 1150, doubtless standing on the site of an earlier building for Christian Worship. Experts arrive at the probable date on architectural grounds, comparing it with other Norman Churches in the neighbourhood. The original building was very small,

consisting of a nave and chancel, and low tower. About fifty years later, in 1200, it was enlarged by cutting arches through the side walls and adding side aisles. About 1250 the chancel was enlarged, and later the tower was made higher. Thus the building was adapted to the number and needs of worshippers. It stands in a romantic position by a little stream called the Hundle, which takes its name from Hundalf the Dane. In the Great War of 1914-18, thirty-one men (including Major Wood—now Lord Irwin), served from this Parish of three hundred people. Their names are inscribed on a brass plate in the Church. Three of them laid down their lives, and a beautiful stained glass window records their sacrifice. A stone Crucifix has been erected in the village as a War Memorial. Thus the bravery of our men is kept constantly before the minds of the inhabitants. Lord Irwin has his family pew in the Parish Church, and helps the Rector by reading the Lessons from the Bible during Divine Service. Peer and Peasant meet together for Public Worship without distinction of rank, all being equal in the sight of God. The village school is in the Parish, with the teacher's house adjoining. There the children, about forty in number, are taught on five days of the week, by a Head Teacher and an Assistant. Each day the school opens with prayers and a hymn, and with a Bible lesson of half an hour. Religion is believed to be the foundation of knowledge. Then follow lessons in other subjects. Children attend school between the ages of five and fourteen. Education is compulsory, and without fee. It is intended soon to raise the age to fifteen for leaving. The children play games after school is over, and at intervals during school hours. For older boys and men there is a Cricket Club, which has a field for practice and for matches with other Clubs. There is a Village Library, from which all can borrow books free of charge. The books come from the County Library, and are changed every three months. Thus people can always have good books on many subjects. There is a Recreation Room where all who wish can meet in the evening and play indoor games and read the newspapers.

Concerts and Whist Drives and other kinds of entertainment are held from time to time in the Schoolroom. Dances are also held. These are very popular and are well attended.

III

Women and girls are remembered in their work and recreation. Lady Irwin is much interested in Women's Institutes, which are now set up in nearly all English villages. These institutions encourage the development of industries like Glove-making, Rug and Mattress-making, Quilting, Millinery, so useful for every home. Meetings are held monthly for music, singing and games. Lectures on literary and scientific subjects are given by experts. The dramatic instinct is developed by Plays from Shakespeare and other great English dramatists. Competitions are held in a central town before some competent judge. In addition to the special work of the Women's Institutes the County Councils send Lecturers to hold classes in the villages for boys, girls, men and women, in various useful subjects, at a very small fee, the Lecturers being paid by the County Councils out of the rates. For boys and men, classes are held in Carpentry and Gardening, and for girls and women in Cookery and Dress-making. In the larger centres, in towns, the range of subjects taught is widely extended, including almost everything of a technical character as well as science and literature. Many of these are meant to enable suitable candidates to prepare for the higher education of the Universities. The district is agricultural; there are no other industries. The land is partly arable and partly pasture. Farms average a hundred acres in size. Farm servants, when not married, live in the farmhouses and are given board and lodging and a yearly wage. They are hired by the year, at the end of November, when they all get a week's holiday. Hours of work and wages are fixed by authority. They all have a half-holiday on Saturday afternoon. The necessary feeding of animals, when the men are not at work, is done by the farmer and his family. Sunday is free from labour, thus giving opportunity for Divine Worship at Church, and for rest. Years ago, few

went away from the villages, except the farmer when he took his produce to market. But now there are motor-buses passing several times a day. People can go easily by bus to the neighbouring towns for shopping and amusement. Lord Irwin's Home Farm covers a thousand acres. This is in charge of a young man who had a training in scientific farming at an Agricultural College. All the work is carried out on the best modern lines. Crops of wheat, barley and oats are grown, also root crops. Much of the land is good permanent pasture, providing hay for the horses, cattle and sheep. Yorkshire is famous for its horses and at Malton, ten miles off, there are stables for race-horses. The Yorkshire Shorthorn cattle are well known. Large flocks of sheep find pasture on the Wolds—with their steep hill sides—where ploughing is impossible. At Garrowby Home Farm, Lord Irwin has model cow-houses, lined with white tiles, where the milking cattle are kept scrupulously clean. Adjoining is a model Dairy where butter is made under ideal conditions. For some years the large City of Hull was supplied daily with milk from Garrowby, the milk being sent in locked cans by train. In these ways Lord Irwin has given a good example of farming to his tenants, under the best modern conditions. When at home he has mixed freely with all on his estate, glad to hear their opinions on details of farm work, and ready to improve their houses and farm buildings when necessary. All looked forward eagerly to the return last summer of Lord and Lady Irwin, and gave them a warm welcome. They visited every house, showing interest in the welfare of each family, sympathising with the sick and suffering, and regretting the deaths of various old and valued friends who had died since they left for India. Though the tenants fully recognise the value of Lord Irwin's services to the State in his high office of Viceroy of India, they miss his presence, and they look forward to the time when on retiring from office he will once more be resident amongst them during the greater part of the year. Lord Irwin has contributed a Preface to the History in which he recalls that his parents

always loved Garrowby, and that he remembered the delight with which as children he and his sisters used to be taken out riding down the Yorkshire dales, and then back to tea to eat delicious moor honey, followed between tea and bed-time by their father

reading a novel of Sir Walter Scott to the assembled youthful listeners. The recollections of his boyhood were very happy and were enriched by countless friendships in every part of the estate.

MOTTO—A reviewer of books is a person with views and opinions of his own about life and literature, science and art, fashion, style and fancy, which he applies ruthlessly or pleasantly, dogmatically or suggestively, ironically or plainly, as his humour prompts or his method dictates, to books written by somebody else. The two notes of the critic are sympathy and knowledge. Sympathy and knowledge must go hand in hand through the field of criticism. As neither sympathy nor knowledge can ever be complete, the perfect critic is an impossibility. It is hard for a reviewer to help being ignorant but he need never be a hypocrite. Knowledge certainly seems of the very essence of good criticism and yet judging is more than knowing. Taste, delicacy, discrimination unless the critic has some of these, he is naught. Even knowledge and sympathy must own a master. That master is sanity. Let sanity for ever sit enthroned in the critic's arm-chair. — *The Rt. Hon'ble Augustine Birrell, M.P., on "The Critical Faculty."*

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

(A) ESSAY-REVIEWS

Dr. KEITH'S SURVEY OF SANSKRIT DRAMA*

By A. B. S.

DRAMA has been defined as a criticism of life, and the question has often been asked whether it is possible for one people, however gifted and well-intentioned, to enter sufficiently, intimately into the life of another people to be able to describe their drama with any amount of accuracy. Professor Keith's remarkable attempt supplies a definite answer—in the negative. His predecessors—Professors Von Schroeder, Pischel, Hertel, Ridgeway, Lüders, Lévi and Konow dealt with Indian Drama mainly in reference to technical details: Professor Keith has sought to evaluate them. His signal failure to penetrate even the surface of Indian life makes his book not only the last but the least useful contribution on the subject. His misplaced erudition has only aggravated the psychological lapses.

The learned Professor's erudition is surprisingly stale. The book is divided into four parts: Part I, pp. 12-75; Part II, pp. 80-289; Part III, pp. 290-357; Part IV, 358-372: Origin, Development, Dramatic Theory and Practice, respectively. And each part contains the same "Charles's heads" glimpsed by Lévi thirty-two years ago, and inevitably at the same distance, waiting for the scales to fall off these classical *fata morgana* colouring the origin and growth of Sanskrit drama.

These futilities cover practically the whole of Part I, pp. 12-75. Greek and Śaka foreign influence looms large as ever. There is the inevitable conclusion—"we cannot assuredly deny the possibility of Greek influence," p. 68, followed by the equally inevitable pat on the back of the docile aborigines—"India has a strange genius for converting what it borrows and assimilating it, as it did in the case of the image of the Buddha which it fabricated from Greek models," p. 68. This anæmic fatuity neutralises a like phantasy, *viz.*, Lévi's Śaka origin of Sanskrit drama. The whole quest is an elaborate search in a dark room for a black hat which is not there. It has never struck these critical scholars that Sanskrit drama being a reflex of Indian life might have a purely native source. They seem to ignore that every human effort has universal features as well as particular traits. The spasmodic jerking of the chimpanzee's feeble legs pounding the portion of his cage, is the crude motion out of which the heavenly alchemy of evolution has created the divine movements of Pavlova: the same dance again, following the peculiar outlook on life of a particular people and country, either degenerated as in modern Europe into a series of immodest and dissolute movements by which the cupidity of the flesh is aroused, or sublimated to an

exaltation, as in Indian temples, by dedicated vestals before their God. Unable to distinguish the fundamentals of Indian life from mere surface accretions through the ages, this intrepid band of researchers has led the hunt for the bat in a perpetual procession of theories, each chasing the other to the scrap-heap. This may be the scientific method, but hardly a sure basis for founding an outlook on life upon. The native tradition of the antiquity of Sanskrit drama still holds good.

In Part II, is traced the development of Sanskrit drama from Aśvaghosa to Muraī, Rājasekhara, Bhimaṭa and Kṣeṃśvara, pp. 80-239. The Bhāsa problem still provokes a degree of discussion among scholars and Professor Keith's handling of it is interesting from more points than one. The learned Regius Professor at Edinburgh has graciously accepted the views propounded by the writer of this review in J. R. A. S., 1921, pp. 367-82. He has further paid him the compliment of passing the latter's views as his own without the tiresome formality of an acknowledgment. (Sanskrit Drama, pp. 93-94.) Dr. Thomas, the Boden Professor at Oxford had gone out of his way to acknowledge these results in J. R. A. S., 1922, pp. 79 ff. Evidently different codes of literary etiquette obtain at Oxford and at Edinburgh. For the rest, there is absolutely nothing new either in the information or in the exposition. The Professor's *ipse dixit* about the characteristics and achievement of the Sanskrit drama are unutterably.....' cute: 'The Sanskrit drama could never achieve the perfection of Greek tragedy or comedy,' p. 280. Goethe's appreciation of Kalidasa is quoted with marked disfavour, p. 280. Kalidasa himself is laid low with an audible thump, curiously reminiscent of Don Quixote on his immortal charger: 'For the deeper questions of human life Kalidasa has no message for us,' p. 281. A bull in a China-shop could conceivably be less respectable but hardly more indignant—*Roma locuta causa finita*!

Part II, Dramatic Theory, pp. 290-358, represents the modern European's matter-of-fact misunderstanding of things non-European. Professor Keith, the essentially his-

torical being, seems out of place here like a crawling fly on a water-colour drawing. "It is an essential defect of Indian theory in all its aspects that it tends to divisions which are needless and confusing," p. 329. Shade of Renan! who said that art lies in a *nuance*! Professor Keith would have none of the sinuosities of life. This antipathy to the indefiniteness of aesthetics was so far found among the uncultivated classes of civilisation. It is more profitable in an ambitious moral reformer than in a chronicler of our human drama.

It has led the Professor to miss the true significance of the Indian *Ars Amoris* which even he could not fail to perceive: "The luxury of polygamy did not suffice such a man; he is allowed to enjoy the society of courtesans, and in them, as in Athens, he finds the intellectual interests which are denied to his legitimate wives," p. 285. To the Professor, the whole arrangement is banal. And yet it is the key-note of the Sanskrit dramatist's theme of love. In matters of love, Western countries know generally only two things: vice and marriage. Both are equally bad means to erotic culture. Both encourage laxity; both devitalise. Erotic tension, which must never cease if a man is to remain at a high level as a sensuous creature, can only be developed and heightened by the kind of intercourse which makes realisation always possible theoretically and always questionable in practice, and such intercourse is offered neither by wives nor prostitutes. In India, and in the West during the period of classic antiquity, the corresponding feminine type was only to be found amongst courtesans. This eroticism signifies in reality the fulcrum of human nature. Through the Eros every string of his being can be set in motion, and the deepest reverberations have generally emanated from it. The brutality of desire is changed to a longing for beauty. The woman, of course, must know her *métier*. In Europe, after the Renaissance, the Grande Dame approached the type of the great courtesan. Only a product of Latin culture could appreciate this inwardness of the Sanskrit drama. Professor Keith, on the other hand, instead of becoming brilliant in the presence of the shades of

these women in the Sanskrit drama, has become coarse—preferring the naked canvas to the carpet.

In the absence of this erotic background, Part IV, *Dramatic Practice*, pp. 358-373, lacks all artistic and critical value. The Sanskrit dramatists use the neutral canvas as the structural web upon which imagination and taste weave pleasing patterns; Professor

Keith has left the patterns where they exist, threadbare and unreal.

Professor Keith is a versatile connoisseur. Fresh fields are not yet rare, besides the Sanskrit Drama. The latter is most obviously not his *forte*. To him, therefore, one must repeat Rabelais' request: "Tirez le rideau; la farce est jouée."

A.B.S.

A THING OF BEAUTY AND JOY*

THIS book is the third of a series of which *The Book of Kells* and *The Poems of Nizami* have already been published and reviewed in terms of appreciation in the *Hindustan Review*, and the series does great credit to the enterprise of the publishers, who by means of them make people appreciate better the art of manuscript painting, which "is very little known, for the individual works which show it at its best are mostly inaccessible to the public."

The book is a collection of thirty-six colour facsimiles of the paintings comprised in a unique manuscript of Indian fables of the greatest period of Mughal art. Many of the paintings bear the names of famous masters, both Hindu and Muhammadan, of the courts of the Emperors Akbar and Jahangir. There is a preface by Mr. Laurence Binyon, in addition to the detailed description of the fables and their illustrations by Mr. J. V. S. Wilkinson of the Oriental Manuscripts department at the British Museum. As such the book is unique.

The *Anvar-i-Suhaili*—a well-known Persian collection of tales—contains a large number of fables which have become the common property of all languages. The most popular version is the rendering into Persian by Husain Va'is Kashifi in the 15th century. This MS., from which these beautiful illustrations are given, is dated 1610

—but it must have taken a number of years to complete—and some of the paintings are certainly older still. The most remarkable feature of this MS. is that it was written and painted by the court artists of the Mughal Emperors, Akbar and Jahangir, and bear the names of Anant, Mohammad Riza, Aga Riza, Abdul Hasan, Mirza Ghulam, Durga, Hariya, Ustad Husain, Dharam Das, Rahman Quli, Mohan, Nanha, Bishan Das, Gauhar Das, Madu and others, *i.e.*, almost all the best artists of the time. The MS. was probably mounted at a later date and since some of the edges were cut, it is likely that those which have no names of the artists, were painted by either these artists or those whose names cannot be traced now. But all the paintings are of exceptional attractiveness, where, in the words of the publishers, "The exquisite delicacy of the coloring, the great variety of styles and the wide range of subjects, evidently more congenial to the artists than the better known formal portraits and court scenes of the period have full play, and it is a delight to look at these pictures of unusual interest and charm." In the words of Mr. Lawrence Binyon, "the whole book, with its singularly beautiful writing, is a very important monument of the Mughul school in one of its earliest phases. The fine characterisation in the faces and figures is remarkable, and the paintings are full of

**Anvar-i-Suhaili* (The Lights of Canopus). Described by J. V. S. Wilkinson. (The "Studio," Ltd., 44, Leicester Sq., London.) 1929.

delightful observation and exquisite detail." The book must be seen and handled to be duly appreciated. In every sense of the

term, this superb edition of the *Anwar-i-Suhaili* is beyond all doubt a thing of beauty and a joy for ever.

A CHILDREN'S DICTIONARY*

A TIMES correspondent stated some time back that Lord Eustace Percy, in opening a county school for girls said that no English boy or girl knew their own language at sixteen, much less a foreign language. That is probably true, but it should be less true than formerly, for the Waverly Book Company has just issued a remarkable and ingenious work, *The Waverly Children's Dictionary*, edited in eight volumes, by Mr. Harold Wheeler, with the aid of a highly competent staff. It is all very well to say that English boys and girls of sixteen do not know their own language. Many boys and girls of sixty do not, and small wonder, for English is probably not only the richest but the most difficult language in the world. But how are you to induce young people to learn it? The problem has been ingeniously solved now by this dictionary, for with its 100,000 words, its 5,320 pages, and 7,000 illustrations it is encyclopædic, and so much more than a dictionary in the ordinary sense of the word. It is really an encyclopædia for children, explaining largely by means of illustrations a thousand and one objects, so that even grown-ups can go over it page by page and find something interesting, and many difficult things explained which they did not know before.

INGENIOUS PICTURES

Taking, for example, a comparatively new thing like the motor car, we are told that "the engine of a motor car will not start to work so long as the sparking plug remains sparkless, because it is the sparks formed at the plug which ignite the explosive mixture of air and petrol in the cylinder."

Similarly all sort of mechanical processes, such as boys love to know, are explained and illustrated. But pictures are also used for other purposes than direct illustration, for one of the most ingenious points about the book is that they are brought in to explain words, which (if merely defined) would remain unintelligible. For example, the word "stupendous" is illustrated by a little picture of the Eiffel Tower at Paris. "Incongruous," which most people would find it rather difficult to explain to children, is vividly elucidated by a picture of a knight in armour sitting on a charger, holding up over his head an umbrella! "Surrender" is made plain by a picture of a body of Germans surrendering to the Cameron Highlanders during the Great War. "Inquisitive" introduces a charming drawing of "Becky Sharp," listening at a door and we are told that she appears "in Thackeray's novel, *Vanity Fair*." That caption will lead an inquisitive child to ask something more about "Becky" and incidentally introduce him or her to Thackeray's novels.

LEARNING MADE EASY

The *Dictionary* supplies this literary information in the last volume in a section called "Literature's Golden Story," where the wonderful heritage of great books is pleasantly introduced amid a wealth of illustrations, instead of in the usual fearsome way of the ordinary school-book. The last volume also contains lists of words arranged in relation to the subjects they describe. For example, under "Army, Navy, Air Force, and Nautical," we get four-and-twenty pages about the various aspects of these subjects.

* *The Waverly Children's Dictionary*. (Waverly Book Company, London.) 1829.

Similarly, the first volume opens with an attractive method of explaining the alphabet, grammar, and syntax, under ingenious headings such as "the hard-worked pronoun; why speaking and writing would be clumsy and awkward without it!" This is a most pleasant variant on the dull method of most school-books, which suggest the penitentiary rather than a pleasant grove of learning. It

is thus that although this entertaining work is called the *Children's Dictionary*, it appeals to people of all ages, and forms a permanent book of reference to other things than mere words. No better gift from elders to youngsters can possibly be conceived than a set of this valuable and most useful reference book.

(B) VIEWS IN REVIEWS

LATEST BOOKS OF REFERENCE

The World Almanac and Book of Facts for 1930. (Pultizer Buildings, 53—63, Park Row, New York, U. S. A.) 1929.

The World Almanac and Book of Facts—which is edited with skill and knowledge—is the American *Whitaker* and is now in the forty-fifth year of publication. It is a most important annual appanage to one of the leading American papers, the *New York World* from the office of which it is issued. It is such a book as would have delighted Mr. Thomas Gradgrind—"a man of realities, a man of facts and calculations"—depicted by Dickens in his *Hard Times*. That imaginary character—who represents the type called "eminently practical"—was of opinion that "facts alone are wanted in life," and it would have done his heart good could he but have access in his days to this comprehensive and exhaustive work of reference, which is a most marvellously well-digested compendium of facts and figures relating to the world states in general and the United States in particular. Of the many American books of reference, annually issued, it is perhaps the most notable, covering within its nearly one thousand pages accurate facts and statistical data about America, and the other political-entities of the earth. Though mainly intended for use in America, it would be found highly useful throughout the English-knowing world.

The current edition is fully abreast of the latest events and has been judiciously brought up-to-date by its editor—Mr. R. H. Lyman—whom we heartily felicitate on turning out so highly useful a reference annual. No one interested in American affairs and progress can do without it.

Contemporary British Literature.

—By J. M. Manly and Edith Rickert. (George Harrap & Co., Ltd., 39-41 Parker Street, Kingsway, W. C. 2., London.) 1929.

The revised and enlarged edition of *Contemporary British Literature* is welcome, as it is a very meritorious text-book. Part I of this new edition of a highly successful text-book and work of reference consists of an outline of the main types and schools of writing in contemporary British literature, together with brief reading lists. In Part II are given, under each author's name, brief biographical notes, a bibliography of the most important works, and a list of the best studies and reviews; and in the case of the most notable, writers, suggestions for reading are also given. The five introductory chapters outline briefly the development of contemporary fiction, drama, poetry, essays, biography, and other forms of belles-lettres. There are three new indexes and several other additional features which add to the value of the book. Altogether, the book is a capital introduction for the student.

The People's Year-Book, 1930.

(The Co-operative Wholesale Society, Ltd., Balloon Street, Manchester.) 1930.

The current, thirteenth edition of *The People's Year-Book* deserves appreciation from seekers after information about Co-operation. The volume contains an up-to-date and comprehensive survey of the Co-operative movement throughout the world, besides useful information on topics of public interest : as also the latest developments in art, science, literature, drama, motoring, aviation, kinema and photography and a mass of useful information which will interest the general reader, apart from the student. There are many tables of arresting statistics. *The People's Year-Book* thus constitutes a reference work, both in a special and a general sense, while the many excellent illustrations it contains, serve as an embellishment to the volume. Its get-up deserve special acknowledgment for format and excellent execution. Primarily intended as a national and international survey of co-operative organization and activities and for furnishing the latest statistics relating to this subject, *The People's Year-Book* contains much other useful and interesting information, and is thus an acquisition to current reference literature.

The Public Speaker's Dictionary.

By Lucy D. Bell. (George Routledge & Sons, — Ltd., Broadway House, 68-74 Carter Lane, London, E. C.) 1929.

Founded on the difficulties and enquiries of pupils during seventeen years' teaching of public speaking, Lucy Bell's *Public Speaker's Dictionary* will be found of the greatest use to speakers on all occasions, from distributing prizes, opening bazaars, and other social functions, to parliamentary speeches and debates. It contains hints on successful voice production, on interesting one's audience, on sources of material for speeches, translations of foreign phrases, and explanations of oratorical terms. Information on committee work both in parliament and elsewhere is given. The sensible person who will keep this book handy is likely to improve his or her capacity for public speaking and will turn out better work with its aid than without it.

Titles and Forms of Address—

Second Edition. (Adam and Charles Black, Ltd., Soho Square, London, W. 1.) 1929.

The first edition of *Titles and Forms of Address* was issued in 1918. The new edition is judiciously revised and is a useful guide to the correct use of all grades of titles and distinctions from Royalty downwards ; and to judge by the mistakes that are made every day in newspapers and elsewhere, the book's sphere of usefulness should be wide. This work will be found helpful to all in need of guidance in the delicate art of addressing titled people, whether formally or socially, in person or by post.

Cyclopaedia of Facts and Figures, 1930.—By Biren Roy. (Kamala Book Depot, 15 College Square, Calcutta.) 1930.

Mr. Biren Roy's *Cyclopædia of Facts and Figures*, for the current year, is a bright though brief compendium of interesting data about Indian public affairs, cheaply priced at eight annas. It is quite good for a pioneer work in its class—the miniature encyclopædia—and deserves a large circulation. The 1931 edition of it should be even better.

LATEST GUIDEBOOKS AND TOURISTS' MANUALS

The South and East African Year-Book and Guide for 1930 with Atlas.—Edited annually for The Union-Castle Mail Steamship Co., Ltd., London. By A. Samler Brown, F.R.M.S., and G. Gordon Brown, F.R.G.S. (3 Fenchurch Street, London, E.C.) 1930.

Messrs. Samler Brown and Gordon Brown's *South and East African Year-Book and Guide* is beyond all doubt one of the best works of its class and kind. This meritorious work is now in its thirty-sixth issue. Each annual edition sees many new features and improvements and the current issue contains, for the first time, a list of books issued in 1929 on the African countries dealt with. The book is in three sections: Part I deals with South Africa; Part II with East Africa; and Part III with Sports and Research. The wants of the businessman, the sportsman, the tourist, and the invalid are fully catered for.

Detailed descriptions of the towns and of the country are given, embellished with index, plans, diagrams, maps, etc. There are nearly 1,000 pages of text and a specially prepared atlas of 64 pages of maps in colour, constituting the finest atlas of South and East Africa available, which is carefully kept up-to-date. As a gazetteer for office use this work is without a rival: the index contains 2,000 place names. Imports and exports, means of transport and communication, etc., are dealt with in considerable detail, together with the rapid growth in manufacture. No conciser publication extant will be found more correct, more useful or more practical on all subjects connected with South and East Africa than is this volume, packed as it is with highly useful information about all the countries in this area. We have much pleasure in commending this valuable work of reference—which is annually overhauled, judiciously revised and kept abreast of the latest changes—to the attention of all interested in the fortunes of South and East African countries—whether for the sake of business or pleasure, to which it is an ideal guide.

The Egypt and Sudan Annual, 1929-30 and "The African World" Special Sudan Number.—("African World" Publications, 801, Salisbury House, London Wall, London, E.C. 2.) 1929.

The Egypt and Sudan Annual for 1929-30 is an exceedingly interesting volume, brimful of valuable articles from the pen of those who can speak with authority on the subjects they deal with. Descriptive and illustrated sketches of places of interest and of officials and prominent leading men, and detailed information regarding the routes to Egypt and the East, Egyptian architecture, trade and industries, pleasure resorts and hotel life,—all these, and much more of great interest, appear in this beautifully got-up publication. The publishers also brought out sometime back a special Sudan number commemorating the official opening of that magnificent embankment, the Sennar Dam. It is the result of an engineering feat of great importance which, by properly conserving and fairly distributing the waters of the Nile, is now a potent and effective instrument in advancing the

economic and agricultural progress of the Egypt and the Sudan. The special Sudan number contains a number of useful and valuable articles relating to the irrigation scheme and the economic condition of Sudan, embellished with a number of excellent illustrations. Both the publications deserve very wide appreciation and large circulation. They will be invaluable to those interested in these countries.

Eastwards.—By F. A. Hook. (Blue Peter Publishing Company, Ltd., 12, St. Mary Axe, E.C. London.) 1929.

Yet another handbook to India, in the form of a book of travel and disguised, so to say, under its vague title, *Eastwards*, which is somewhat misleading. Actually the book is descriptive of a tour through India, that vast unit of the British Commonwealth, which has been so much in the public eye of late. The travel literature of India is inadequate and intending visitors will be glad to have this new contribution by an author who has expert knowledge of his subject. We can quite imagine the love of travel being enhanced in anyone who takes up this interesting record. Mr. Hook's "superficial observations," as he jocosely calls them, are enlivened by eleven illustrations in line of typical Indian architecture from drawings by Mr. P. R. Davison. Though not a guidebook to India in the strict sense of the term, Mr. Hook's excellent book is a useful addition to tourists' literature relating to India.

Baedeker's Northern Italy.—(Karl Baedeker, Publisher, Leipzig, Germany.) 1930.

Muirhead's England.—(Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London, W.C. 2.) 1930.

The revised edition of post-war Baedekers is gradually being completed. Here we have *Northern Italy*, including Florence. There is no need to point out the excellence of these guide-books. They maintain their pre-eminence, because of their thoroughness, systematicness and reliability. This one contains forty-five maps and fifty-nine plans. There are notes on road-routes for the use of motorists. It is an indispensable book for travellers in Northern Italy.

The third edition of Mr. Muirhead's *England* is welcomed. It covers the whole of England, but not Wales. The railway routes are used throughout, but they are supplemented by road-routes, and also routes for walkers. The maps and plans are numerous and excellent. A great mass of information is contained within it, and the visitor from abroad will find it indispensable. It is fully up-to-date.

Edinburgh.—(The Corporation, Edinburgh.) 1929.

The Edinburgh Corporation has done an excellent piece of work in issuing this well-produced guide to their ancient city. The book presents several novel features, the story of the city being told in its various historical, architectural, literary, artistic and other aspects by a number of special contributors, each of whom writes with authority upon his own subject. Thus, the book is far more than a mere "guide": it is a genuine and valuable contribution to one's knowledge of a city unusually rich in historical and romantic associations, and it should prove welcome to the passing tourist. Containing four plates in colour by Edinburgh artists, a number of half-tone illustrations, and a map on the useful scale of $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches to the mile, it is wonderful value for a sixpence.

Beautiful Bangalore.—By Glen Hicken. (Good Shepherd, Convent Press, Bangalore.) 1929.

Bangalore—of all the Indian hill stations—certainly deserved a guide-book and the want is now supplied by the excellent work under notice, which fully describes all that may be seen and enjoyed in that very healthy, civil and military station of the State of Mysore. *Beautiful Bangalore* offers a wealth of detail and affords ample guidance for the would-be settler or visitor. There are chapters on hotels and boarding houses, cost of living, education, amusements, fruit and vegetable cultivation, and industries. There is a sketch map, and a few views of a fruit farm. Altogether it is a highly useful guide to Bangalore.

Tourist's Guide to Mysore.—By T. K. Subba Rao. (Publicity Officer, Mysore, Bangalore.)

Judged from the point of view of natural scenery or grand architectural monuments, Mysore should justly be regarded as the tourist's paradise, and we are glad to find that an adequate guidebook to the State is at last rendered available through the enterprise of Mr. T. K. Subba Rao. His *Tourist's Guide to Mysore* is an excellent descriptive sketch, of the scenic and architectural attractions of that State. By using it, the tourists in Mysore will enjoy the glories of Nature at the magnificent Falls of Gersoppa and of Sivasamudram, or find it worth-while to visit Sringeri and Sravanbelgola. Students of Hindu antiquities will find much to interest them in the temples at Belur and at Halebid and those of Indian history in places where Haidar and Tipu lived. Then there are evidences of Mysore's industrial progress—the Bhadravati Iron Works, the sandalwood Factory and the Hydro-electric works. Mr. Subba Rao's well-illustrated *Guide* tells the visitor everything worth knowing about Mysore, including its history, administration and places worth visiting, and the traveller in that State will find the book invaluable both for purposes of study and reference.

RECENT BOOKS ON INDIAN ECONOMICS

Provincial Finance in India and A History of Indian Taxation.—By Dr. Pramathanath Banerjee. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London, and 294 Bowbazar Street, Calcutta.) 1929.

Dr. Pramathanath Banerjee—Minto Professor of Economics in the Calcutta University—has already placed to his credit some excellent text-books on Indian Economics. To them he has now added two more—*Provincial Finance in India* and *A History of Indian Taxation*—which are even more valuable than his previous works. In the first of these two books, Dr. Banerjee traces the history of finance in India, from the early days of the East India Company to the Montford Reforms and after. It is rightly pointed out that in the beginning the Presidencies were separate, independent units, both politically and financially and that even for considerable time after they had been placed in subordination to Governor-General, they

continued to enjoy the most complete financial autonomy, raising and administering their own revenues, and contributing what was necessary for the finance of the Central Government. This system was too haphazard to work well, and it was found that the wealthy province of Bengal had to contribute so heavily to the cost of the Central Government, that the Bengal Government itself was impoverished. With the stabilisation of the Central Government and the centralisation of political authority, finance also became, as a natural process, centralised until the entire financial control fell into the hands of Central Government, a system that had become fixed by the time the Crown took over the government from the East India Company in 1858.

Even at that early stage, the need for decentralisation had become apparent, and it is interesting to note that as early as this Mr. John Bright recommended wholesale political decentralisation as well as financial, the Indian Central Government to be abolished, and the provincial governments to be controlled by the Secretary of State. Though this scheme was too radical to have any chance of being adopted, the need for decentralisation in finance was felt both by the Government here and in England, and much of Dr. Banerjee's book is devoted to dealing with the various schemes that have been put forward and in fact adopted, none of them in his opinion with anything like success, for financial decentralisation. In the concluding chapter, Dr. Banerjee suggests a solution of the problem on federal lines, by which while the Provincial Governments will be given the fullest control of their finances, the Central Government not being starved. Dr. Banerjee appeals for a thorough re-examination of the financial position of the provinces, and a redistribution of sources of revenue, not in accordance with any preconceived superstition that some taxes are by nature local and provincial and others equally naturally not. The guiding principle must be the need of the Provincial Governments. Other matters can then be left to adjust themselves. It is impossible to give in the scope of a brief review, to give a detailed account of Dr. Banerjee's solution

of the problem; but we unhesitatingly declare that the book is a most valuable contribution to the decision of the financial problem of this country, and its appearance at the present time is singularly opportune, as it is bound to be helpful in the solution of the problem of federal finance for India.

Dr. Banerjee's second book—*History of Indian Taxation*—is a scholarly treatise. It is sound, accurate and informing. But it does not, to our mind, stand on the same footing as his *Provincial Finance in India*. That the *History* is the result of much labour and research goes without saying, but the treatment of the subject is justly open to the criticism that while it provides a fairly detailed historical sketch of each of the main items of taxation, "the result is rather fragmentary, as each item of taxation is treated separately and in isolation from the rest, so that it is hard from this book to get an idea of Indian taxation as a whole; and this rather faulty arrangement is made worse by the absence of an index." The absence of an index to a book of information is, indeed, to be regretted and we hope it will be supplied when a second edition is called for. Another criticism which has been levelled at this book is that the author "resolutely refuses to be drawn into any of the current controversies on these subjects although it is certainly better for serious students to study facts and draw their own conclusions from them, rather than to study other people's theories: but still, most readers like to take their pills of information coated with more jam than our author considers necessary; if only Dr. Banerjee would embark boldly on some startling controversy, and stand forth as a violent denouncer of someone or somebody;—then he would be so much more exciting. But no; he believes that the historian should give facts only, and he gives them in great (and perhaps rather ill-digested) abundance." We fear, here the critic overshoots the mark, for clearly Dr. Banerjee is a historian and not a controversialist or propagandist. For obvious reasons, the value of his work would have been affected, had it been written from the standpoint of a controversialist rather than a historian. Besides minor

taxes, Dr. Banerjee deals with the history of license taxes, income tax, customs, salt, opium, land revenue, and excise, and supplies the soundest information about the origin and expansion of each of them. The only work of its kind, it is comprehensive and highly informative, and merits appreciation.

Labour and Housing in India.—By Dr. Raj Bahadur Gupta. (Longmans Green & Co., Ltd., 6 Old Court House Street, Calcutta.) 1930.

Dr. Raj Bahadur Gupta—Lecturer in Economics and Sociology in the Lucknow University—has written an excellent book on an important subject. His *Labour and Housing in India*—though not absolutely the first book of its kind—is one of the few notable works dealing with Indian conditions and it, therefore, deserves a welcome. The book is a detailed survey, gained from actual experience of the problem of the housing of the workers in this country, as a result of industrialization. The sociological issues involved in the consideration of the problem, and the effects of congestion—due to bad housing—on the social, economic and moral life of the workers, have all been ably passed in review by the author. Dealing as it does with one of the momentous labour problems, Dr. Gupta's book is of absorbing interest to all students of economic and industrial conditions in India. As the first "exhaustive and systematic treatise on the subject" it deals with—to quote the words of Dr. Radha Kamal Mukerjee, who introduces it to the reader we extend to it a cordial welcome and commend it to students of Indian labour problems, with a most important aspect of which it is concerned. It is well got-up and is equipped with an excellent index.

Elements of Economics.—By S. B. Sen-Gupta. (The Student's Own Agency, Anarkali, Lahore.) 1930.

To the many student's text-books on Indian Economics, Principal Sen-Gupta (of Khalsa College, Lyallpur) has added one more in his *Elements of Economics*. The exposition is sound and lucid, the scope comprehensive and the arrangement systematic. Altogether, it is an excellent Introduction.

NEWEST WORKS IN LEGAL LITERATURE

The Company of Cain.—By "Al. Carthill." (William Blackwood & Sons, Ltd., 37 Paternoster Row, London, E.C.) 1929.

Our good friend, "Al. Carthill" is the author of *The Lost Dominion*. Like that book, his present one—*The Company of Cain*—deals also with India, but not with politics. It confines itself to criminology and the administration of criminal law and justice. It is not a work to set the Ganges on fire, yet in it the author gives us a fascinating account of his experience as an Indian judge. It is much more than a mere chronicle of murder trials, for the author has in every instance sought to reveal the mentality and the social causes underlying the crime so as to explain the East to the West. In effect the book presents a survey of many aspects of Indian life, and touches on many problems of immediate importance. The work arrests attention by its literary quality and by the value of its contribution to Indian social history. It entirely fulfils its author's intention "to help the Englishman who may read these pages to a better understanding of his fellow-citizen, and to record for the benefit of posterity the experiences of a humble member of a great company banded together on a splendid but futile adventure." At the same time, it will materially add to the stock of knowledge of the Indian police officer and the members of the magistracy and the judiciary in this country.

The Use of Judicial Precedents.—By P. Ramanatha Aiyar and N. S. Ranganatha. Aiyar (Madras Law Journal Press, Mylapore, Madras.) 1930.

At last, at long last, the Indian Bar—as also the magistracy and judiciary—have had their want supplied in the way of a sound text-book of study in case-law—"the lawless science of law, the codeless myriad of precedent, the wilderness of single instances." In spite of much legislation in British India, on almost all conceivable subjects, judicial precedents must of necessity continue to play an important part in the expansion and development of our Anglo-Indian law. Nor is it surprising, for in all

countries permeated with the spirit of the English system of law, judge-made Law is a very important factor in the growth of jurisprudence and the right interpretation of statutory law. For these reasons we extend a cordial welcome to Messrs. Aiyar's sound, systematic and comprehensive work, called *The Use of Judicial Precedents*, which deals lucidly with all aspects of the subject, and commend it to legal practitioners and judges as a most useful and highly meritorious treatise, which they will find indispensable.

The Law of Crimes. Twelfth Edition. and **The Criminal Procedure Code.**—By Ratanlal Ranchhoddas and Dhirajlal Keshavlal Thakori. (Bombay Law Reporter Office, 217 Charni Road, Bombay.) 1930.

To praise the twelfth edition of *The Law of Crimes* would be to attempt to gild refined gold or to paint the lily. So we shall content ourselves with saying that it is out-and-out the best treatise on the substantive criminal law of India, and by far and away the most comprehensive, up-to-date and elucidative commentary on the Penal Code. The other work (by the same authors) is a lucid and well-arranged commentary on the adjective criminal law, and the two books thus complete each other. Enriched with a copious index, it is specially written for students of law, but will serve as a useful hand-book to practitioners as well, as it contains all leading and up-to-date cases and gives the text which embodies every amendment. It will thus be useful both to students and lawyers. The Introduction, which is a unique feature of this book, contains an analytical and lucid synopsis of the whole Code. Its utility to students of law cannot, therefore, be gainsaid, while it will be equally welcome to lawyers.

The Transfer of Property Act.—By Ratan Lal. (Butterworth & Co., Ltd., 6 Hastings Street, Calcutta.) 1930.

Mr. Ratan Lal's commentary on the *Transfer of Property Act* is not only the latest, but (in a sense) the best. It is fully abreast of all the amendments made, is thoroughly explanatory, intelligently elucidative and gives in a short compass the results

of much research, both in case-law and standard English and American legal literature on the subject. It is bound to prove of very great service and utility alike to the Bench and the Bar.

The Reign of Law.—By Kathleen E. Innes, B.A. (The Hogarth Press, 52 Tavistock Square, London, W. C. 1.) 1929.

The Reign of Law is a short and simple introduction to the work of the Permanent Court of International Justice, at the Hague in Holland, and is intended for those who have not time for a more detailed study. Lucidly written, the book will be quite helpful to the general reader. It deals with the forerunners of the Permanent Court, the Hague Conferences, the institution of the Court, its working, the nature and value of its work and its future prospects. The information conveyed, in a small compass, is accurate and instructive and the book is highly useful.

Forty Years at the Bar.—By Edward Abinger. (Hutchinson & Co., Ltd., 34—6 Paternoster Row, London, E. C. 4.) 1930.

Mr. Edward Abinger was by profession a lawyer of the higher branch, by race a Jew and by nationality an Englishman. His memoirs and reminiscences, lately issued under the title of *Forty Years at the Bar*, are highly interesting, being full of racy anecdotes, and of references to many of the sensational trials since he was called to the Bar. The book should appeal to a large circle of readers both in England and India. The value of the letterpress is substantially enhanced by its being embellished with numerous excellent illustrations of Judges and Lawyers.

Law of Court Fees and Suits Valuation.—By S. N. Roy. Second Edition—(N. M. Ray-Chowdhury & Co., 11 College Square, Calcutta.) 1930.

The Yearly Digest, 1929.—(Madras Law Journal Office, Mylapore, Madras.) 1930.

We welcome the second edition revised and enlarged—of Mr. S. N. Roy's commentaries on *The Court Fees and Suits Valuation Acts*, as it is at present the best on the

subject—far superior to its competitors. . . . *The Yearly Digest* is admittedly the best of its kind—systematic, well-arranged and comprehensive.

The English Courts of Law.—By Dr. Blake Odgers. (Sweet and Maxwell, Ltd., 2 and 3 Chancery Lane, London.) 1929.

The publishers have rendered a public service by issuing in a handy form *The English Courts of Law*, extracted from the third edition of Dr. Blake Odgers' authoritative work, *Common Law*. The booklet is an excellent guide to the constitution, jurisdiction and procedure of the English Courts.

LATEST BOOKS ON SCIENCE

A History of Science.—By W. C. D. Dampier-Whetham, M.A., F.R.S. (Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, London.) 1929.

Mr. Dampier-Whetham's *History of Science* is a sound and comprehensive sketch of the subject it deals with. As the author rightly remarks in the preface to his excellent book, the vast and imposing structure of modern science is perhaps the greatest triumph of the human mind. But the story of its origin, its development and its achievements is one of the least known parts of history, and has hardly yet found its way into general literature. Historians treat of war, of politics, of economics; but of the growth of those activities which have revealed the individual atom and opened to our vision the depths of space, which have given us means of advancing our material welfare to a level beyond the dreams of former ages, they tell us nothing. Men of science, most of whom used naively to assume that they were dealing with ultimate reality, are coming to see more clearly the true nature of their work. The methods of science are primarily analytic, and lead, as far as may be, to the explanation of phenomena in mathematical form and in terms of physical concepts. But the fundamental concepts of physical science, it is now understood, are abstractions, framed by our minds to give apparent order and simplicity amid a complex chaos of phenomena. The approach to reality through science, therefore, gives only aspects of reality

—pictures drawn on simplified lines, but not reality itself. He who studies the deeper meaning of science in general and its bearing on other realms of thought, must understand something of how it has come to be. It would seem, therefore, that the time has come for another attempt to tell the general story of science along the lines on which nearly a hundred years ago Whewell wrote his history of the Inductive Sciences; to present, not a detailed study of any one period, but a complete outline of the development of scientific thought. The author believes that such a history of science has much to teach both about its inner meaning and its bearing on philosophy and on religion. It is with such an object that he has written his work which is a remarkably instructive survey of Science from the earliest times till the present time. It should appeal not only to scientists but to all men of culture.

Growth and Tropic Movements of Plants.—By Sir J. C. Bose. (Longmans, Green & Co., 6 Old Court House Street, Calcutta) 1929.

In his *Growth and Tropic Movements of Plants*, the most distinguished Indian scientist makes another valuable contribution to the study of the subject, to the elucidation of which he has dedicated his life. His latest book is the volume foreshadowed by the author in his *Motor Mechanism of Plants* published in 1928, and completes his treatment of the subject. He describes his experiments upon the rate of growth as affected by stimulation and by variations in the external conditions; and upon the curvatures of both growing and pulvinated organs in response to light, gravity, and other forms of stimulus. The main object of the book, however, is not description, but explanation. The records, taken automatically by instruments of high sensitiveness and accuracy, provide data by means of which it is possible to analyse the results obtained so as to arrive at a real understanding of them. The knowledge acquired as to the effects of direct and of indirect stimulation, for example, goes far to explain the mechanism of tropic curvature. The similarity in the details of the responses of both growing and pulvi-

nated organs to stimulation of every kind, justifies the general conclusion that they are all manifestations of one and the same fundamental protoplasmic irritability. But, apart from these, the mechanism of the twining of climbing stems receives full consideration. It is shown to be dependent upon the torsional growth of the twisting stem which, it is argued, is autonomous, the result of the differential growth of opposed sides of the anisotropic organ. Yet another feature of special interest is a discovery, based upon careful study of the automatic records, relating to the pulvinus of mimosa, the sensitive plant. It is, that the motility of the organ shows gradation, and is at its maximum in a certain part of the tissue of the lower half. For its lucid exposition of a subject of great importance, this book would be welcomed by scientists throughout the world.

Sex and the Love-Life.—By W. J. Fielding. (The Richards Press, Ltd., London.) 1930.

Mr. Fielding's book is a straightforward and scientifically sound exposition of the sexual question written in a popular style. Practically every phase of the subject, in which the average person is interested, is covered in his *Sex and Love-Life* and much important information is included that cannot be found in any contemporary book written for the ordinary reader. Various important but little discussed questions relating to sexual phenomena are dealt with in it candidly. The author's statements are accurate and reveal wide and sound knowledge; he has disregarded all the old popular fallacies regarding various phases of the subject. The book which treats the subject frankly, is clear, clean and practical and has a constructive purpose. It is accurate, and above all complete. The delicate subject is handled frankly, and yet the author never offends against good taste.

The Nature of Life. (Juta & Co., Ltd., Cape Town, Cape Colony, South Africa.) 1929.

The Nature of Life is a record of a discussion before the British Association, held at Cape Town last July, in which eminent

scientists took part. The subjects cover a wide range in science and the booklet is a very valuable record which presents the results of latest scientific developments.

COLLECTIONS, SELECTIONS, REPRINTS AND TRANSLATIONS

Who Was?—By Gabrielle and Kenneth Chesterton. (George Newnes, Ltd., 8-11 Southampton Street, Strand, London, W. C.1.) 1930.

Prophets and Patriots.—By N. C. Banerjee (Arya Publishing House, College Street Market, Calcutta.) 1930.

The Complete Stalky & Co.—By Rudyard Kipling Macmillan and Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London.) 1930.

Who Was?—is a gallery of immortal characters of fiction, history and the drama. Each little sketch offers not only the central facts in each biography, but also something of the spiritual atmosphere and significance of each of them. It is an excellent collection of much interest and great utility to students of literature.....Professor N. C. Banerjee's *Prophets and Patriots* is a collection of a dozen brilliant studies of eminent Indians and foreigners like Tilak, Gandhi, Sun Yat Sen, Chittaranjan Das, Lenin, Wilson, Tagore, Asutosh Mookherji, Montagu and Andrews. Coming as it does from the pen of one of the well-known exponents of the Indian national movement, it will prove an intellectual treat to all admirers of some of the great men of the modern world, in general, and India in particular.....The famous story of Kipling's school-days has recently appeared in a new form with additional relevant stories brought together in one handsome volume. *The Complete Stalky & Co.* contains all the Stalky stories. It is a companion volume to *The Two Jungle Books*, and includes an entirely new story "The Satisfaction of a Gentleman"—and four stories assembled from other works, besides four poems associated with the stories on their first appearance. With its new illustrations by L. Raven Hill, it is attractively got up. It should appeal to all lovers of Kipling.

Progress and Poverty.—By Henry George. Fiftieth Anniversary Edition. (Robert Schaklenbach Foundation Trust, Park Place, New York, U. S. A.) 1929.

The Open Conspiracy.—By H. G. Wells. (Hogarth Press, 52 Tavistock Square, London, W. C. 1.) 1930.

The late Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* is one of the most famous books in Economics and we extend a cordial welcome to its fiftieth anniversary edition. *Progress and Poverty* is an instructive inquiry into the cause of industrial depressions and of increase of want with increase of wealth and the remedy. The fiftieth anniversary edition is printed from new plates, with a Foreword (by Charles O'Connor Hennessy, President of the Foundation), and reprints of the Introduction to the twenty-fifth anniversary edition by Henry George, Jr., telling "How the Book Came to be Written," and of the author's own preface to the fourth edition, summarizing his argument, with a frontispiece portrait of Henry George by Harry Thurston. Of the many books on Economics issued from America, perhaps none has revolutionized human thoughts and ideals to the same extent as *Progress and Poverty*, and the present standard edition of this great book deserves wide appreciation throughout the English-speaking world. The new edition of Mr. H. G. Well's *Open Conspiracy* is a new version of a well-known book which was first published in 1928. He was then so dissatisfied with it that he arranged for its publication on agreements that would terminate in eighteen months or two years, so that he could be quite free to close it down, rewrite it or revise it. The book is a summary of that synthetic effort on the part of Mr. Wells which finds its ampler expression in the *Outline of History*, the *Science of Life*, and the project of the *Science of Work and Wealth (Conquest of Power)* now in hand. It attempts to draw together into one rational self-conscious scheme, based on biology, history, and psychology, the still unorganized creative and progressive movements of our time. It is a highly suggestive and thought-provoking book and merits careful study.

Lucretius.—Translated by Thomas Jackson (Basil Blackwell, Oxford.) 1929.

Iphigenia in Aulis.—Translated by F. M. Stawell. (G. Bell & Sons, Ltd., York House, Portugal Street, London, W. C. 2.) 1929.

On the Nature of Things by Lucretius is admittedly one of the greatest poems of the world—"the tense, defiant, concentrated, scornful, fervid, daring and majestic verse is unique and his own," as was justly said by Lord Morley. Mr. Thomas Jackson's translation in excellent rhythmical prose is exceedingly well rendered. . . . Professor Gilbert Murray commends the rendering into verse of Euripides's *Inipheginia in Aulis* by Mr. Stawell as "the work of a fine scholar." It is not surprising that it is a masterly translation.

Select Documents for Queen Anne's Reign.—By G. M. Trevelyan. (Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, London, E.C.) 1929.

In his *Select Documents for Queen Anne's Reign*, Professor Trevelyan—Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge—has made accessible a number of documents which are essential for the study of Queen Anne's reign down to 1707, including some hitherto unpublished, from the British Museum MSS. Of these, perhaps the most important is the treaty of union between England and Scotland. This collection of select documents will be very useful to students of constitutional history of Great Britain.

Modern Religious Movements in India.—By (the late) J. N. Farquhar. (Macmillan & Co., St. Martin's Street, London.) 1929.

The Indian Amateur Poultry Book.—By "Landolicus." Second edition. (W. Newman & Co., Ltd., Calcutta.) 1930.

The late Dr. Farquhar's *Modern Religious Movements in India* is a standard work on the subject it deals with, and we welcome the present reprint. It was, however, first issued in 1914, and it would have, therefore, been better, if the publishers had secured the services of some competent editor to revise it and bring it up to date. As it is, there are

some inaccurate statements, which should be corrected in the next edition. . . . For its second edition the *Indian Amateur Poultry Book* has been judiciously overhauled and brought fully up-to-date. Those who are interested in poultry-keeping, either as a hobby or as a source of profit, will find this little book extremely useful as it gives in simple language the necessary information about poultry-keeping in India.

ON THE EDITOR'S TABLE : MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE

Mr. Robert Ripley's *Believe It or Not* (Stanley Paul & Co., Ltd., 34—36 Paternoster Row, London, E. C. 4) makes highly interesting reading. It is a collection of wonders, miracles, freaks, monstrosities, and almost impossibilities, illustrated, and proved by Mr. Ripley, the amazing traveller who had traversed sixty-four countries in search of the almost unbelievable material now incorporated within the covers of this book. He can prove every statement he makes. Here he tells incredible stories of trees that eat men, snakes that fly, and introduces us to a woman who has 63 husbands, a wholesale father who is the proud possessor of 548 sons and 340 daughters, and many other similar oddities. Thus it is combined Cooks' tour, circus and encyclopædia, all in one. The book is crammed with far-flung wonders, teeming with incredible but provable phenomena, and will undoubtedly amaze everyone with its contents.

The Work of Medical Women in India by Margaret Balfour and Ruth Young (Oxford University Press, Bombay) is a useful and informative work on a subject of great importance. The authors of this book have been engaged in medical and preventive work for many years, and have had the opportunity of closely observing the facts and conditions they describe, not in one part only, but in all provinces of India. They not only tell the story of what medical women have done, but they present a picture of the lives of Indian women, of the customs which hamper India's health and development, and of the public action which is needed to bring about a better state of things. At present when the future

government of India is being so freely discussed, this book points a timely finger towards a side which is too often forgotten—the welfare and the progress of the inarticulate millions of India's women, and it merits very careful consideration at the hands alike of the Government and the reformers.

Mr. E. F. Benson needs no introduction to the reading public. His work is famous. After a lapse of years, during which his previous book of queer tales, *Visible and Invisible*, has run through many editions, he again relates to us a series of ghostly happenings, that grip with uncanny intensity, called *Spook Stories*. Writers whose sense of realism can pass beyond the confines of the normal are rare, but Mr. Benson's imagination is fully equal to the task. Ghosts, 'be they alive or be they dead,' beneath this author's pen, live. The book is published by Messrs. Hutchinson Co., Ltd., of 34—6 Paternoster Row, London. It should find a large circulation.

Mr. J. A. Fort's *A Time Scheme for Shakespeare's Sonnets* (The Mitre Press, Mitre Chambers, Mitre Street, London, E. C.) is an interesting contribution to the study of the sonnets of the great dramatist. Mr. J. A. Fort has made a very careful study of Shakespeare's sonnets since 1924, when he published *The Two Dates Sonnets of Shakespeare*, and has contributed articles on this subject to the leading reviews. He holds the view that the first 126 sonnets were addressed to the third Earl of Southampton, and were printed in 1609 in their true chronological order. His views deserve careful consideration as those of a diligent student of Shakespeare's sonnets.

The Association Press (5 Russell Street, Calcutta) have lately issued three excellent books—the second edition, judiciously revised, of Mr. Edward Thompson's instructive study; *Rabindranath Tagore: His Life and Work*; Mr. J. S. M. Hooper's *Hymns of the Alvars* with a general Introduction and excellent translations into English, accompanied with notes; and Mr. A. J. Appasamy's *Temple Bells*, being readings from Hindu religious literature, well rendered into English and attractively illustrated. The vernacular literatures tapped are Hindi, Bengali, Marathi and Tamil,

In the second edition, when called for, the range might be usefully extended to cover other Indian vernacular literatures as well. The first two books belong to the "Heritage of India" series, which we appreciatively reviewed and characterized some years back.

The Blood-Guiltiness of Christendom by Sir William Cooper (Order of Golden Age, 153-5 Brompton Road, London, S.W.3) would be profitable reading, as it reveals the penalties that follow physical transgression. It is a startling indictment of the needless, systematic, and wholesale massacre taking place daily in Christian countries; and a clear presentation of facts concerning the physical and moral results accruing therefrom. The connection between flesh-eating and the prevalence of cancer is explained and demonstrated.

Mr. Harold Herd's *The Newspaper of Tomorrow* (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., Museum Street, London) is a useful supplement to his *Making of Modern Journalism*. The author believes that the newspaper will steadily gain in quality, and that it will play a growing part in national life. His prophecies, about the changes in social conditions and the new types of newspaper and magazine that are likely to be evolved, make fascinating reading. Mr. Herd writes interestingly on New Journalistic Trends; Coming Changes; Newspapers in the Age of Leisure; World Newspapers; Some Possible Rivals; The Real Influence of the Press and various connected matters. The book should be carefully studied by all interested in the expansion and development of the press.

The Cayme Press, Ltd. (210 Soho Square, London) have embarked on an excellent series of light literature, which includes Mr. Charles Duff's *Handbook on Hanging*, Mr. C. G. L. Du Cann's *The Young Person's Complete Guide to Crime* and Mr. William Murrell's *The Toady's Handbook*. The books are neatly produced and artistically adorned, and are remarkable as pieces of sustained irony, well calculated to deceive quite a lot of people. For instance, Mr. Duff's method is to extol hanging as a fine art and present hangmen as noble fellows. He writes seriously, solemnly, and with the enthusiasm of the connoisseur—and he produces the effect he desires; for there arises in us feelings of nausea and repulsion. It is usefully supplemented, on the same lines, by *The Complete Guide to Crime*.

We are grateful to the Japanese Consul-General, at Calcutta, for an excellent, illustrated annual called *Present-Day Japan*. It is the English supplement to Japan's premier newspaper—the *Asahi*. It contains a large number of illustrations and articles dealing with the commercial and manufacturing activities of Japan, its social, political and economic movements, its art, music, literature, sports and recreation. Thus it supplies a vivid picture of the manifold national activities of Japan and will be found of great interest by those who desire to know something of the great and gifted people whose remarkable rise and progress has been the source of inspiration to other eastern peoples and, particularly, to us, Indians.

THE MONTH : FROM THE EDITOR'S ARM-CHAIR

THE topic of the day in India has been the launching by Mr. Gandhi, of the civil disobedience movement, with the transmission of a letter to the Viceroy, through the medium (curiously) of a young Briton!

Mr. Gandhi's letter to the Viceroy.

The letter—though it obtained but a curt acknowledgment from the Viceroy's Private Secretary—has naturally attracted considerable attention in the press and amongst the public. It is—from Mr. Gandhi's point of view—a most damaging exposure and scathing condemnation of British rule in this country. As we shall presently show on high authority, Mr. Gandhi's statement is at best one-sided—the opening of the case by a public prosecutor and not a judicial summing-up by a judge. Nevertheless Government will do well (in their own interest) to keep in view the comments on Mr. Gandhi's letter of such well-known Indian dailies as the *Leader* of Allahabad and *Justice* of Madras. The *Leader*, which is edited by a Liberal leader of eminence, referring to Mr. Gandhi's "central theme" of "the appalling poverty of the Indian masses," observes: "The fact that profound dissatisfaction with British rule exists in the country and that it is traceable mainly to economic causes, can hardly be denied by any impartial student of Indian political problems. The leaders of this politico-economic movement of thought represent not a handful of disaffected individuals, but a large section of opinion, and those who belittle their importance are merely deceiving themselves and others and obscuring the truth." *Justice*, the organ of the non-Brahmin party in Madras (which concludes that Mr. Gandhi is more fit for a lunatic asylum than a jail) writes: "Regarding the expression of grievances of Indians under British rule in Mr. Gandhi's letter, it must be said that there will be many in this country who will echo Mr. Gandhi's sentiments, though not in the exaggerated form in which they have been put. Especially Britain's economic policy towards India has been such that it has

generally given the impression that it was not so much the needs and requirements of India that were consulted as the conveniences and comforts of Britain." These are serious charges, in all conscience, against British administration, which it would do well to ponder over. At the same time it must be added that Mr. Gandhi's extremely one-sided and unjudicial pronouncement has not appealed to thoughtful Indians, and Mr. Natarajan has given expression to their view both in the *Indian Social Reformer*, which he edits, and also in the *Indian Daily Mail*, which he was editing when the letter was issued. He wrote of the letter in the former journal: "The writer, not finding sufficient impetus in a reasoned statement of his views, makes use of strong words which serve no purpose except that of lashing himself into a fury of indignation, which enables him to escape from practical issues involved in his letter.....We cannot accept his definition of British rule as a 'curse.' To describe (it) as a 'curse' is an unwonted lapse into the rhetoric of invective for Mahatma Gandhi." The latter having returned to the charge in his *Young India*, and declared that "British contact may be a godsend, British rule may be a curse," Mr. Natarajan defended his position ably in the *Indian Daily Mail* and, in reply to a string of questions asked by Mr. Gandhi in his article, stated the case for British rule as follows: "As British rule has been the medium through which British contact has come about, the distinction does not connote any real difference." In reply to Mr. Gandhi's questions, Mr. Natarajan wrote as follows: "The educated Indian is certainly more truthful, more clean, more sober, more humane and more brave than the uneducated Indian of the past or the present day; that he treats his women better and that his personal standards are higher than were those of his father or grandfather.....We are far less selfish, far more considerate to the poor and the infirm, far more deeply imbued with a public conscience than were people

a generation or two previously. The younger generation is much superior to their fathers in all these respects. The moral influence of British rule on personal character, on the position of women, in stimulation of public spirit, in the attitude to children, the poor and the infirm far outweighs the great material burdens imposed by it." This is a fair estimate of the achievements of British rule in India and Mr. Natarajan justly remarks that "if Mr. Gandhi thinks otherwise, it is because he looks at contemporary conditions through highly coloured spectacles." We agree. It is not necessary for achieving India's freedom to falsify history or to look at contemporary affairs through monochromatic lenses. It is sufficient to urge for securing the object in view that British rule in India has now largely outlived its beneficent possibilities and lies like a dead-weight on the people—with exploitation for its main object, and repression as its sole instrument. That these two constitute its main object and sole instrument has been amply evidenced in the debates that have taken place in the Legislative Assembly only this month. Never was exploitation of India as the main object of British administration in this country more conclusively established than by the Government's unabashed attempt (to secure a preferential tariff in favour of British piecegoods) during the passage of the Finance Bill in the Assembly. And as regards repression as its sole method of maintaining law and order, the indications are equally clear and emphatic in the daily telegrams in connection with the events incidental to Mr. Gandhi's civil disobedience movement.

Even more than the interest evoked by his letter to the Viceroy, has been that by Mr. Gandhi's "march to Freedom," which he began on the 12th of this month, when he left his *ashram* at Sabarmati accompanied by 79 devoted followers, with a view to reach some place on the coast of Gujerat, whereat they would begin to manufacture salt in defiance of the excise laws, by way of what is called "civil disobedience." The party are not expected to reach their destination before the end of the first week in April, and it is not possible at the time of writing to predict or

predicate how things will fall out when the "civil revolutionaries"—as they may well be called—will begin their operations and thereby hurl defiance, in the name of India's freedom, at perhaps the mightiest organized power on earth, at the present time. The newspapers are naturally full at present of the reports of the events and episodes incidental to the daily progress towards the seashore of Mr. Gandhi's party, and these are being exaggerated or minimised (according to the policy of the paper concerned) just as we used to find in the last world-war. The Indian papers are recording, from day to day, with considerable gusto the enthusiastic receptions being organized for the party at each halting place, the large accessions being received to the ranks of the party as it passes from village to village, the resignations galore of the village revenue officials of the lowest ranks, in obedience to Mr. Gandhi's mandate, and the triumphal character of the march as a whole. The Anglo-Indian papers, on the other hand, are trying their best to make out the want of interest on the part of the people appealed to, the small number of resignations and other indications of a waning enthusiasm for the movement inaugurated by Mr. Gandhi. The truth in this—as, perhaps, in many other similar cases—lies midway between the two sets of statements, contradictory of each other, which are almost daily appearing in the newspapers. But there is one outstanding feature characterizing the present movement which is unquestionably true, and because of which it contrasts unfavourably with its predecessor of 1921. Put shortly, Mr. Gandhi had then the fullest support of the vast bulk of the Mussalmans; now he has their open hostility. Some of the "nationalist" papers are (evidently inspired by their "nationalism") glossing over it and trying to make the worse appear the better reason. The following admission, however, from the *The People* (of Lahore)—the organ of the late Mr. Lajpat Rai's rather advanced school of thought—can leave no manner of doubt on this point. It says: "The most regrettable fact of the present situation in India is the attitude of the politically-minded Mussalmans. The vast majority of them are either indifferent or hostile to the movement being led by Gandhiji. The painful fact has

to be admitted that not one front-rank Muslim politician is taking an active interest in the movement. The brothers Ali were lost long ago, and it is no surprise they are openly denouncing the movement and asking the Mussalmans to have nothing to do with it. They have not uttered a word of sympathy on the incarceration of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. The Assembly division list on Pandit Malaviya's adjournment motion (arising out of the Sardar's imprisonment) reveals the fact that not one Muslim—not one even out of the Muslim members of the new Swaraj party—voted for the motion. In Calcutta they have formed an *ad hoc* satyagraha committee but not one out of its forty members is a Mussalman—this in a province in which the majority of the inhabitants are Mussalmans, and in a town in which Maulvi Abul Kalam Azad resides !” Apart from that, there is a large section amongst the Hindus who are either openly hostile to the movement for civil disobedience, or at best indifferent to it. The landed and monied classes may especially be mentioned, as they feel particularly estranged by reason of the Bolshevik address delivered by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at the last session of the Congress, held at Lahore, last December. Amongst the educated middle classes, not only those who still call themselves “Liberals” but large numbers of others, who are staunch nationalists, do not sympathize with Mr. Gandhi's attempt at revolution.

But while all this may justly be admitted and cannot be ignored by any unbiassed

Its Effect and Results. student of contemporary public affairs in this country, it must equally frankly be acknowledged by the unprejudiced critic that very large sections amongst the masses believe in their heart of hearts that the Mahatma is fighting the battle of righteousness against unrighteousness, of moral force against material force and of spirituality against earth-earthliness. This conviction of vast numbers of the people—amongst the Hindus—howsoever wrong or ill-founded it may be, is no small gain to Mr. Gandhi in his cause. The summary trial, conviction and three months' imprisonment of Mr. Gandhi's lieutenant—Sardar Patel, brother of the President of the Assembly—

referred to above, has already produced a revulsion of feeling in favour of Mr. Gandhi, and if he himself be arrested, and sentenced to imprisonment, in due course, the volume of the present tension is bound to increase, and the effect of it will be clearly advantageous to the “march to freedom” cause. The fact of the matter is that the British Government in this country is now faced with the situation which confronted the French monarch, who on hearing the shouts of the mob underneath his windows said to his chief minister : “Why, Sir, this is a rebellion,” to be met with the response “No, Sire, it is a revolution !” There cannot be the least doubt that Government in this country is truly faced with a revolutionary upheaval of tremendous import and portent, which is not to be despised merely because it is led unarmed by a single individual, with a following of a hundred or so equally unarmed followers. It would be fatal to take that view of the matter ; for there can be no doubt that behind Mr. Gandhi there stands in the mind of the vast bulk of the Hindu masses the conviction that he is fighting single-handed and with bare arms India's war for freedom. It is this conviction, that he has got large sections of the masses behind him, that has led Mr. Gandhi to launch his programme. We shall watch with interest Government's attitude—whether it will aggravate matters by repression or improve the situation by conciliation. Repression will not solve the problem which the Government are faced with, it will rather deepen and worsen the discontent. This proposition which your typical bureaucrat is so loath to accept has the highest authority of Bacon, who propounds it in his well-known essay of “Sedition.” The only result of a repressive policy on the part of the Government will be to add largely to the ranks of the civil resisters, and also influence against the Government the conduct of a large section of the educated public, which is now hostile or indifferent to civil disobedience. And the reason is very simple. People only take to civil resistance when conditions under a Government, in their opinion, become intolerable—as the British themselves did in 1642 against Charles I. Already the incarceration of Sardar Patel

has induced a large number of leading Bombay lawyers—including two Advocates-General—to range themselves on his side and to condemn the action of the Government. The arrest and conviction of Mr. Gandhi will make matters worse and turn confusion into worse confounded. The situation is, no doubt, difficult,—in fact, extremely difficult—but it is one which needs the vision of the statesman and not the policeman's baton. The most intellectual American weekly—the *Nation* of New York—wrote in its issue of January 1st: "To our minds no compromise is possible. It is the Indian people who must have the final say and none else. From the day of its foundation this journal has been firmly committed to the doctrine that no amount of good government inflicted upon a people by officials from another country can take the place of self-government, however bad." That is the crux of the matter. British rule has so far succeeded in carrying on the administration of this great country smoothly because the people have willingly co-operated with it in its task. But if that co-operation is withdrawn on a large scale, or openly resisted—albeit "civilly" and not with arms—the present system of government cannot last long. Hence the demand of almost all the thoughtful communities in the country for a wholesale remodelling of the system of administration in India and its metamorphosis into that known as Dominion Status.

Since the last issue of the *Hindustan Review*, a document has seen the light, which

The "Indictment of Patiala."

cannot be ignored either by the public or the Government of India or by the Maharaja of Patiala himself—much as he may perhaps like to do so—called the *Indictment of Patiala*, which is a fairly bulky volume issued as a Report of the Patiala Enquiry Committee, by the Indian States' People's Conference, which had appointed that Committee. Nothing could indicate better the present temper of the states' workers than this latest publication of their conference. This report is the result of the labours of a Committee of Inquiry appointed by the Indian States' People's Conference, in May 1929, to inquire into the allegations made

in a memorial submitted to the Viceroy by ten Patiala State subjects. About the genesis of the Committee of Inquiry, we are told in the report: "Allegations made in this memorial were so astounding that everyone that read it was shocked and exclaimed: 'No, no. This can't be true; if they were true, the Government won't stand them. But the fact remained that the memorial had been submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy, and that the memorialists had undertaken to prove all the allegations if they were afforded an occasion and facilities to do the same. The memorial still remains undisposed of by the Government of India. Thus the memorial had become the principal topic of discussion during the Conference days. Mr. Chintamani—the President—during the course of an informal discussion said: 'Even if 5 per cent of what is written here is true, the man deserves a sack from his *gadi*.' The Working Committee of the Conference, therefore, took up the matter seriously and appointed this Committee to enquire into the allegations made in the memorial." The Committee thus appointed consisted of Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, A. V. Thakkar of the Servants of India Society, Mr. L. R. Tairsee of Bombay, Mr. Amritlal D. Sheth (editor of the *Saurashtra*), Professor G. R. Abhyankar of the Law College, Poona. Mr. Chintamani could not find time to participate either in the inquiry or in the drafting, so the Committee was presided over by Mr. Amritlal Thakkar. All the members of the Committee are men of known integrity and ability, and we are assured none of them ever had to do anything in any capacity with either the Maharaja of Patiala or any of his subjects. The report is thus bound to be generally received as a disinterested document. It is not surprising that this report has come as a staggering shock to the public, alike in Indian India and British India, and that it has evoked much scrutiny in the Indian press and at the hands of many Indian leaders also. Making full allowance for the obvious fact that it is an *ex-parte* document—made behind the back of the Maharaja of Patiala and containing allegations which have not been sifted and tested by means of cross-examination—the

impression produced by a perusal of the book is ineffaceable, that it makes out a strong *prima facie* case against the ruler of Patiala for very serious charges, including murder. It is not to be wondered at, in the circumstances, that so responsible a public man as Pandit Motilal Nehru has felt called upon to deliver himself of a long diatribe, the opening passages of which are as follows : "After reading the findings of the Patiala Enquiry Committee I can only repeat Lord Reading's famous phrase 'I am puzzled and perplexed.' Here is a series of the gravest charges that have ever been brought openly against any man. The accusers are more or less responsible persons who have fully disclosed their identity and openly challenged an authoritative enquiry. But we find that those whose business it is to sift the truth are treating these charges as if they were the greatest achievements that an Indian ruling prince could aspire to. The 'Paramount Power' sees nothing in them to justify an exercise of the unlimited power of 'paramountcy' reserved to it by the Butler Committee's Report. The brother ruling princes of the accused single him out as the brightest gem of their illustrious order by electing him Chancellor of their Chamber by an overwhelming majority. The accused himself, basking in the sunshine of Government favour and patted on the back by his peers, stands unmoved and unconcerned. A more scandalous state of things it is impossible to conceive in any decent society of men." These scathing comments seem to us to be justly called for, in the facts and circumstances of the case. Though it is not open, under the constitution, to the members of the central legislature to raise a debate on the issue, the Government themselves should take up the matter in right earnest, or they will let judgment go by default against them. It were still better if the Maharaja himself were to ask for a public enquiry to vindicate his character. We have no desire to prejudge the issues at this stage and shall suspend judgment till the final development—for obviously the matter cannot rest where it is at present. In the meantime, we desire to convey our warm appreciation of the splendid work done by

the Committee and the Indian States' People's Conference Executive, in publishing this remarkably courageous document, which is likely to mark an epoch in modern Indian history in assertion of the indefeasible rights of the subject to impeach and impugn, for valid cause, the ruler of a State.

There have been several notable episodes in the history of journalism in the country, during the first quarter of the current year. Perhaps the most important has been the disappearance of the *Englishman*, the Anglo-Indian daily of Calcutta, after an existence of 109 years, on the 31st of March, on which date it appeared as weekly—really as a Monday supplement to the daily *Statesman*. With its removal from the list of Anglo-Indian dailies, Calcutta is now left with only one such journal—the *Statesman*. Similarly, the *Daily Chronicle* of Dehli—which was founded some years back—has been acquired by the proprietors of the *Pioneer* and the *Civil and Military Gazette*, and converted into a weekly, under the title of *Chronicle*, to serve evidently the purpose of a Monday supplement to these two Anglo-Indian dailies of Allahabad and Lahore. By reason of the disappearance of these two Anglo-Indian daily newspapers, the number of dailies, owned and conducted by Europeans in India is now reduced to but one each in Calcutta, Allahabad, Lahore, Karachi, Bombay and Madras—a grand total of but six in the whole of India—in glaring contrast with the more than a dozen that existed some fifteen years back.....

In the Indian daily press the most notable change has been the translation of Mr. F. W. Wilson (late editor of the local *Pioneer*) to Bombay, where he has replaced Mr. Natarajan as the editor of the *Indian Daily Mail*, which has now been taken over by a syndicate of "Liberals." Mr. Natarajan is justly regarded as one of the most capable and distinguished Indian journalists and his retirement from the editorial chair of the *Mail* has already led to improvements in the *Indian Social Reformer*, which he has so successfully conducted for now nearly forty years. The new *Mail* under Mr. Wilson is a lively exponent of the views of the "Bombay

Liberals," but it is to be hoped that in the present critical times the new editor will see to it that no undue acerbity of feeling and bitterness is produced in the minds of that large section of Indian nationalists who, while not following the lead of Mr. Gandhi in matters political, nevertheless hold him in high esteem and regard and would deprecate his being held up to ridicule under the guise of criticism. Mr. Gandhi is certainly not above criticism, but he should not be subjected to unmerited ridicule.....Amongst new periodicals, we may mention the two Bombay monthlies: *The Aryan Path* (issued by Theosophy Company, India, Ltd., 51 Esplanade Road) and *The Indian Literary Review*, a publication of the firm of those enterprising publishers—Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala, Sons & Co., of Bombay. *The Aryan Path*, is *par excellence* a medium for the diffusion and expansion of culture. The Journal is devoted to the consideration of the great ideals and teachings to be found in the principal literatures, philosophies and religions of the world, of all activities,—irrespective of political parties or shibboleths—that work for human betterment, and of all movements which advance thought. We welcome this high-class journal and a glance at the list of its contributors, and the very high standard the publishers have set before themselves, fully justifies the ambitious aim mentioned above. The articles cover a wide range of thought and criticism, and some of them make highly instructive and suggestive reading. We hope the Journal will maintain the uniform excellence, with which it is at present conducted, and continue to conduce to constructive thought in the country..... Messrs. Taraporevala's *Indian Literary Review* will appeal to the scholar, the bibliographer, the librarian and the collector of books. It will thus interest a large circle of readers

in this country. The recent developments in Indian situation have created an unprecedented interest in India and as a result of it a great demand for literature on India, dealing with every aspect of Indian life and problem. *The Indian Literary Review* is the first and the only Journal devoted to books on India and contains interesting articles on Indian literary subjects. It also contains announcements of outstanding books of Indian interest, portraits of eminent authors of books on India, and illustrations from books on India. It is one of its aims to notice promptly all Indian publications. The journal is, thus, likely to be of great utility to seekers after information on things Indian, and we wish its editor and publishers success in their enterprise.....Last but not least we may draw attention to the Hyderabad quarterly, rightly designated *Islamic Culture*, edited by Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall, a well-known scholar. With its January issue, it has entered upon the fourth year of its existence. It is, beyond all doubt, one of the most scholarly periodicals in English devoted to the study of the cultural aspects of Islam, in the various spheres of its activities—alike in the past and the present. The talented editor has gathered round him a band of eminent European and Indian scholars interested in Islamic studies, and their contributions are not only interesting but instructive, useful and valuable. Thus *Islamic Culture*, which is very well got-up and occasionally illustrated, is an ornament to the Indian periodical press. It deserves to be better known and more largely appreciated not only in Muslim circles, but in all where culture is valued. And we have very great pleasure in commending it as one of the exceedingly well-conducted periodicals which have brought credit and renown to periodical literature issued in India.

MEN IN THE PUBLIC EYE

MR. J. M. SEN-GUPTA—MR. WAZIR HASAN

MR. J. M. Sen-Gupta, the Mayor of Calcutta and a well-known leader of Bengal, was born in the district of Chittagong in 1885, and educated in the Calcutta schools and the Presidency College. In 1904

Mr. J. M. Sen-Gupta.

he went to England and joined the Downing College, Cambridge. He was a member of the Hon'ble Society of Gray's Inn and was called to the Bar, in June 1909. It was in this year that he married an English lady by the name of Miss Nellie Gray, who has since been a worthy companion to him. While in England, he was President of the Cambridge "Indian Majlis" and the "East and West Society." On coming back to India in December 1909, he was enrolled as an Advocate in the Calcutta High Court, in 1910, and has been now for some years a leader of the Bar on the criminal side in that court. Among other big cases, he was engaged in the well-known Bawala murder case, in Bombay, the result of which ultimately led to the abdication of the Maharaja of Indore, in 1926.

Mr. Sen-Gupta began to take a prominent part in the political life of his country from 1910 onwards. He attended the sessions of the Bengal Provincial Conference in 1911, and in 1912. When the Bengal Provincial Conference was held (a second time at Chittagong) in 1922, Mr. Sen-Gupta was elected the Chairman of the Reception Committee. Caught in the swing of non-cooperation, in 1921, he suspended his practice at a time when after years of hard struggle he had just succeeded in making his mark in the profession. Only his intimate friends know the extent of the hardships and privations which he and his wife and children suffered—most readily and gladly—during the eighteen months he was out of the profession. The work that S. J. Sen-Gupta did during these months, will bear recapitulation. In April 1921, he organised and led the strike of the employees of Burma Oil Co., in

Chittagong. A notice was served on him by the Magistrate directing him to refrain from holding public meetings or leading processions. He refused to obey the order and was arrested. The result was a complete dislocation of business in Chittagong, followed by an amicable settlement of the strike. In May, 1921, he organised another strike, which spread from Gauhati to Chittagong, and in which 14,000 employees of the Assam-Bengal Railway were involved. In the course of this strike, which lasted for over three months, he had to borrow Rs. 40,000 on his responsibility and was arrested on the 4th of July and passed three days "in hajat." In October, he (with 17 others) was sentenced to three months' rigorous imprisonment for having led a procession at Chittagong, without obtaining licence from the police. After release from prison, he refused to go back to the Bar for months, and subsequently rejoined it under the pressure of extreme necessity. He has since then stuck to it.

Mr. Sen-Gupta was a member of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress in 1922-23 and when the late Mr. C. R. Das launched the Swaraj Party, he joined it as one of his doughty lieutenants and became the Secretary of the Bengal Swarajya Council Party. The business of the new Bengal Legislative Council was started by his moving important resolutions for the release of political prisoners and refusal of demands that were carried by an overwhelming majority. After the death of Mr. Das, his mantle fell on Mr. Sen-Gupta, who has worthily filled the Mayor's chair of the Calcutta Corporation thrice, even to the admiration of his political adversaries. He received an address of welcome from the Cawnpore Municipality on the occasion of his attending the session of the Indian National Congress held in that city, and another from the Madras Corporation when he attended the session of the

Congress there. Last year he had the honour of being invited to attend the tenth anniversary of the establishment of Soviet Russia by the Intellectual Co-operation League. Last though not the least, in greater interest of rescuing minor girls he was not slow to extend the hand of co-operation to Sir Stanley Jackson, Governor of Bengal, in raising the Mayor's fund. He presided over the session of the Bengal Provincial Conference which was held last year, and in his presidential address elaborately dealt with the present political problems of the country. No notice of Mr. Sen-Gupta's life would be complete without a reference to the part played in the national struggle by his wife, who, though an English lady, has made the cause of her husband and her husband's countrymen her own, and who in the absence of her husband, while in prison, took up his work—moving among the people dressed as one of themselves, and throwing herself heart and soul into the great struggle. The latest episode in Mr. Sen-Gupta's career has been his conviction for sedition, this month, at Rangoon. He has been sentenced to a term of ten days' simple imprisonment! This conviction and sentence have brought the Governor in Council of Burma justly into ridicule for perpetrating a folly of the first magnitude.

Mr. Wazir Hasan will go down to posterity as the first Indian Chief Judge of the Lucknow Chief Court. This

Mr. Wazir Hasan. is a matter of great gratification to all who appreciate his legal acumen, his judicial bent of mind and his amiable nature. Born in May, 1874, in a Syed family of the Jaunpore district, Mr. Hasan received his early education in Persian and Arabic at home. His grandfather, Maulvi Syed Ali Husain, was one of the few old Muslim gentlemen who had not disdained the benefits of English education. His services are well known even now in the district of Jaunpore, for which he was awarded a *parwana*, a *khilat*, landed property with an income of Rs. 2,500, and a handsome sword—and the last in the list is still cherished and retained by Mr. Wazir Hasan. His grandfather died as a Deputy Collector. His father was a Tehsildar, a post which was much

coveted in those days. Mr. Wazir Hasan was born in this atmosphere and gifted with a natural zeal for studies proved a precocious child. He finished all the books prescribed in the Maktab syllabus within a few years, and passed his 'entrance' examination in 1889, from the Government High School, Ballia, and two years later the Intermediate examination from the Muir Central College, Allahabad. He joined the Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh, and took his B.A. degree in 1893 and LL.B. in 1895, at the early age of twenty-one. He was enrolled as a vakil and started his practice at Jaunpore and thereafter shifted to Partabgarh, in Oudh. While practising as a junior, at Partabgarh, Mr. Wazir Hasan acted (in 1901) as an election agent on behalf of the late Raja Partab Bahadur Singh in his contest, for election to the local legislature, with the late Raja Madho Lal of Benares, but he failed in securing the return of his candidate, who was ignorant of English. But such a small place could not provide enough scope for a man of his capacity. He, therefore, shifted to Lucknow and joined the Bar there in 1903. Lucknow, no doubt, was a fit place for him, as it offered him wider scope for his talents. And Mr. Wazir Hasan soon impressed the members of the bench and the bar, with possessing those qualities, which go to make a successful lawyer.

But it was not only in the field of law where Mr. Hasan proved such a success. His activities found scope in the political arena also. He interested himself in the local municipal affairs and in the All-India Muslim League. Of the latter he worked as secretary for seven years, from 1912 to 1919. In this capacity he was prominently associated with the advanced school of politics. At a public meeting held in this city, in May, 1915—convened to press for the establishment of a Executive Council in these provinces, Mr. Hasan (speaking in Hindustani) made a robust and vigorous speech, which was regarded by the then elders as bordering on sedition, as understood at that time. He was one of the members of the delegation which went to England to place the grievances of the Muslims before the authorities at Whitehall.

He resigned the secretaryship in 1919, and in September of that year went on pilgrimage to Karbala, Najaf, and other sacred places in Mesopotamia. That year he retired from active political life. In 1920 he was offered the post of a Judicial Commissioner in the Lucknow Court, which he accepted. A man of great parts and legal acumen, he was bound to rise still higher and with the inauguration of the Chief Court, he was made its senior puisne judge, in which capacity he worked till February 11, and took charge as the acting Chief Judge on the next day.

Thus Mr. Hasan is the second Indian to be appointed the head of the judiciary in a province—the first being Sir Shadi Lal of the Lahore High Court—and judging from his record, one feels sure that he will make his mark as the Chief Judge of the Lucknow Court, before he doffs his judicial wig and gown, in the fulness of time. His appointment has justly given satisfaction not only in Oudh, but in the province of Agra also, of which he is a "native." We wish him a highly successful career as the first Indian Chief Judge of the Lucknow Court.

THE NECROLOGY OF THE MONTH

SIR PROMADA CHARAN BANERJEE—MR. VATCHAGANDHI

The death of Sir Promada Charan Banerjee is a distinct loss to the country. He was admittedly—as the *Leader* happily puts it—a great judge, a great lawyer and a great gentleman. It is not many

Sir Promada Charan Banerjee.

judges who could justly claim to have enjoyed, in such ample measure, the respect and confidence of the bar and of those who sought justice in the High Court, as he did. Tributes have been justly paid to his profound knowledge of law, judicial independence and detachment, grasp of juristic principles and untiring patience and courtesy, all which made him an ideal judge. Having started life as a Munsif in 1872, he rose rapidly by sheer dint of merit from the lowest rung of the judicial ladder to the position of a judge of the High Court, and adorned the bench of the highest tribunal for nearly 30 years—from 1893 to 1923—where he won universal confidence and respect. He was prevailed upon, in appreciation of his legal learning and ripe judgment by two Chief Justices, to prolong his connection with the High Court. Deep and universal regret was rightly felt at the heavy loss which the High Court suffered, in 1923, by his retirement. He was, in this province, the first Indian to

occupy positions in the judicial service which had been previously reserved for only the Civilian. The *Leader* rightly insists that it was a tribute to his outstanding merit and high character which compelled recognition and transcended racial barriers which he helped in breaking down by his ability, diligence and integrity.

There will be, therefore, a very widespread regret at the death of so eminent an Indian, who was also one of the most distinguished and respected citizens of Allahabad. His record in the judicial service has nowhere been equalled in this country. Entering the service as a Munsif, he was soon recognised to be a man of exceptional ability and in about twenty years, he had risen to the highest judicial seat—on the bench of the Allahabad High Court. He was as we are reminded by the *Pioneer*—the first Indian to be appointed a judge of the Small Cause Court at Agra and the first uncovenanted officer to be a Judge of the Small Cause Court at Allahabad, an appointment which had been previously reserved for members of the Civil Service. His judgments on various occasions deservedly elicited very high praise from the Privy Council. The esteem in which he was held

Congress there. Last year he had the honour of being invited to attend the tenth anniversary of the establishment of Soviet Russia by the Intellectual Co-operation League. Last though not the least, in greater interest of rescuing minor girls he was not slow to extend the hand of co-operation to Sir Stanley Jackson, Governor of Bengal, in raising the Mayor's fund. He presided over the session of the Bengal Provincial Conference which was held last year, and in his presidential address elaborately dealt with the present political problems of the country. No notice of Mr. Sen-Gupta's life would be complete without a reference to the part played in the national struggle by his wife, who, though an English lady, has made the cause of her husband and her husband's countrymen her own, and who in the absence of her husband, while in prison, took up his work—moving among the people dressed as one of themselves, and throwing herself heart and soul into the great struggle. The latest episode in Mr. Sen-Gupta's career has been his conviction for sedition, this month, at Rangoon. He has been sentenced to a term of ten days' simple imprisonment! This conviction and sentence have brought the Governor in Council of Burma justly into ridicule for perpetrating a folly of the first magnitude.

Mr. Wazir Hasan will go down to posterity as the first Indian Chief Judge of the Lucknow Chief Court. This

Mr. Wazir Hasan is a matter of great gratification to all who appreciate his legal acumen, his judicial bent of mind and his amiable nature. Born in May, 1874, in a Syed family of the Jaunpore district, Mr. Hasan received his early education in Persian and Arabic at home. His grandfather, Maulvi Syed Ali Husain, was one of the few old Muslim gentlemen who had not disdained the benefits of English education. His services are well known even now in the district of Jaunpore, for which he was awarded a *parwana*, a *khilat*, landed property with an income of Rs. 2,500, and a handsome sword—and the last in the list is still cherished and retained by Mr. Wazir Hasan. His grandfather died as a Deputy Collector. His father was a Tehsildar, a post which was much

coveted in those days. Mr. Wazir Hasan was born in this atmosphere and gifted with a natural zeal for studies proved a precocious child. He finished all the books prescribed in the Maktab syllabus within a few years, and passed his 'entrance' examination in 1889, from the Government High School, Ballia, and two years later the Intermediate examination from the Muir Central College, Allahabad. He joined the Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh, and took his B.A. degree in 1893 and LL.B. in 1895, at the early age of twenty-one. He was enrolled as a *vakil* and started his practice at Jaunpore and thereafter shifted to Partabgarh, in Oudh. While practising as a junior, at Partabgarh, Mr. Wazir Hasan acted (in 1901) as an election agent on behalf of the late Raja Partab Bahadur Singh in his contest, for election to the local legislature, with the late Raja Madho Lall of Benares, but he failed in securing the return of his candidate, who was ignorant of English. But such a small place could not provide enough scope for a man of his capacity. He, therefore, shifted to Lucknow and joined the Bar there in 1903. Lucknow, no doubt, was a fit place for him, as it offered him wider scope for his talents. And Mr. Wazir Hasan soon impressed the members of the bench and the bar, with possessing those qualities, which go to make a successful lawyer.

But it was not only in the field of law where Mr. Hasan proved such a success. His activities found scope in the political arena also. He interested himself in the local municipal affairs and in the All-India Muslim League. Of the latter he worked as secretary for seven years, from 1912 to 1919. In this capacity he was prominently associated with the advanced school of politics. At a public meeting held in this city, in May, 1915—convened to press for the establishment of a Executive Council in these provinces, Mr. Hasan (speaking in Hindustani) made a robust and vigorous speech, which was regarded by the then elders as bordering on sedition, as understood at that time. He was one of the members of the delegation which went to England to place the grievances of the Muslims before the authorities at Whitehall.

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by the Bar was shown by the tributes paid to him, on the occasion of his retirement, in 1923, and once again by those paid by the Chief Justice and the leaders of the Bar on the day following his death. Though he has passed away at the ripe old age of 82, his death is an irreparable loss to the country. It is worthy of note that he was the only High Court Judge who had the satisfaction of seeing his son occupy the same exalted position as himself, and we offer our heart-felt condolence to Mr. Justice Lalit Mohan Banerjee on the death of his father—a lawyer of high legal acumen, a truly erudite judge, possessed of great legal learning, rare judicial independence, and above all one who bore without reproach the grand old name of gentleman.

Mr. Rustom N. Vatchagandhi, editor and proprietor of the *Sanj-Vartaman* of Bombay, was indeed, a great journalist. He was the first to start a Gujarati evening newspaper. The late

Mr. Rustom Vatchagandhi.

Mr. Ardeshir Patel, a veteran Parsi Journalist and for many years the editor of the *Jam-e-Jamshed*, conceived the idea of starting a Gujarati evening newspaper. He approached Mr. Vatchagandhi, who supplied the capital. Shortly after the venture had been launched, Mr. Patel died and the brunt of the work fell on his surviving partner. Mr. Vatchagandhi was, however, a shrewd businessman and his enterprising nature and sound commonsense came to his aid. He made the venture not only a financial success, but he made his newspaper a powerful organ

of Indian public opinion. He was an ardent nationalist and the policy of his paper was radical, but it was recognised, even by his opponents, that its views and policy were conceived in the best interests of the country. Mr. Vatchagandhi was the first to bring out a Parsi New Year number of his journal, and it proved to be very popular. Many eminent persons contributed to it; and in the several years that have elapsed since then it has become a regular feature. His example is now followed by other newspapers in this country.

In 1926 he was invited to Geneva as a representative of Indian journalism at the World's Congress of Journalists, and asked to read a

paper before the Congress. While in Europe he was attacked by gangrene in his left foot, which necessitated the removal of the limb. His paper was read in his absence and attracted considerable attention. He returned to India after nearly six months of absence. On his return he brought out his *Rambles and Reflections*, a chatty and useful book not only relating his experiences during his voyage, but containing many thoughtful hints for future Indian visitors to Europe. A short time after his return from Europe his popular newspaper celebrated its silver jubilee, in 1927. Mr. Vatchagandhi leaves behind—an only son, Mr. Jehangir, whom he trained in journalism and who will continue to conduct the journal according to the traditions built up by his father, whose death is a very great loss to Indian journalism.



The Late Sir P. C. Banerjee, Kt.

THE BELLY : A POEM

By MR. H. W. B. MORENO

I am the god of the earth. Bow down, O ye men of the world,
Come hither together and worship, beneath my banner unfurled.
I am the mightiest of mighty, for there is none greater I tell ye,
Supreme I reign to the poles, men give me my name : The Belly.
Whatever I seek I receive, I satisfy every desire,
As hunger and thirst, my companions, rise with their forks of fire,
I gorge, I batten, I feast, and when overfilled, I rest
In slumber and torpor and stupor, once more to glutton with zest.
For me the saints have turned sinners, the saviours have turned unto thieves,
Heroes and patriots have cowards become, till none their message believes,
'Tis I who fanned the rebellions, raised men with a murderous lust,
To tear the rich from their mansions, to mingle their blood with dust,
For me sons have turned aside fathers, daughters have wandered astray,
The righteous have sought the unholy, men have chosen and trod their own way
The lesser gods breathing out fury, have matched against me in their might,
They were cast down and trodden and broken, as they scurried in frenzy
and fright.
From dawn unto the bright midday, from day until the dark eve,
Men have laboured and travelled and lingered, my wants to meet and relieve,
And women, they groan in their anguish, as babes raise their voices and cry,
To satisfy all the deep cravings, lest they sicken and languish and die.
There shall be no god yet beside me, whose worship shall all men appease,
For I am the god of this world, at my altar shall all men find peace.

TO CHILDREN, PLAYING

By MR. W. B. GOKHALE

Ye flowers of homely shores
That look like marigold or rose
With kindly look ;
And touch my heart with those
The magic-breathing shows
Of life's first book.

What have you got that draws
And cannot make me pause
But needs I go ;
To kiss you, caress and cause
A break in joyful laughs
How godly lo !

Alas ! I stand in selfish tone
To reap your pleasures all alone.

The Hindustan Review deserves attention from British readers as showing the trend of thought—philosophical, literary and political—among the educated classes of India.—"Truth" London.

The Hindustan Review is of especial value as lifting the brain cap of India and letting us see the thoughts that are moving in her educated mind.—The late Mr. W. T. Stead in the "Review of Reviews," London.

The Hindustan Review is representative of the higher intellectual life of India and enables us to learn the thoughts that are agitating her cultivated circles. Its articles are of especial value from a political and philosophical point of view and it occupies among Indian periodicals a position analogous to that of the "Nineteenth Century" or the "Fortnightly Review."—"United Empire" (Monthly Organ of the Royal Empire Society. London.)

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BY
Sachchidananda Sinha

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INDIAN SEMI-SLAVES IN CEYLON*

By Mr. St. NIHAL SINGH.

TWO separate issues are involved in the controversy that is raging round the status of Indians in Ceylon. One is political. The other is industrial.

At the suggestion of the Governor of Ceylon (Sir Herbert Stanley, who gained most of his administrative experience in South Africa) the Secretary of State for the Colonies (the Baron Passfield, better known to us as Mr. Sidney Webb) expressed his willingness to concede suffrage on an

adult basis to the people of the Island. The Stanley proposals governing the franchise are such, however, that if they are not drastically modified a grave injustice will be done to our people in Ceylon. The bulk of Indians there will, in that case, remain unenfranchised when adult members of the other communities—including Britons—will have become entitled to the vote.

Should Downing Street, however, yield to the representations that, under pressure from Indian opinion, are being made by the Secretary of State

* This article must not be reprinted nor translated OUTSIDE India without first securing the written consent of the Author.

for India and recast the franchise qualifications so as to ensure that as large a proportion of Indians in Ceylon will be enfranchised as that of the other British subjects in the Island, even then a question of fundamental importance will have to be faced. This is the industrial issue, to which I referred in the opening paragraph—the issue, of semi-slavery.

II

Seven ninths of the Indians in Ceylon are plantation workers and their dependents. The Controller of Indian Immigrant Labour (a member of the Ceylon Civil Service placed by the Ceylon Government in charge of such labour) put their number at 739, 600 persons in the last report (for 1928) published under the orders of the Governor.

For some three years statements have been made again and again that these Indians and their dependents live in conditions of semi-slavery. It has been suggested in the Ceylon Legislative Council and from the public platform in Colombo and elsewhere that they lack freedom of movement—that they are no more accessible than men cast into gaol. It has also been stated that they are utterly disorganized—that not a single trade union exists among them—and that, in the circumstances, no genuine union can, even if it came into existence, function vigorously.

Charges of this description have echoed in the press. Not much has been written editorially, but many letters have been published. The anonymous correspondents have especially been brutally frank.

While the political issue has been receiving a measure of attention from

our people in India—and the Indian Legislative Assembly has asked for the withdrawal of conditions discriminating against Indians in Ceylon, the question of industrial serfdom has not attracted any notice. I, therefore, propose to deal with it here.

III

The controversy arose in this way:—

In the summer of 1928 the report made by the Special Commission on the reform of the Ceylon constitution, headed by the Earl of Donoughmore, was published. One of the Ceylonese publicists who discussed with me the far-reaching implications of the scheme put forward told me, in the course of the many interviews he had with me shortly after the document reached my hands, that difficulty was felt by some of his colleagues concerning the extension of the franchise to Indians, most of whom lived on tea and rubber estates.

These plantations, my friend pointed out, were private property. Any one who visited the Indians working upon them without the consent of the superintendent, was liable to expulsion, or, if he resisted, could be hauled up before the court for trespass. The "lines" in which Indians dwelt on these estates would, therefore, be inaccessible to candidates and election agents, unless those candidates and election agents were friends of the superintendent, or were approved by him.

Most of the superintendents, as I doubtless knew, were British, my friend continued. The enfranchisement of Indian estate labourers, therefore, would, in practice, mean, he asserted, so many votes in the planters' pockets. The superintendents.

would immediately proceed to use the *kanganies* (overseers) to capture the "coolly" vote and use it to elect British candidates or candidates subservient to themselves.

In view of the conditions that obtained upon the plantations, the Ceylonese publicist concluded, several of his colleagues felt that they must press for the restriction of the vote to only those Indians who were their own masters and not mere creatures of their employers.

IV

My reply was that if these conditions actually existed, some three-quarters of a million Indians were living in Ceylon in a state of semi-slavery. It was monstrous that such conditions should be permitted to exist in the twentieth century, and they should be swept away, not merely in the interests of Indians but also of the Ceylonese.

The presence of semi-slaves in such large numbers, even when isolated in certain areas, was bound to react upon the Ceylonese themselves. The effect upon the persons who held the Indian labourers in semi-slavery could not but be degenerating. At least some of the serf-holders were Sinhalese.

I took occasion to state, however, that there was hardly a district in which Indians were employed in any number upon plantations that I had not visited. My travels in these regions, all put together, would run into thousands of miles.

Usually accompanied by my wife, I had gone to numerous estates under various proprietorships—British, Sinhalese, Ceylon Tamils, Indian Tamils and Burghers (persons of Dutch des-

cent). Sometimes we had been accompanied by friends—sometimes we had just wandered about at will. Even in the latter case no objection was made—no threat of "putting the law on us" uttered. We had, on the contrary, in many instances, had interesting chats with superintendents and assistant superintendents, and had even been hospitably received by them and invited to stop for meals. Our experience, indeed, had been that the British planter, whatever his faults might be, was hospitable and friendly.

I told the Ceylonese publicist that in fairness to the planters—especially the British planters in Ceylon—I must state our experience.

My friend's rejoinder was that I was well known—that I belonged to the press—and the press was a power to be reckoned with. The planters were shrewd people—they were not going to court unpleasant publicity by annoying me. He could, however, assure me that I had received exceptional treatment. He—as a practicing lawyer—could also tell me that no superintendent would hesitate to put off his estate any person whom he regarded with suspicion or hostility and the law would be on his side. Cases of trespass and assault of this kind were, in fact, not unknown. He could attest to that matter from his own knowledge.

The sooner a crusade is begun to sweep aside these conditions of semi-slavery, the better for all concerned, I replied. I would, however, never consent to having lakhs of my people in Ceylon condemned to political helotry on the plea that they were industrial serfs. If there was anything in that contention at all, it reinforced the necessity of arming the

Indians on the plantations with the vote. It would surely prove to be a powerful weapon in their hands to shatter their industrial fetters.

V

This conversation emphasized the need that I had felt for some time that a provision should be made—preferably a statutory provision—guaranteeing labour employed upon Ceylon plantations, full freedom of action and movement for purposes of registering as voters and exercising the vote.

The need for such a provision had, in fact, suggested itself to me long before the Donoughmore Commission on Ceylon Constitutional reforms had completed its enquiry. I had taken the precaution to mention the matter to one of the Commissioners.

In view of the anti-Indian bias shown by the Commission I was, however, not surprised at the absence of any reference to this subject in the report that they submitted to the Secretary of State for the Colonies (Col. L.A.S. Amery). They had, on their own admission, designed a residential qualification that would prevent Indian immigrant labourers in Ceylon from becoming enfranchised. They had gone out of their way even to the point of comparing conditions in southern India with those on Ceylon plantations, as if they were seeking to drum up recruits for the Ceylon planters.

The Donoughmore Commission was not, however, the final arbiter of the Ceylon Indian's fate and I intended to see what could be done to protect the interests of our people in this respect.

VI

A few weeks after the conversation

to which I have just referred took place, I learned that the matter came up before the Executive Committee of the Ceylon National Congress. Arguments such as those put before me by the Ceylonese publicist to whom I have referred had been advanced by some persons (but not by him) at that meeting. The majority of the members present were, however, not impressed with them and had refused to sanction the motion asking for the restriction of franchise for Indians. It did not, therefore, appear on the agenda paper of the special session held on the morrow—September 1, 1928.

Before I was able to reach the Ananda College Hall where that session was held, the Hon'ble Mr. Wilmot Arthur de Silva, M.L.C., a prominent Buddhist and former manager of that high school and other Buddhist educational institutions, had finished his presidential address. As I was sitting in the chair near him on the platform to which I had been courteously conducted, he handed me a pamphlet in which that address had been printed at the *Ceylon Morning Leader* printing works, of which he is the principal proprietor.

In hurriedly glancing through the pamphlet I came across a passage relating to the enfranchisement of Indians in Ceylon. Upon reading these sentences closely I realised that the President of the Ceylon National Congress—who had the reputation of being a reformer—took a most reactionary view of the situation. Instead of boldly asking for the removal of any and all conditions that, in his opinion, would have the effect of condemning hundreds of thousands of Indians to semi-slavery, he actually put forward those conditions as justi-

fication for keeping a large body of our people in political helotry.

The passage in question reads as follows:

"There are certain principles that should underlie the privilege of becoming a citizen. The first is that one should be able to exercise his rights freely and without fear or favour. If, for instance, a person has to live in an area to which no one has a right of free access, his vote becomes a danger rather than a help to the Community. Before such a person gets his rights the restricted conditions under which he lives should be removed. In this connection we have the case of the immigrant labourer employed on Ceylon plantations. Under present conditions he lives in lines or rooms situated within an estate and any person who comes to visit him is legally an intruder and can be prosecuted and punished. This is not a hypothetical case as the records of our Law Courts show that such prosecutions are quite common and the restrictions are rigidly enforced." (*)

VII

That statement emanated from a leading publicist in Ceylon, who, at the time, was occupying the chair of an organization—the Ceylon National Congress—which, though representative of only one section of the people of Ceylon, the Sinhalese living in the "low country" or maritime region, was nevertheless the largest political association in the Island. He was also a Member of the Ceylon Legislative Council in which colleagues of his race (the Sinhalese) and of his

party (the Congress Party) constituted numerically the strongest group.

What was still more important, Mr. Wilmot Arthur de Silva depended, in no small measure, upon Indians for the exploitation of estates under his own management. He could not, therefore, be considered to be talking of matters about which he did not know. The statement that he made concerning the conditions in which Indians were kept by planters in Ceylon could not, therefore, be left unnoticed.

Having known Mr. de Silva for a quarter of a century, I took the earliest opportunity to discuss the matter with him. He not only stood by all that he had said at the special session of the Congress, but emphasized and amplified the statements.

"Admitting, for the sake of argument, that you are right," I said to Mr. de Silva, "in your assertions regarding the state of semi-slavery in which Indians live on Ceylon plantations, are you willing to give Ceylon Indians the vote if these conditions are swept aside? Or if you, for some reason, are averse from enfranchising Indian labourers, are you willing to free them from serfdom? If so, will you set the example on your own estates and lead the way?"

Having failed to receive a satisfactory answer to these questions, I put them to him through the medium of the *Times of Ceylon* (Colombo), which is believed to have the largest circulation in the Island and which, to my knowledge, he reads regularly. I wrote in the issue for October 31, 1928 asking the planter-President of

the Ceylon National Congress to surprise me by making an announcement in the Ceylon Legislative Council—

"...that henceforth Indians on estates under his control will not be compelled to live in the conditions of 'semi-slavery' to which he referred on the 1st day of September."

At the same time, I sounded on the subject of semi-slavery some of the other Sinhalese planters who were using such allegations to support the agitation to deprive the bulk of Ceylon Indians of the right to vote. Not one of them, I found, was willing to free our people in the Island from the conditions of serfdom upon the existence of which every one of them had laid great stress.

One of the most prominent among the Sinhalese planter-politicians whom I questioned did his best to put me off. He spoke of complications that would arise if the conditions in which Indians lived on plantations were changed. "Why, people may be introduced into my estate who may steal some of my property," he declared.

Refusing to be thus put off, I pressed the Sinhalese planter for his real reason. He finally admitted that if the restrictions were withdrawn, the chief reason for keeping the franchise away from Indians would be gone.

"No," I rejoined. "Your real reason is different. You wish to deny the vote to Indian labourers because you are afraid that the vote will bring them industrial freedom sooner or later. You are used to managing your affairs with semi-slaves. You are afraid that if Indians ceased to be semi-slaves they would give you

trouble. By denying them the vote, you fancy you will keep them enslaved.

"The perpetuation of Indian serfdom is the real objective. The denial of the franchise is only a means to an end—not the end itself."

VIII

Racial and religious strands have become mixed up with the industrial incentive. The Sinhalese employing Indian labour fancy themselves to be of Aryan descent—and are mostly Buddhists. Their Indian drudges are, on the contrary, almost without exception Tamil by race and the greater percentage of them are Hindus. Again and again in centuries long gone by Tamil Hindus from southern India invaded Ceylon, vanquished the Sinhalese in battle, destroyed Buddhist shrines and monasteries, and on occasion dominated the Sinhalese for decades and sometimes for generations. It, therefore, tickles the fancy of the Buddhist Sinhalese planters boasting of their Aryan descent to have persons of Tamil blood drudging for them in conditions of semi-slavery. It no doubt appears to them that these Tamils are working out their *Karma*.

The planters—Sinhalese and others—have, in any case, become accustomed to managing the Tamil workers in such conditions. They are, I am convinced, genuinely afraid that if the Tamils were to acquire the vote and come in contact with candidates and election agents, they might cease to be docile; and they might have all sorts of trouble with their labour force. Fears of an economic character influence them, in other words, to resist any attempt that is likely to free

Indian labourers from their master's clutches.

IX

I made it my business to press these views. Being wise in their generation, the planter-politicians realised that they were using a double-edged weapon, which, if not carefully handled, might injure them. If statements concerning Indian semi-slavery found an echo in India, they might do great harm to the planting interests which would be ruined if India chose to hold up supplies of cheap labour.

A political fight was on, however. Blood had been warmed up to an unusual degree. Talk of the degraded conditions in which Indians lived and worked on Ceylon plantations pleased Sinhalese masses, which had inherited hatred for Tamils and who, in the near future, were to have the vote. The temptation to exploit it was too strong to be resisted.

X

Shortly before the Indian question was debated in the legislature a letter signed "J. D. W." appeared in a newspaper owned and managed by the Sinhalese, detailing particulars to show that Indians upon Ceylon plantations were "prisoners." It read:

"To

THE EDITOR, 'CEYLON DAILY NEWS.'

"SIR,—There has been a big outcry against the proposal of the Ceylon National Congress that the

illiterate Indian estate labourer should not have a vote. This is chiefly due to the ignorance in not knowing the conditions under which an Indian estate labourer has to work. I am sorry the Ceylon National Congress did not give a reason why the above-mentioned labourer should not have a vote. I will therefore give a few reasons why the vote should not be given to the Indian estate labourer.

"1. He is not a freeman, in the sense that other labourers are. *He is under control.* In case of necessity neither Mr. Natesa Aiyar* nor Mr. Goonesinghe† can go to an estate to form a Labour Union and make use of the Strike Weapon.

"2. He does not come into the Island by his own free will. He is recruited. He is brought into the Island by inducements, and contrary to the privileges other labourers enjoy, he is measured, his thumb mark taken, his village and his parents' names noted and is brought under the wide eyes of the Controller (of Indian Immigrant Labour) just as a prisoner is brought by the police.

"3. When once he enters his place of abode, it is more a prison than a sweet home. It is a forbidden place for any other visitor. No outsider has the power or right to enter his house without the permission of the Superintendent. He comes under the Estate Law. *He is under control.*

"4. The coal cooly, the quarry cooly, the Municipal cooly and the

* The Hon'ble Mr. K. Natesa Aiyar, a Member of the Ceylon Legislative Council, representing one of the two Indian (communal) constituencies.

† Mr. A. E. Goonesinghe, President of the Ceylon Labour Union. The two appear to have been at loggerheads since the Special Sessions of the Ceylon National Congress held on September 1, 1928. Mr. Natesa Aiyar has been seeking to form Indian labourers in Colombo and elsewhere into a separate Union, while Mr. Goonesinghe has been using his influence—and with no small success—to prevent Indians from straying away from the existing Union, in which they are treated as equals of the Sinhalese and work with them without friction.

P. W. D. Cooly, are not under control and yet their pay and conditions are much better than that of the estate Indian labourer. No child of an estate cooly unlike other children has been able to change his position by education, I mean the estate school education.

"I do not think the Donoughmore Commission meant to give power to a prisoner to cast his vote in favour of a candidate!!! Then why make a fuss about the vote of the estate Indian labourer, who comes under a separate law and who is still a semi-slave for all practical purposes and unable to use his vote intelligently. None will deny that control is in the interest of the employer rather than of the labourer.—

Yours etc. J. D. W."

I took no notice of this letter written by some person who lacked the courage to sign it, until it was read out in the Ceylon Legislative Council by a Sinhalese M. L. C. (the Hon'ble Mr. A. F. Molamure), who openly declared that he was anxious to "keep out a large number of Indian voters." He called prominent attention to a note that the editor of the newspaper in which this letter appeared had certified that it was written by "an Indian conversant with estate conditions."

I promptly pointed out in a newspaper article that the editor in question was an employee of a near relation of Mr. Molamure. Whether an Indian actually did or did not write that letter was, however, a matter of little importance.

The allegations had been quoted with evident approval by a Sinhalese Buddhist M.L.C. in the Ceylon Legislative Council who, until recently, was officiating as an Executive Councillor. They did not elicit any re-

proof or contradiction by any official or unofficial Member. Were they true or false?

I put that question again and again in conversation and in the press. In winding up the debate on the motion designed to discriminate against Ceylon Indians in respect of the franchise, Mr. Molamure took up the challenge. He had been "taken to task by certain Hon'ble Members and writers," he declared, "for having said that the Indian labourer is under control." He did not say it, he explained, but had "read out a letter which appeared in the Press and which came from a respectable Indian." He was told that the guarantee which accompanied it was not sound "because it came from an employee of a kinsman of his." He asserted, nevertheless, that the guarantee was sound and that the writer was sound.

"Honourable Members will remember," Mr. Molamure continued, "the plain-spoken speech of the Second Indian Member" (Mr. K. Natesa Aiyar) who had stated "that the Indian cooly was under control." If he remembered rightly Mr. Natesa Aiyar had said "that the Indian cooly whether he wishes it or not, has to 'serve and die.'" And again he had said that "the Indian labourer does not come to" Ceylon "of his own accord."

Mr. Natesa Aiyar's statements, Mr. Molamure declared, were corroborative of what he had said, namely, that "the Indian cooly is under control." It was "a well-known fact, and we need not disguise it."

Mr. Natesa Aiyar had, in fact, gone to the length of stating that the Indian cooly is so much under control that neither he nor the friends of the

cooly are able to go to the estate to see him without permission. "I forget," the Sinhalese Buddhist Member added, "on how many occasions he made that statement."

Mr. Molamure next proceeded to prove that the Agent of the Government of India in Ceylon had written to similar effect. There were certain passages in the report that that official had made which clearly proved that the Indian labourer was controlled.

XI

The cry of semi-slavery was taken up by other M. L. C.'s in the course of the debate. The Hon'ble Mr. C. W. W. Kannangara, for instance, declared that he and his colleagues had been told on February 24, 1927, "that these Indian labourers are brought to this country under false pretences, and that they are kept in subjection here."

Mr. Kannangara quoted the same Indian Member (the Hon'ble Mr. K. Natesa Aiyar) as stating before the Donoughmore Commission that "although there was the Agent of the Government of India in Ceylon to look after the interests of the Indian labourers, they did not have much faith in him as he was an official..." Mr. Aiyar had gone "on to say that it was the duty of the Agent of the Indian Government to visit the estates and to report, and that to do this he had first of all to give the estates notice of his intended visit, and the result was that when he visited the estate nothing came of it." Mr. Kannangara continued:

"I am trying to show the conditions under which the Indian cooly, after being brought over from India, is kept on the estates. It is not in the interests of the Indian community it-

self, Sir, that this immigrant cooly should be given the vote. His vote can be manipulated by *the people who have such control over him that even the Agent of the Government of India cannot do anything for this man.*" (The italics are mine).

According to the same M. L. C., Mr. Natesa Aiyar had told the Donoughmore Commission that Indian labourers in large planting areas "found neither the time nor the place to organise themselves into an association, and that they would not be allowed to do so by the planters."

Mr. Natesa Aiyar had also informed the "Commissioners that during the last elections force was brought to bear on some of the (Indian) voters by some of the planters in order that a particular candidate might be returned;" and "there had been cases where the voters had not been allowed to leave the estate and were thus prevented from voting." When the Commissioners asked him to give them some instances, Mr. Natesa Aiyar had said, "that he could not do so because if any labourer gave evidence he would be dismissed from the estate."

Mr. Kannangara was vehement in his assertion that the vote should not be given to "those that are 'treated like cattle' and kept in the horrible, abominable conditions pictured by the Honourable Indian Members themselves both in this Council and before the Special Commissioners."

XII

These statements were made in the Ceylon Legislative Council, in the presence of the Agent of the Government of India (Mr. M. A. S. Hydari, I. C. S.) who, in fact, sat next to me

most of the time the constitutional debate was going on. Whether he drew his Government's attention to them or not I do not know. He dismissed the subject with a brief reference in his report for 1928, as published by the Government of India.

That reference consists of just two words— "somewhat regimented." Evidently that phrase is meant to indicate that this young Indian Civilian does not think all is quite well with the conditions in which three-quarters of a million of his people—as well as mine—live upon Ceylon plantations.

Another passage in the report shows that Mr. Hydari was dubious as to whether any "permanent good" accrues to Indians who are brought to Ceylon. His own words are:

"On the other hand, if one considers for what permanent good to themselves these people leave their homes, however poor these may be, to work for years in another land, the answer is not clear."

"Somewhat regimented" is a poor paraphrase of the language employed in the Ceylon Legislative Council. It, nevertheless, indicates clearly that the Agent of the Government of India is not in a position to challenge the assertions made in and out of the Legislature that three-quarters of a million Indians live in conditions of semi-slavery in Ceylon.

XIII

The Ceylon Government does not appear to be in a better position. From day to day, for weeks, the entire official *blot* sat in the legislature at Colombo listening to the statements, some of which I have summarised above: but not a single word was uttered by the Colonial Secretary (the

principal executive officer of the Ceylon Government) or any of his assistants to challenge—much less to deny the accuracy of—these assertions.

I have again and again publicly invited the attention of the Ceylon Government to the harm that these statements were likely to do if they were permitted to remain uncontradicted. I have pressed for at least a statement proclaiming that Indians upon Ceylon plantations are, in virtue of such a proclamation, placed on par with other subjects of His Majesty the King in respect of freedom of movement and speech and also freedom to combine in trade unions and to take political action; that the dwellings that they occupy on plantations are as accessible to people from the outside as the residences of any other class of his Majesty's subjects; and that no one who visits them for any lawful purpose would be liable to be treated as "an intruder" and prosecuted and punished as such. Such a proclamation should also state explicitly, I have insisted, that any regulations to the contrary are rendered void by it.

So far, however, the Ceylon Government has refused to give the lie direct to the statements alleging that Indians live in conditions of semi-slavery upon plantations in the Island. The position certainly looks ugly.

XIV

What are Indians at home going to do? Are they going to leave three-quarters of a million of their fellow-countrymen in conditions of serfdom?

The statements made in the Ceylon Legislative Council show:

(1) that the bulk of Indians in Ceylon have not come to the Island of their own initiative and at their own expense, but that seven out of every nine of them have been BROUGHT there;

(2) that 739,600 Indians who were in Ceylon at the end of 1928 were RECRUITED by agents (*kanganies*) sent out from the Island to the mainland :

(3) that all the men, women (and possibly even children) had been MEASURED and their THUMB MARKS TAKEN ;

(4) that they all live and work under the surveillance of an officer of the Ceylon Government " JUST AS A PRISONER " IS UNDER POLICE SURVEILLANCE ;

(5) that all Indians reside in "lines" that are "MORE A PRISON THAN A SWEET HOME...A FORBIDDEN PLACE FOR ANY VISITOR,"

(6) that the Indian plantation labourers, though UNDER CONTROL, receive less in wages than do FREE INDIANS in Ceylon ;

(7) that these Indians lack freedom to COMBINE and cannot use the strike weapon; and

(8) that education imparted to Indian children on Ceylon plantations is of a type designed to perpetuate semi-slavery.

Do Indians at home lack national self-respect to the point that they are content to let 739,600 of their countrymen live in such degrading conditions ?

Are our people in India so lost to the sense of shame that they are willing to permit a system by which thousands of Indians are annually taken to Ceylon and abide there in such degrading conditions to continue ?

Indian Financial Muddle and Sir George Schuster's Apologia.

By Mr. S. K. SARMA, B. A. B. L.

(Author of " Towards Swaraj ")

THE second budget introduced by Sir George Schuster in the Legislative Assembly (for the current financial year) and the proposals contained therein have naturally given rise to a discussion the acrimony of which has scarcely been witnessed

since the days of the Ilbert bill controversy. After all that is said and done, the heated debates, the private bargainings, the assurance of innocence on the part of the government and of betrayal on the part of the Opposition groups, I am not sure if we have not

made much ado about nothing. I must start with the statement that I am a confirmed free trader and nothing that has been said in these debates either by official spokesmen or the leaders of the political groups can convince me that a fifteen per cent duty is not protection and protection of an unmitigated kind. Nor can I be convinced that it is good to this country or it is necessary for its financial administration that there should be imposed a revenue duty of over five per cent. On the fatal day we departed from that principle we sacrificed the interest of the people to the interests of the producer. And yet I feel persuaded that all the wild things that have been spoken on either side in the Assembly are of no great value. The government have certainly not acted in the best interests of the country in imposing additional taxation nor have popular leaders suggested better. If humdrum and routine were the principles that guided Sir George Schuster, nothing but economic blindness could have justified the attitude of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya or Mr. M.A. Jinnah. Both of them have shown a remarkable lack of what I may call a financial conscience and it was a perverse fight to the end to secure political advantage and make political capital of fiscal measures which have got to be weighed and assessed on quite different principles altogether.

For one thing the debates in the Assembly have proved an eye-opener to the people. They have instructed them in the folly and unwisdom of trusting either to the present agents of government or the capitalist leaders to secure them that freedom from assured poverty and oppressive

taxation which have overwhelmed them for a generation and even more poignantly during the last decade. The reforms started with a guaranteed increase in taxation of ten crores—it has since been increased more than five times—and Sir George Schuster tells us that the coming reforms cannot be thought of without the new taxation imposed this year and without the millstone of imperial preference hanging round our necks. I refuse to believe that a financial expert of the standing of Sir George Schuster really thinks that the scale of expenditure cannot be cut down thirty-three-and-one-third per cent without jeopardising efficiency or, if given a free hand, he would not do so. The latest recruit to the Finance Department can certainly run the administration on the present scale and with "drift" as his motto; and we do not require Sir George Schuster for that purpose. The Swarajist leaders have told us that they are good only for making theatrical displays and for serious work they could not be trusted. The Liberals have shown the cloven foot and are only thinking of bargaining with the Government. The Independents have proved how independent they are of the welfare of the large mass whose interests they pretend to safeguard. As for the Nationalists they are not satisfied with the present fiscal burden. They will have a twenty per cent duty all round. The Moslem group have no higher mission than to thwart the efforts of every other group even by ingratiating themselves into the hearts of the bureaucracy. That is the painful disclosure made to the General taxpayer by the debates in the Assembly. Oh, for the days of a Sir Pherozeshah Mehta or a G. K. Gokhale!

The General features of the budget are now well-known and they do not require to be repeated. The deficit was estimated at 552 lakhs, including a some of 90 lakhs, the budget deficit of 1929-30. But this along with the deterioration from the budget estimate of 60 lakhs is said in para 9 of Sir George Schuster's speech to have been covered by the sum held at the credit of the German liquidation account under the treaty of Versailles. Therefore, said Sir George Schuster, the year 1929-30 will close with an even balance. If so, why lower down in paras 29 and 35 he should include this sum is not clear. The real deterioration then for which Sir George Schuster had to find money is 99 lakhs for commercial departments, 107 lakhs for interest on deadweight debt, 88 lakhs for post office Cash certificates and 27 lakhs increase in provision for reduction or avoidance of debt. Or 321 lakhs in all. We have got to deduct from this a sum of 6 lakhs set off on account of the Equalisation Fund of the profits of the gold Standard Reserve. Whatever justification there may be for the creation of the Fund in normal times it is nothing short of folly to create it when additional taxation has to be imposed to balance the budget. 315 lakhs is certainly a big sum and no Finance Member worth his salt can think of making no provision if he was sure of such a deficit. But is Sir George Schuster so sure? After all the railways and Posts and Telegraphs may improve and if they do not lead to a marque of surplus, may yet cover up the expected deficit. The interest charges however remain. But the Finance Member has made an ample provision of six crores for the reduction avoidance of debt. Surely that might be cut down by half in a year

of general depression; and might be content with reducing the debt by three crores instead of six. That would have made no "raid" upon the taxable capacity of the people though it might have done violence to orthodox principles of the Finance Department. That would certainly have avoided all the vexation, irritation, and heart-burning caused to the dubious measures that have been adopted in the teeth of the universal execration of the people.

Indeed Sir George Schuster's one aim seems to have been to stand well with the world and not with the people of India. He has echoed the bogey raised in interested quarters by the silly effusions of certain hair-bained politicians about repudiating the debt. The uncovered debt of India is well under two hundred crores which will affect neither the borrower nor the lender. The repudiation of this sum, part of which is a free gift to the expences of the war will not impoverish the united kingdom nor will it enrich India except bring on her the odium of such repudiation. The rest, about 800 crores, is fully covered by assets in the shape of railway property and Irrigation works. But it is not more of this that Sir George Schuster has been thinking, but the immediate effect on the money market which such effusions have. It was Sir Basil Blackett's desire that the sterling debt of India should not be added to except in years of distress and of emergency and his efforts were concentrated to raising all the money he needed in India. But Sir George Schuster began his regime with an avowal of his faith in the importance of "economic development" even at the cost of sterling borrowing. He re-

pudiated the charge that the policy of borrowing externally carries with it any undue advantage to the British investor or evidence of a weakness of the financial position of India. He instanced the case of the United States before the War, of Japan and the great Dominions. We have all heard of Adam's case of the fall of man, but have we heard the serpent's case of it? "Neither a borrower nor a lender be", is not a maxim for international financiers to pursue; but is the case again of other borrowers on a par with that of ours? The story is a true one and the argument has not even the merit of novelty about it. Has Sir George Schuster ever heard of one A. J. Wilson of the "Investor's Review" and read his writings? He would not be so sure then of the condition of the borrowing Powers.

But so far as India is concerned, she started at all events since the period of Sir Basil Blackett with the determination of avoiding sterling borrowing. A Committee was appointed at his instance and the External Capital Committee definitely recommended the avoidance of foreign debts on a sterling basis. His efforts showed that given a policy of resolute sympathy all the sum that we needed might be raised internally. And suppose that we failed. What if? There is such a thing as cutting the coat according to the cloth. The pace of economic development might be slower; but it would be steadier. We know that every pie invested in the country would be returned to the people of India and will not be taken away by the foreign bondholder. But there is a more important consideration besides. Foreign indebtedness is the perennial source of foreign domination. Look at the case of Egypt. My

interest in the Arabi movement, said Lord Posebery, is the interest of the bondholder; and Egypt would long since have obtained her liberation but for the conspiracy of the capitalist investors. The solution of the Indian problem likewise would be easier but for the British investor. British trade and commerce would be making tremendous strides in India if she had not been drained of the annual savings a good portion of which is transmitted abroad in a number of shapes. A hundred crores is not a wrong estimate of the sum to which the savings of the people are annually mortgaged to the foreigner. I would ask Sir George Schuster to consider seriously the economic condition of the Indian people if they had an addition at least for a decade of hundred crores to their investing resources. Would they require a Banking Parliament at cost of 7 lakhs to go about the country teaching the people the lessons of thrift? They would solve their economic problem themselves. I lose patience with these who think that in these days of economic penetration, exploitation and bondage, it is not good for the country to keep off the foreign lender. You may play Charles Surface with effect if you have Sir Oliver ready to overlook your faults and redeem you from your wicked ways. But Sir George Schuster is not wrong so much when he goes into rhapsodies over the beauties of borrowing as when he seeks to conceal the true cause for the step he has been driven to take. Is it due entirely to the difficulties of exchange or is it due in the main to the "economic development" of the country? Sir George is persuaded that it is the latter which an ungrateful people refuse to give him credit for. "When there are difficulties as regards exchange", he says,

"which would be expressed in other countries by a tendency to export gold, that is expressed in India by difficulties for the government to effect remittance" But why difficulties as regards exchange? Has not the exchange, better than the sea which refused to yield to King Canute, steadied itself by order of the Finance Department! I thought that the eighteen penny rupee has become a fait accompli and that there is no difficulty about exchange at all? It required neither sterling borrowing nor contraction of rupee currency if the exchange had steadied itself at any figure. But according to the admission of Sir George Schuster currency is redundant at eighteen pence and it had to be contracted by ten crores during the year. Does he propose to stop there or is further contraction necessary to achieve what has already been statutorily achieved? As for the difficulties on the other side, the cessation of the Secretary of State's sales ought to suffice if the fall in exchange were only temporary. And it is for that purpose that the gold standard Reserve is maintained in England. The object of the location of the Gold Standard Reserve is not to ease Thregmortan street or relieve the Indian exchanger, but its primary and only function is to steady exchange. It is prostituting its function if it is diverted from its main purpose and if other steps have to be taken as is ruefully admitted by the Finance Member. Sterling borrowing for that purpose is a conscious admission of the failure of the currency policy and the defiance of the rupee to stand at the statutory ratio.

I do not propose to enter here into a discussion over the statements made by Sir George Schuster in defence of the contraction of the internal currency. Some of them are so astounding that

it is only charitable to hope that he has not fully grasped their implications. "If as has happened in the current year," he says, "prices fall and the country requires less currency and if on the top of that large quantities of redundant silver currency are returned from hoards, the currency authority must meet the situation by cancelling currency". Wherefrom he learnt this wisdom we fail to conceive. "Otherwise," he argues, "as inflated condition exists, internal prices would keep unduly high in relation to external prices and internal rates for money unduly low." The result would be that the "natural flow of exports which is necessary to maintain the country's balance of trade would be restricted and a very unhealthy situation dangerous to the stability of currency (did he mean exchange?) would be set up." Paragraphs 95 to 97 of Sir George Schuster's speech is a revelation of a mind obsessed with notions of currency principles which it would be folly to convict any economist of repute to be guilty of. Even as a matter of experience based on Indian conditions, every word of it is wrong. Every schoolboy knows that there is no such thing as an absolute redundancy of currency; it is only redundant to a particular rate of exchange. The volume of currency normal for the exchange at sixteen pence may be abundant at eighteen pence and what is normal at eighteen pence may be redundant at too shillings. You can push up the rate of exchange to any extent if you are only prepared to pay the price of contraction. But when Sir George Schuster has resolved to utilise all the resources at his disposal to maintain the rate of exchange at eighteen pence, we cannot quarrel with him at the inevitable contraction to which he must necessarily resort.

Are rising prices and a low rate of interest necessarily such bad things that the Finance Member should go out of his way to deflate currency to prevent both? Sir George Schuster thinks so; and that settles the matter so far as the helpless people are concerned. What though traders all the world over pant for increasing prices and a low rate of interest. They are things good for the gander and not for the goose. It is futile to state anything in reply as Sir George Schuster's conceptions are fundamentally absurd. But may I in all earnestness ask him to take a retrospect of the conditions of this country a few years ago? After the American debacle of 1906-07, the volume of internal currency began to be doubled; prices in India stood higher than any other country; the exchange maintained itself at sixteen pence and exports did not fall off. And why? It was a period (between 1908-1914) when facts belied completely every argument advanced by Sir George Schuster in the paragraphs we have referred to. And may I suggest an answer? I believe it is also an answer given by a witness (I forget his name now) before one of the currency Commissions. Whenever the Secretary of state for India sells bills, there is always an excess of exports; when he ceases, it falls. It is his activities in the exchange market that settle the quantity of exports. The reason is plain. He supplies funds for lack of which the exporter finds his hands tied. I shall revert to the subject, interesting as it is, later on in subsequent issues of the "Hindustan Review" and content myself now by saying that the artificial enforcement of low prices and dear money for the purpose of keeping up exports to pay our foreign creditors is the strongest possible

condemnation of the policy of "economic development" by sterling borrowing for which Sir George Schuster stands and for which he proposes to commit the country unless handicapped meanwhile.

To revert to the budget, I have stated that the real deficit even according to the statement of Sir George Schuster is only 315 lakhs; but he expects a natural increase of revenue of one crore. So that after all even if he is averse to "raid" the "sinking fund" so-called—it is not a real sinking fund though—he has to find money only to the extent of about two crores to balance his budget. And let us remember too that a major portion of this expenditure is not recurring. About 146 lakhs are accounted for under the head of "special expenditure" many of which may not be incurred in the next year. The obvious duty of a Finance Member who is not out to making pin-pricks is to await the situation calmly even if he could not see his way to effect retrenchment. That was the promise held out last year in his first budget speech. "I do not think that it would be justifiable to impose new taxation," said he, "until it is more clearly demonstrated that there is a *permanent* need for it" (The italics are mine). Secondly he said, "I want to have a fuller opportunity of reviewing the expenditure side of the budget than has even possible in the limited time since I took over office". The expenditure side he appears to have studied during the official year and has come to the conclusion that "for various reasons we cannot count on being able to find any substantial margin for reduction in the cost of the civil Administration of the Central Government". As for military administration, it is a matter once for

all settled that we should have a quinquennium of fifty-five crores. As to expenditure on such items as interest on debt and those provisions "which do not represent actual outgoings in cash but which are required on principles of sound finance as reserves against established or accruing liabilities,"—well, "nothing should be done which would suggest to the outside that India's credit will be less carefully preserved in the future than in the past"! These are our hopes.

En passant the remark of Sir George Schuster that on the expenditure side there is not much to hope for, is the most painful feature of his budget statement. The alarming growth of the rake's progress cannot be stopped and Sir George does not know how it can be. From what he has stated, it appears that one cause of the growth lies in the extravagance of the Provincial Governments. I have read with painful regret the admission that claims are put forward on the central government to bring the conditions of service on a level prevailing with those of the Provincial governments. Sir George Schuster has confirmed one in the statement that Provincial autonomy does not mean economic administration and that the entire revenues and expenditure must be managed on a uniform principle and therefore by a central authority. Competition and race in extravagance between the central and Provincial governments have accentuated a situation which it is painful to contemplate. But Sir George Schuster says that the extra taxation is not so much to meet the deficit of the year but to prepare the way for a more generous allocation to the provinces of sources of revenue for nation-building services.

Now, this is the most enigmatic

among the various ipse dixits of Sir George Schuster. Of course he knows certainly more than anybody else the new allocations of revenue and expenditure as between the provincial and central governments. The attempt made by the Montford reforms has failed to give satisfaction and in my own humble way I have sought to suggest that no equitable distribution is possible. I have every reason to believe that the attention of Sir John Simon and Mr. Layton has been drawn to the difficulties of any such attempt which I have summed up in "Towards Swaraj"; and with a full knowledge of them, the distinguished editor of the "Economist" may yet find a solution. But it is obviously unfair of Sir George Schuster merely to suggest, rouse our curiosity and drop the curtain. Surely any allocation that might be made by the efforts and on the advice of the Simon Commission may await public scrutiny and Sir George Schuster need not take the wind out of our sails by anticipating public criticism and making provision for it. One can hardly see any connection between silver duty or imperial preference of five per cent and the allocation of revenues between the local and central governments. But Sir George Schuster is not likely to speak without bell, book and candle. And if so, the question arises, whether it is not necessary in the interests of the general taxpayer whether a comprehensive enquiry should not be held as to the limits of expenditure, central and provincial, before they are stereotyped by the said allocation. A royal commission on public expenditure to go into the whole question of the cost of service is absolutely necessary in view of Sir George Schuster's statement that there is

no cutting down expenditure in any department. Examination by a single officer is no good. Questions of policy will have to be determined and the cost and conditions of service will have to be decided upon. In view to Sir George Schuster's offer welcoming any measure for the conduct of such a search, I venture respectfully to submit that no financial adjustment can be possible or ought to be made unless the whole question of public expenditure is definitely gone into by a Royal Commission.

II.

If the need for additional taxation was neither pressing nor permanent, the choice of subjects appears to have been made with the singular purpose of irritating and inflaming public opinion. Sir George Schuster lays the flattering unction to his soul that his proposals are designed so as to reduce restrictions on economic action and to lighten rather than increase the burden on the poorest classes. There are a number of claims he makes in the concluding portion of his speech, but the most audacious is the one we have referred to above. It might have come to him as a surprise that an ungrateful people refuse to appreciate the wisdom of his expert actions and, speaking on behalf of the very poorer classes, condemn him for his proposals. I may at once say that so far as the reduction of the export duty on rice and the small relief shown in the reduction of the import duty on kerosine are concerned, they are but tardy attempts in the removal of those restrictions on trade which have been the bane of the Indian fiscal policy during the last few years. Sir George Schuster is certainly entitled to the gratitude of the people for the infinitesimal relief shown to them.

But it is certainly absurd of him to claim the same measure of support to his other proposals. The tax on sugar is certainly not going to stimulate the production of sugar and reduce its price by internal competition. And sugar is a considerable item in the budget of the poor. It can only enhance the price of that necessity taking away the benefit of the two other fiscal measures adopted. That the price of sugar has fallen and therefore the extra tax can be imposed is no argument which can with reason be supported as the fall in the price of agricultural products has necessarily crippled the resources of the consumer and it is by sale of his other agricultural products that the Indian poorer classes will have to pay the duty on sugar. But the two most important items chosen for tax are silver and cotton and it is to the economic and political effects of the duty on imported silver and cotton goods that one is naturally inclined to refer as it has attracted the widest possible attention. The duty on imported silver is not sought to be justified on economic grounds; nor is it necessary. The well-known antipathy of most English financiers towards the white metal has long since marked it for attack and in view of the falling price of silver, it is anticipated that any duty that may be levied on the metal will not decrease its internal consumption. The causes of the depreciation in its value and the efforts of the action of the Government of India thereto are matters involving closer examination than can be given now; and it is enough to draw attention to one effect which has been ignored in the general discussion on the subject, namely, its repercussion on the consumption of the yellow metal. One of the important causes of the world depression is generally

understood to be the scarcity of gold; and its annual production has fallen to about eighty-three millions from over ninety millions. There is an increasing presence on it at the same time on the part of the various powers for currency purposes. The cheapening of gold has had the effect of stimulating the imports of gold in place of silver and in fact of recent years gold is displaying silver as the store of value. I am certain that it can never in India become the medium of exchange. Gold-using countries and especially Great Britain will have to consider whether it is advisable that India should become the sink of gold instead of silver where it cannot serve any monetary purpose. It would obviously seem to be the part of wisdom on the part of financiers with pretensions for foresight and ability to prevent the waste of a precious metal which is the basis of international trade. One would have supposed therefore that Sir George Schuster would do nothing to stimulate the internal consumption of gold as against silver; but it is regrettable that he has joined the group of statesmen who have thoughtlessly organised a vendetta against the white metal. The most depressing feature of the situation, however, is his assurance that it is to be a permanent feature of the Indian fiscal system and that the realised surplus arising out of the silver duty will hereafter be distributed to the provinces for nation building purposes. It is a fitting corollary to the policy of appropriating the savings of the Gold Standard Reserve to the imperial revenues.

The duty on imported cotton goods is the most objectionable feature of the new proposal and as such has excited considerable feeling. It has been

attacked and supported on various grounds by different groups of men interested in the textile industry, the only point of view ignored being that of the general consumer. That patient beast had no advocate though the government of India never fail to declare that they are his special trustees. Indeed the refusal of the Nationalist demand to increase the duty to 20 per cent on all goods was based upon the consideration that it would adversely affect the consumer. One would be anxious to know if the government of India would have abandoned the policy of imperial preference but for the burden that a uniform increase would impose upon the general consumer to a deleterious extent. The Nationalists made the suggestion that in the interests of the Bombay industry the consumer would even be prepared to put up with the extra five per cent now levied on non-British goods. Sir George Schuster's profession of sympathy must be taken at its face value having regard to his vehement protestations. How far the five per cent preference is likely to affect Japan which is the one country sought to be hit by the new duties cannot now be seen. Japanese statesmen, her shippers and merchants have attempted to get over this preference by reduction in fares in the interests of their textile industry and it is likely her manufacturers will take to those kinds which appeal to the consuming public even with a higher cost price. The tax has been levied with a three-fold object, first to protect Bombay and secure the cooperation of the mill-owners, second to protect Lancashire and third to drive away the competition of Japan which is getting keener. And yet the government of India have satisfied no party. Bombay has been relieved a little too late and the subsidy

though welcome to the manufacturer is not likely to leave no repercussion on labour which knows that a part of the protection to the capitalist may easily be transferred to it in justice. Labour is getting educated in these matters and its leaders will shortly tell the rank and all that they had better try to snatch a portion of the gift. Lancashire is not satisfied by the preference as the increase of four per cent must dislocate business and as for Japan it is notice to them of a tariff war with all that it connotes.

I do not propose to traverse all the grounds so ably urged by the government of Lord Curzon in their famous despatch against imperial preference. Their objections may be copied here to dispose of the question once for all. The conclusions of the government were: "First, that, without any such system India already enjoys a large—probably an exceptionally large—measure of the advantages of the free exchange of imports and exports. Secondly that if the matter is regarded exclusively from an economic standpoint, India has something but not perhaps very much to offer to the Empire; that she has very little to gain in return; and that she has a great deal to lose and to risk. Thirdly in a financial aspect, the danger to India of reprisals by foreign nations, even if eventually unsuccessful, is so serious and their results would be so disastrous that we should not be justified in embarking on any new policy of the kind unless assured of benefits greater and more certain than any which have so far, presented themselves to our mind." Sir George Schuster must be aware of these objections and it is remarkable that none of the matters specifically raised here have been referred to in his

speeches. Their validity must perforce be admitted to remain notwithstanding the policy of discriminative protection to which the country stands committed. In fact one of the professorial supporters of the scheme defended it on the ground that it was discriminative protection, though one fails to understand how protection can ever be discriminative.

In the elaborate debate that have taken place in the Assembly and the Council of Elders, every aspect of the case has been thoroughly shifted. Sir George Rainy has committed the Government to a review of the effect of these duties after three years by the Tariff Board. And in three years the economic effect of these duties may be perceived. Since Bombay has wanted it and a section would have been gladder for a uniform duty—on the higher scale, the voice of the consumer has been drowned for a while and it may therefore be more germane to consider the political and financial as opposed to the economic effect of the scheme of preference. That both as a political move and as a measure of financial prudence the duty has been ill-conceived, ill-timed and inopportune is by now clear. The general opposition to any scheme of imperial preference has been stiffened by the purely mercenary aspect of it emphasised by Sir George Schuster. He suggested that British democracy ought to be placated in view of the political concessions it is contemplating to make. Imperial preference as a price of self-government is certainly a proposition worth considering and it would perhaps be a good subject for consideration at the Round Table Conference. But that the price should be paid in advance of any concession—

whether it is forth coming or not—is what one fails to understand. If at all, the financial injustice borne by the people of India for over three-quarters of a century by the effort of the War Office craves for early removal and if the British Treasury made the gesture to take on its shoulders the burden on the military account imposed on the Indian tax payer, he can easily be persuaded to discuss the question of relieving unemployment in Lancashire. It was obviously a tactical blunder on the part of Sir George Schuster to have made this forced appeal to a charitable grant to the relief of the British manufacturer and workmen as a quid-pro-quo for the off-chance of our getting some political concessions.

But politics apart, Sir George Schuster has hopelessly failed to consider the effect of increased prices on Indian imports on the maintenance of an increasing amount of exports to meet his foreign obligations. A country so peculiarly indebted as India is to Great Britain and bound to maintain an excess of exports of a hundred crores a year to pay the official and commercial home charges and keep the exchange at a particular level, must be assured of a steady market for her goods—and the United Kingdom is not such a market—and must have low import duties. The higher exchange value of the rupee has decreased the purchasing

power of the people and they get fewer rupees for their goods and have to pay higher price for imported goods by reason of the duties. Why the Indian produce should be hurt both ways by a paternal government is what I fail to conceive. Sir George Schuster may be persuaded that the eighteen penny rupee is a "settled fact" and I have known more serious "settled facts" unsettled; and if he thinks that the producer must be hurt by being forced to sell his goods for fewer rupees elsewhere, should he hurt him again as a consumer by compelling him to pay higher for the imported goods? That exactly is the situation which the increased duties have created and yet from his exalted place in Simla and the higher altitudes Sir George Schuster pretends ignorance of the motive behind the all-India agitation against the import duties. And what is worse, we are enraging non-British consumers of Indian products by our attitude and prevent them pay even the fewer rupees we have been forced to receive by the statutory rupee. Japan and the United States will not be slow to make reprisals. We have misused the power for the free imports and exports of our goods to all the markets of the world by the pursuit of what is at best a mirage and we call it discriminative protection of a national industry. Verily men have never been so deceived by words so foolishly.

" OUR DUTY TO INDIA "

By Mr. PETER FREEMAN, M. P.

(*Chairman, Commonwealth of India League*).

An Urgent Question.

India has become one of the most urgent public and parliamentary issues. Very soon the House of Commons will have to decide what answer we shall give to India.

For fifty years her cry has fallen on deaf years. India will now wait no longer. She is entitled to an answer. It is true the problem that India has set us is one which challenges our faith in democracy, liberty and freedom. Nor can we afford to be blind to the stupendous economic issues that face us in this matter. Britain has ruled India for over a century. Without any attempt to exaggerate, or to apportion responsibilities, we may say that the material conditions of the people of India are amongst the worst in the world, and far below those acceptable to our standards of civilization in the west.

From our own experience in this country we know the advantage that the people gained when they had secured the power to vote, the opportunity to chose their own government by a democratic franchise, to call them to account, and if necessary to ensure them at the elections. The benefits of education, of decent housing conditions, were denied to the mass of the population until this was secured; poverty, ignorance and diseases stal-

ked the land until democracy was established.

India is no exception to the rule. Great Britain, through our Government, is responsible for the rule of India. We can say what we like about India's faults or weaknesses, that will not minimise our responsibilities, nor alter the fact that a century of British rule has brought about a state of things wherein the masses for whom we profess so much sympathy are still destitute, illiterate and unprotected.

India To-day

Out of the 240 million under British control in India there are between 40 and 70 millions who are perpetually starving,—who never get one good meal a day! Famines and pestilences find them easy prey as they have so little capacity for resistance. An official Government Report is often quoted by Indian speakers wherein it is said that "Famine (in India) is the pronounced expression of universal starvation". In modern times with all the knowledge that we have these preventible causes of suffering are a disgrace to any administration and constitute in themselves an incontrovertible condemnation of the British Government.

Take public health. There is in modern India only one hospital to

every seventy thousand of the population. The average life period of an Indian is under twenty five years: In England (where it is low enough) it is about forty-five.

Our educational institutions have only touched 4 per cent of the population, and even where let it be remembered, that roughly nine tenths of the education expenditure comes from private sources, and only about one tenth from the State Grants.

The condition of labour in India with its many thousands of men, women and children in the plantations and living conditions that are worse than serfdom, with little or no Trade Union organisation to protect them, with extremely low paid labour in the factories and mines are a continual menace to our own conditions. Over 22 million tons of coal are mined in India annually. Mr. Purcell of the Trades Union Congress gives the wages of mine workers as ranging from 10 d. to 1 s. 11½ d. per day—not per hour: From ten to eleven, and even fourteen hours a day are worked. Thousands of women still work underground in the mines of India.

How the Government Raises Revenue.

The greatest incidence of taxation is on the poor, particularly the very poor. Taxing the consumer (customs) brings in 20 per cent. The salt tax 6 per cent, opium and liquor about 17 per cent. Land tax is responsible for 16 per cent. The burden of taxation on land is mainly on the smaller cultivator and the poorest pay the most! As against these Income tax accounts only for 9 per cent. It is to our lasting shame that we tax the poor man's salt to pay for our army! We make money out of the manufacture and sale of

about 1,700,000 pounds of opium every year! Yes, and all under Government control.

Some people are never tired of talking of the blessings we have conferred on India by railways and irrigation. The Indian Budget figures give us an aspect of the picture that is not usually presented to us. Irrigation and railways make a profit and out of the receipts railways account for 15 per cent. of India's income, and more than four fifths of this comes from the poor third class passengers. Take it any way you like it is the poor man who pays. To quote the words of the Indian Trade Union leader Mr. Shiva Rao, "the poor man pays for his salt, his sugar, his matches, his cloth. Drink and drug habits are encouraged because the Government gets the revenue."

How India's Money is spent

Consider again how we spend money in India. I have not the latest budget figures before me, but the figures of 1924-25, which are for all practical purposes sufficient. The total revenue of India including central and provincial is 154 million pounds. How do we spend it?

Roughly about 37 per cent (or 70 million pounds) is spent on the Army and Police, and 10 per cent on general administration. In other words Indians pay about half their budget by being forced to keep themselves in serfdom for the upkeep of a foreign army!

As against these, the amount spent for the social services of the people present a sorry contrast. Education receives 5 per cent, agriculture less than 1 per cent, and public health about 3 per cent. To put it in another way: Education, Public Health,

Medical Relief, Agriculture, Industrial and all social Services put together take less of the Indian taxpayer's money than the British troops alone ! Would we tolerate anything like this in our own country ! When in the last Government the Minister of health cut down the milk supply for babies, was he not almost called a murderer ? In India judged by such standards our records will lay us open to being thought of in even worse terms !

Does Government exist for the good of the Governed ?

Britain is pledged to rule India for India's benefit. Have we done so ? I leave the above facts to tell their own tale. The Indians have demanded the right to rule themselves, to manage their own affairs. Our record hardly savours of unselfish or good government. We are some times told that the Indian masses would suffer if India was given Home Rule. The condition could hardly be worse than they are to-day after Britain's attempts and experiments for over a century. The legislature that we have created in India do not represent the masses, they are based on high property qualifications. Nor have we done much more than place the heaviest burden of taxation on the poorest classes.

These things must be changed. Great Britain cannot do it. We can however help India to do it herself. This is the wise course. No nation is good enough to rule another. Unfortunately we have delayed matters so long as to make ourselves distrusted in India and to-day large section of the people are unwilling to confer and negotiate with us. Still all is not yet lost. The earlier we can establish Self-Government in India with her consent and co-operation, the better for us all.

Our Duty

The Labour Party is pledged to the hilt. Congresses and Conferences have year after year passed resolutions urging Self-Government and Self-Determination for India. The Prime Minister (the Rt. Hon. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald) said in 1928 that he hoped India would become a Dominion 'in months rather than years.'

No one could deny it is a great problem, perhaps one of the greatest the world has ever had to face. A press of vast influence, vested interests of tremendous power, reactionary forces of all kinds are being rallied against India with all their subtlety and guile. The task is beset with difficulties. Negotiations and adjustments are undoubtedly necessary. Difficult and delicate questions have to be thrashed out. There are matters for statesmen on either side. Vision, courage and commonsense above all, are wanted for their solution.

We are here however concerned with principles. No time and no effort must be lost in making it abundantly clear to our Government and the Opposition Parties in the House of Commons that we mean to suffer no derogation of our pledges or our principles. The voice of India must be heard. Her legitimate claim is for a free and full partnership in the British Commonwealth. In honour and duty bound we can offer India nothing less than a partnership based on the equality of Dominion Status. To do anything less would be to head for disasters and to belie our own traditions and to imperil our future. It is a task which has come as a challenge to our generation. Let us prove ourselves equal to the opportunity.

Apart or Together.

Ours is a shrunken world. We cannot hope to be prosperous or happy without ensuring contentment and happiness to the rest of Humanity. We have agitated and taken risk for the outlawry of war, for the recognition of Russia, for the freedom of China, for democratic rule in Egypt. We went to war for the freedom of Belgium.

Is the cause of 240 millions of our fellow subjects any less our concern? We have a direct and definite responsibility for their present state and future freedom.

India will gain that freedom with or without our co-operation. If the

former, we shall have ranged on our side in cordial friendship, a people whose culture and whole traditions will add honour to our fellowship in the British Commonwealth of Nations. We shall continue to enjoy the advantages of mutual trade and commerce.

We shall have given opportunities for regeneration to a starving and poverty-stricken people. We shall have laid the foundations for the first democratic Empire the world has ever known. We shall have secured peace between East and West. We shall have established a civilisation based on "Government of the people for the people, by the people." There lies our duty to India.

MAHATMA GANDHI : A STUDY.

By Mr. B. NATESAN.

The power of love, as the basis of a State, has never been tried.

We think our civilization near its meridian but we are yet only at the cock-crowing and the morning star.

EMERSON.

In concluding his thoughtful essay on Politics Emerson wrote these pregnant words : "I do not call to mind a single human being who has steadily denied the authority of the laws, on the simple ground of his own moral nature. Such designs, full of genius and full of fate as they are, are not entertained except avowedly as air-pictures. If the individual who exhibits them dare to think them practicable, he disgusts the scholars and churchmen ; and men of talent, and women of superior sentiments can-

not hide their contempt. Not the less does nature continue to fill the heart of youth with suggestions of this enthusiasm, and there are now men,—if indeed I can speak in the plural number,—more exactly, I will say, I have just been conversing with one man, to whom no weight of adverse experience will make it for a moment appear impossible, that thousands of human beings might share and obey each with the other the grandest and truest sentiments, as well as a knot of friends, or a pair of lovers."

Now who is that singular person ? A careful study of the biographical records of Emerson should doubtless reveal his identity. Any student of Emerson's contemporary life and thought will single out Thoreau for that distinction. But no one who has watched Mr. Gandhi's singular utterances and his yet more singular career will have any hesitation in saying that man might very well have been Mr. Gandhi himself. For alone among the thinkers of our time he holds that even as the reign of law has gradually displaced the anarchy of nature red in tooth and claw, it will yet in its turn be supplanted by the law of love which the Scriptures truly say is the law of life. "There is not," continues Emerson, "among the most religious and instructed men of the most religious and civil nations a reliance on the moral sentiments, and a sufficient belief in the unity of things, to persuade them that society can be maintained without artificial restraints as well as the solar system ; or that the private citizen might be reasonable and a good neighbour, without the hint of a jail or a confiscation. What is strange, too, there never was in any man sufficient faith in the power of rectitude, to inspire him with the broad "design of renovating the state on the principle of right and love."

Curiously enough we have such a man in Mr. Gandhi who has upheld by precept and by example the supreme value of love as the governing idea of social polity. An age which has witnessed the greatest war in history and has scarcely recovered from the cataclysm of the armageddon is not so easily to be weaned from its moorings. And yet no time could be more propitious for a message of peace on earth and good-will among men.

II

Mr. Gandhi has dominated our time by a certain spiritual strength of character and indomitable will coupled with a skill in the arts of persuasion comparable only to that of Socrates.

In appearance, Mr. Gandhi is a short slim figure, and physically so insignificant that you can hardly distinguish him in a crowd. And yet as Johnson said of Burke, you have only to draw him out for a talk before you discover that you are in the presence of a master mind. The broad and expansive forehead descending to a pointed chin reveal the possession of an extraordinary brain matched with a determined will. What that will power means has been brought into play on more than one stormy occasion in the vicissitudes of a tempestuous career.

"We know," he said in South Africa 16 years ago, "we are only a handful of resisters." "I do not despair the least because we are few. If only one Satyagrahi sticking to truth will be prepared to sacrifice his life, I am certain that the Union Government will surely be defeated. I can spend away all the energy and ability I have for getting the tax of £. 3 abolished. Even if you, who are few, and who are with me, retrace your steps and leave me, I do not care for it. For the abolition of £.3 tax I shall fight to the end of my life. I shall be a rebel against the Union Government. Like a mad man I will wander from one end of South Africa to the other. So long as there is life in this body I will fight single handed. Those who want to join me may do so."

Careless of the flesh he would court all the terrors of the prison and do the

rough work of the labouring man with a meekness of demeanour and gentleness of spirit, that it would be no blasphemy to compare him with the crucified. "His face expresses great patience and love," wrote Mr. Pearson who had known him long, "and to me he seemed near to my idea of St. Francis of Assisi than any one I had ever seen." It is the challenge of all-conquering love, that explains the extraordinary hold that he has on the minds and hearts of men, a fervour of faith that laughs at what the world calls impossible. Well has Professor Murray warned the English speaking world when he said:—"Persons in power should be very careful how they deal with a man who cares nothing for sensual pleasure, nothing for riches, nothing for comfort or praise or promotion, but is simply determined to do what he believes to be right. He is a dangerous and uncomfortable enemy, because his body, which you can always conquer, gives you so little purchase upon his soul."

III

And yet none could be more gentle in bearing, nor more luminously reasonable in discourse. There is nothing in him of the SAVA INDIGNATIO, we associate with the prophets of denunciation. Other men of heroic mould seldom argue; they dictate; and when they find that their voice is a cry in the wilderness and the swine run headlong to its destruction heedless of warnings, they utter words of despair. Not so Mr. Gandhi. He is an incurable optimist and even when every thing goes wrong his soul burns the brighter. 'There is enough fire in my belly to burn up all the sham in the world,' he says with Tulsi Das. And he is firm as rock; his mind unclouded, his

vision undimmed, and his judgment saner than ever. How few of our public men can stand an intimate scrutiny as Johnson does in Boswell? Many who bulk so large at a distance, shrivel into nothing as we come in personal contact with them. What a diversity between practice and profession, between their public and private life? Mr. Gandhi is to my mind the one example of a man who improves on acquaintance. No man is a hero to his valet but contact with Gandhi reveals his real stature as the tallest of us all. He compels obedience by the logic of his reasoning and the glamour of his presentation—fortified by a character which instils respect.

I can hardly tell you, writes Mr. Andrews to an English friend "What power they (Mr. Gandhi's ideas) have been in fashioning my own life, as they have come to me, tinged with his own personality. My mind always reacts to them with a shock of surprise and often of opposition. At every turn, I find, he hits me harder, and my own conventions crumble. But there is a pure joy in it all,—first the joy of conflict; and then the greater joy of being defeated seeing where the mistake was all the time. Do you remember those young sophists who used to come to Socrates—how Socrates used to knock "them down so tenderly, but unerringly, with some searching question, and then pick them up again and show them exactly where they went wrong? I often find myself like one of them. There comes one sudden question from this Socrates of ours in the East,—and my house of cards goes tumbling down to the ground. Furthermore, shall I say it with all reverence—sometimes the thought goes far beyond and far deeper than Socrates. It re-

minds me of the thoughts of Christ." It would take a volume to discuss his religious opinions, his politics, his theories of health, diet, and of population. For his interests are encyclopædic; and on every subject he is refreshingly original.

"He touched nothing which he did not adorn."

IV

One of the most infallible tests of character in a public man is his attitude towards his political opponents. Now for many years Mr. Gandhi has been in the public eye leading large masses of men, arrayed against authority, now against convention, often against powerful factors and vested interests. Few men have held more uncompromising views on a diversity of matters. When once he has made up his mind, his loyalty to his convictions as to his colleagues is unwavering. His dogmatism extends to almost every field of intellectual, moral, and social thought. He is well known to oppose the whole tendency of modern civilization. He discards the multiplicity of modern machinery and resists like the monks of mediæval Europe all inroads of modernity in any form. His religion is an intensely personal affair—a rigorous asceticism, coupled with a beautiful tenderness for life, and a most catholic form of cosmopolitanism. His politics is a method of self-discipline and sacrifice, seldom achieved except under a military order with the enemy at the gates threatening destruction—and yet Mr. Gandhi would accept no violence however disciplined. His social heresies are equally abhorrent to the orthodox. He condemns our Universities and upholds that they have only manufactured men with "slave mentality" fit for no work of noble

note. And then with blissful forgetfulness of all laws of political economy or the frailties of human nature, he asks the whole country to discard the mills and take to spinning yarns—an unceasing and dreary occupation for all and sundry. Railways, law courts, schools, castes, the hierarchy of social and political orders all should go under and the world made a *TABULA RASA* for a new Utopia of clean souls and diligent hands. Well, these are not exactly views that could go unchallenged. I am not going to argue the correctness or otherwise of these opinions. We should not have one but many treatises to discuss them. But the fact remains that he has roused many elements in opposition—some of them well organised, and well equipped for thwarting what they deem the narrow eclecticism of Mr. Gandhi. There is no doubt they consider him reactionary and dangerous and they know that no compromise is possible. But two things they deny not. Mr. Gandhi's sincerity and a quite understandable though impossible philosophy. They know that Mr. Gandhi is a clean-fighter. It is this aspect of Mr. Gandhi that inspires respect for his character and admiration for his tact. Others have assailed him, have misinterpreted him, have distorted his views, have slandered and calumniated him. But Mr. Gandhi has answered them with noble candour and nobler silence. He has never once stooped to their tactics. While he has censured "wicked" and "satanic" institutions with the stern denunciation of the prophets, he has fought his opponents with clean weapons and with no malice. Stubborn in his beliefs, even against the advice of his best friends, (loyalty to whom has been one of the most beautiful traits of his character),

he is in all controversies the pattern of a perfect gentlemen.

Mr. Gandhi is personally so gentle of demeanour, so ready to listen to the other side, and so anxious in the pursuit of truth, that one hesitates to call him obstinate. In controversy he is sweetly reasonable. Nothing mars the even serenity of his disposition and he never forgets the courtesies of life even when he is flagrantly denounced. Mr. Gandhi, in this respect answers so perfectly to Newman's description of the Christian gentleman that we may be permitted to quote the apt words of the Cardinal: "He is never mean or little in his disputes, never takes unfair advantage, never mistakes personalities or sharp sayings for arguments, insinuates evil which he dare not say out; if he engages in controversy of any kind his disciplined intellect preserves him from the blundering discourtesy of better, though less educated minds who like blunt weapons, tear and hack instead of cutting clean, mistake the point in argument, waste their strength on trifles, misconceive their adversary and leave the question more involved than they find it. He may be right or wrong in his opinion, but he is too clear headed to be unjust. He is as simple as he is forcible and as fair as he is decisive."

It is thus no easy or comfortable thing to differ from such a man. One feels on such occasions almost tempted to say with Gokhale that one would rather be wrong with Mehta than right with anybody else. But each man should serve to the best of his gifts and not all can emulate Mr. Gandhi who in the midst of a most tearing controversy, has lost none of his enduring charm of character and

personality. His character is no more conditioned by the success or failure of his political pursuits. Many may think him mistaken: not all may follow him: but if there is one name in all India that could rouse the whole country as with a trumpet voice, it is Mr. Gandhi's.

If a plebiscite were therefore taken to-day, Mr. Gandhi's name would doubtless top the list of popular leaders. And rightly so. When Gladstone was stirring the souls of men by his campaign in Midlothian, Lord Bryce wrote a letter to Mrs. Gladstone describing the passionate interest with which people followed his progress: "One can't mention his name at a meeting without everybody springing to their feet and waving their hats." What was the secret of this impassioned affection? "It is not so much a reaction towards liberalism; it is what strikes one as better and finer even than political earnestness; it is loyalty and gratitude to a character and career which are their highest political ideal."

V

Beneath the infectious smile and the inviting comradery you feel the firm, decisive manner of the man of iron will. As you sit chatting, an elaborate scheme is unfolded, a strange programme of intensive agitation is mapped out and vindicated. The conversation which began with a formal enquiry about the weather, steadily develops into an elaborate argument on the governance of India, or the fate of the Turkish Treaty, and you are led on gradually yet inevitably to denounce the abuse of armaments and the banality of diplomatic dealings. He puts you again at your ease by a sudden and

bewitching twinkle of the eye as if to apologise gently for working himself into a fury and vehemence—though he seems to betray neither, and he discourses again in his habitually grave and solemn accents. Every hard or bitter stroke is avoided, passion burns low, and reasoned persuasion holds up the "guiding lamp." It is not the flashing glance or the animated gesture that holds you captive. There is none of your clap trap forms of declamation. Mr. Gandhi's is of that best kind of eloquence which dispenses with tinsel rhetoric. It relies on a luminous and onflowing volume of argument, itself a fascinating medley of politics and economics, morals and metaphysics. A fervid note thrills the soul as he discants in clear, ringing sentences of faultless English. This man seems all knowing. His shrewdness is beyond all compare. He detects the fallacy in your argument with the eye of a falcon and he corners you with the fine and bracing blast of common sense just as Socrates would have held his ground in the market and the Forum in the spacious days of Periclean Democracy, just as Johnson would have done in the best of literary circles in the heart of London. And yet you are sure there is some confusion in the very terminology. Mr. Gandhi refers every argument to first principles. He is as formidable as Chatterton or Shaw who weave their arguments round their well tried and unshakable beliefs.

Walking along the Beach one fine September morning we stood a while by the ramparts of Fort St. George, admiring the splendour of the dawn as the sun emerged out of the shining sea in all the gorgeous panopoly of the East. Pointing to the

north-east corner of the Bay, I broke the silence with the casual remark:

N. It was from there that the Emden fired its shots and the city quacked in fear.

G. Was there much loss of life?

N. No, not much; but that is because we replied from the fort and drove the enemy, (with a ludicrous sense of satisfaction and pride, as if had a leading hand in the defence). I chuckled to myself that I had at last cornered Mr. Gandhi and I should not let this opportunity pass without challenging his doctrine of passivity in an era of aggressive violence. I was sure I had scored against him and I ventured again:

N. Now, what would have happened if we had kept quiet with folded hands. You talk lightly of disarmament. The City of Madras would have gone to ashes if there were no guns to defend us.

G. (Turning to me with a curiously affecting smile of pity for my nervousness). Do you think the Emden had any particular quarrel with you in Madras?

N. It is no use arguing why she chose Madras. The fact is we were bombed and many innocent people had to suffer.

G. Why didn't she attack Adyar or any neighbouring village? It would certainly have been easier for her to do that.

N. But the laws of war forbid the bombardment of unfortified places.

- G. (Quick like a bolt came the reply). Then let the fort go. The Emden came to destroy the Fort which seems to invite the enemy. If there were no Fort, there would have been no bombardment.

There is in that answer a finality which is undeniable.

Here is yet another of Mr. Gandhi's dogmas not dissimilar to the one I have quoted. In the course of a lengthy interview, a press representative wound up by asking Mr. Gandhi:

- R. Are you anxious to take over the whole control of the army at once or would you make an exception of that subject (referring to the demand for full Dominion Home Rule).

- G. I think we are entirely ready to take up the whole of the army *which means practically disbanding three-fourths of it*. I would keep just enough to police India.

- R. If the army were reduced to that extent, do you not apprehend anything aggressive from the frontier territories? There are half a million armed men on the frontier who have frequently attacked India. Why do you think they will refrain from doing so when India possesses Home Rule?

- G. In the first instance the world's views have changed, and secondly the preparations that are now made in Afghanistan are really in support of the Khilafat.

But when the Khilafat question is out of the way, then the Afghan people will not have any design on India. The warrior tribes who live on loot and plunder are given lakhs of rupees as subsidy. I would also give them a little subsidy. When the Charka comes into force in India, I would introduce the Spinning Wheel among the Afghan tribe also and thus prevent them from attacking the Indian territories. I feel that the tribesmen are in their own way God-fearing people.

Fancy the Afghans at the Spinning wheel!

Mr. Gandhi is thus an embodied theory, and a theory he defends against all odds—a theory he bids his fellow-men adopt even as he practises in scorn of all consequence.

VI

"Here is a man" said Huxley of Gladstone, "with the greatest intellect in Europe, and yet he debases it by simply following the majorities and the crowd". It cannot be said of Mr. Gandhi that he is a mere "mirror of the passing humours and intellectual confusions of the popular mind." He has the statesman's insight into the facts of the situation, and he clearly discerns the drift of popular opinion. Like a statesman too he creates and fashions public opinion towards a definite purpose. But alas! he brings to politics a severely ecclesiastical temper and applies to the solution of social problems the rigorous logic of the schools. "Most religious men I

have met" he says "are politicians in disguise. I however who wear the guise of a politician am at heart a religious man." That makes all the difference in the world. His remedies are as heroic as his ideals. As I said, his challenge is too pointed to be evasive. In such a challenge, if success is glory, defeat must be damnation. But Mr. Gandhi's character sustains him through fair weather and foul. Any other man would simply be mocked out of Court. But "he will be victorious--alive or dead."

"Alive or dead, he will be victorious." That is a phrase that will become historical. It was used by Miss McSweeney, sister of the Lord Mayor of Cork on a tragic occasion. "To give up the hunger-strike," she wrote, "would be for him the same thing as to run away from a rifle. What friend would ask him to do that and give the lie to his life?" Mr. Gandhi has stood the test of self-sacrifice in equal measure. I am often reminded of that magnificent

sentence in Jeremy Collier which impressed Gladstone so deeply: "He repels the force of the fire by the strength of thought." That is true of Mr. Gandhi.

"There is something in him," says Maxim Gorky of Tolstoy with whom Mr. Gandhi has many things in common, "There is something in him which made me cry aloud to every one! Look what a wonderful man is living on earth." And I say with Gorky "the man is Godlike."

We will end as we began with the pregnant sentences of Emerson. They are so apposite to the occasion. "The antidote to the abuse of formal Government is the influence of private character, the growth of the individual; the appearance of the principal to supersede the proxy; the appearance of the wise man. The wise man is the State. He needs no army, fort, or navy, his relation to man is angelic; his memory is myrrh to them; his presence, frankincense and flowers."

INDIA DESTINED TO BE FREE : TWO DREAMS.

By Dr. SUNKER A. BISEY.

Nations, like individuals, are subject to the laws of Destiny and India was destined to be free--this year. Twenty-two years ago--in 1908, while I was in England, I had two peculiar dreams, one predicting that a Saint would rise and liberate India and the other about India declaring her independence in the current year. Many

of my friends still remember of my telling them about those dreams. As both the predictions seem likely now to come true, the following particulars of those dreams might be interesting.

First Dream:—Early in the morning of the 7th of November, 1908, while I was in London, I dreamt that I was in India in a barren field where I saw

a Saint sitting on the back of a small sized white animal, wearing a white garment, his head clean shaven, had a long dark beard, his feet very long almost touching the ground, he was facing the tail of the animal instead of its face and holding a long trumpet in his hands. The head of the animal being turned away and its size being rather unusual, I could not make out whether it was a horse or a bullock, and while I was wondering about the animal, the Saint raised the trumpet to his mouth and began to blow through it, but instead of any sound coming through it, a lot of thick white smoke came out and while I was still wondering about the smoke, the Saint said loudly that "if I were to blow a flame through the trumpet, I would set the whole world on fire." No conversation took place between us and I woke distinctly remembering the scene.

In 1908 the political atmosphere of India being comparatively calm, I could not then think that the dream had any political significance. I merely thought that some Saint like Shunkera-charya would rise in India some day to bring peace or some religious reforms. But after five days when I had the second dream predicting the freedom of India, I began to see some political significance in my first dream and eventually after the end of the World War when Mr. Gandhi declared his policy of securing India's complete independence through peaceful means and was hailed as the "Mahatma", I began to believe that he was that coming Saint entrusted with the mission of liberating his motherland — through peaceful means as was indicated by the smoke that came from the trumpet, or start a revolution with terrible bloodshed with his command and virtually set the

whole world on fire. His peculiar appearance in the dream signified to my mind the Hindu-Moslem unity, his long legs the deep foundation he laid for India's independence, his facing the animal's tail was his Saintly mission in the interest of politics rather than religion and his appearance in a barren field indicated the state of poverty-stricken India that inspired him to work for India's freedom. Why the animal was rather small and neither a horse nor a bullock I am unable to say. So the prediction of my first dream came true after twelve years.

Second dream:—Early in the morning of the 12th day of November, 1908, while in London, I had the following very significant dream: I dreamt I was at a country place near Bombay in a large square room in the company of several young college students. All round the room there was a veranda and some watchmen or sentries were patrolling around the building for our safety. Some of the students thought of making fun of the watchmen and began to throw pillows at one another and make loud noises just to frighten the watchmen merely as a joke, but the watchmen or sentries fearing that some real fight was going in the room, blew their whistles and immediately the whole building was then surrounded by military men. It was then the students' turn to get frightened and were amazed to realize that their mere joke was turned into an unpleasant situation and did not know what to do. At that moment, I saw that the roof over that room completely disappeared and in its place the dark sky full with hundreds of shining stars became visible. An old man in appearance dressed like Father Time but with a very long white beard touching the ground, then app-

heard amongst us. He was holding a long stick like a billiard cue in his hand and touching some of the bright shining stars with his stick he said that "when this star would join with this star (pointing the stars without naming them) India might get her freedom in the 18th year if possible, but if not, in the 22nd year positively." When I woke up, I remembered the dream and the above stated message distinctly and recorded the same as had been my usual practice.

This dream made me realize the political significance of the first dream, that some day a Saint would rise to liberate India when her destined time came. The late Hon. Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale was then in London. I told him about the dreams but he could not see the possibility of such dreams coming true even in fifty years. When I went to India in 1909, I told the late Dadabhai Naoroji about the above dreams. He also doubted their significance but hoped those would come true. I told about those dreams to many of my friends in India and England. In 1912 or 1913 I told Mr. G. S. Sardesai and other friends from Baroda, Bombay, and Poona, who were in London then, about those dreams, but all of them—except Mr. Naoroji simply laughed at me and called me a mere dreamer like all inventors and scientists. However, I never lost faith in the predictions of the dreams coming true as I had scores of such dream messages received before—some warning, some advising and some predicting future events long ahead of time—and all of which had come true. So I requested all of my friends to kindly remember those dreams and watch for the predictions coming true. While many of the

friends to whom I told of those dreams during all these twenty-two years are dead, there are a few still alive who would no doubt vouch for same—and some have already done so.

It was not quite clear to my mind whether the years 18th and 22nd were meant to be 1918 or 1922 or referred to the period of 18 or 22 years from 1908, the year of the dreams. When the world war was approaching a critical stage in the early part of 1918 and Germany was openly agitating India to revolt against Britain, I thought that 1918 might be the year meant for India's "possible chance". What was really meant was the period of 22 years from the year 1908 which is the current year 1930. On the first of January, last, the Flag of India's independence was hoisted by the Indian National Congress and the independence day was celebrated throughout India and also in other distant parts of the world last month and so our independence was established, although it might take some years yet to establish an independent government as was the case with America and other countries.

I felt naturally very happy to see both my dreams come true. I often wondered why was I chosen by some invisible power to receive such important dream messages twenty-two years ahead of time, particularly as I never took any active interest in politics. It might be that I was then known in England as a Pacifist Inventor and Scientist, not interested in any kind of destructive work, I enjoyed many years of close association with Naoroji and Mr. Gokhale who took personal interest in my pioneer mission, and a few months before the time I had those dreams, glowing press notices

about my successful work in England appeared in English, American and Indian journals.

During the last fifty years of my life, I had scores of such mystic experiences and happenings, and I hope some day to publish those in a book in the interest of Science. I do not for a moment claim to be a mystic or possess some miraculous powers. It is beyond me to suggest any definite explanation or reasons why such mystic experiences have happened. Some forty years ago, while I was in India, I studied the Yoga Philosophy and developed my power of concentration to such an extent that I was able to read other people's thoughts. During the years 1896-98 several scientific men and clubs at Bombay, Poona, Thana and other places tested my power of thought-reading and in 1897 H. H. The Sayajirao Gaikwar of Baroda held a special Durbar to witness such tests and presented me with a diamond ring. Since then, I decided to devote my energies and mind power exclusively to my scientific work in foreign lands. Before my birth, there were some mystic happenings in my father's and grandfather's homes and it was believed I came to this World through

the blessings of a Mahatma or a mysterious fakir. Such things might have something to do with my mystic experiences.

I firmly believe from what I saw in my dreams that Mahatma Gandhi came to this world entrusted with three missions. His first mission to liberate his motherland through a peaceful revolution. His second mission to place in the hands of subject and defenceless nations of the world a peaceful but mighty weapon to deal a deathblow to imperialism, and his third mission to practice the noble principles of "Thou shalt not kill" and "Love thy neighbours and enemies". If my countrymen and all the nations of the civilized world—particularly the Christian nations—would whole-heartedly and unitedly support and co-operate with Mahatma Gandhi, his missions could not fail. The terrible consequences of the World War have brought new realizations to the world—futility of wars, the might of the right, and the importance of the World Peace—and Mahatma Gandhi is undoubtedly our modern Messiah who deserves the respect and co-operation of all the world.

THE PUBLIC DEBT OF INDIA

By Mr. NALINI RANJAN SARKER

Broadly speaking, and taking first what is assuredly the most obvious, we may say that the Public

Debt of a country is incurred to meet that part of state expenditure which cannot be met out of normal revenues,

and is so imperative that it cannot, or should not, be postponed to a later date. Just as in the case of the ordinary expenditure of State revenue, there is a presumption, valid or otherwise, that it is applied for the good of the country, so may it be assumed that the expenditure which is met by taking loans is normally in the interests of the good of the people. It is, of course, true that the good may be either tangible or intangible; but in either form it clearly distinguishes the productive from the nonproductive use of State funds. The conduct of a war for example, is according to modern standards, the most notorious example of the waste of public resources, although it may be unavoidable in some cases, especially when it is thrust upon a State for defence to maintain its integrity. Waste is also possible by other means. But the point most significant in this connection is that, whereas wastage of revenue affects one generation, the wastage of the proceeds of a public loan is a burden on generations yet unborn; and it is natural that severer standards of productivity, I may say, generally accepted business standards, should be set for the raising and expending of public loans. It can hardly be gainsaid that productivity is the criterion by which the merit of a loan has to be judged; it matters little to the nation whether the productivity pertains to a project of nation-wide importance, or to one, the usefulness of which is confined to a particular locality. Such distinctions are of little or no importance, and should create no difficulty so long as the expenditure is found to be contributive to the good of the people.

As I have said, even in the best governed countries, it is only a presumption that the public debt is incurred for the good of the people. The responsible character of their governments is at least a guarantee that the expenditure of all State funds including debts is predominantly guided by the interests of the people. The position is, however, peculiar in the case of India, where the Government derive their authority from, and owe their responsibility to, an outside Power. This aspect of the situation raises issues in the treatment of which one is necessarily exposed to the charge of political bias and prejudice. But that cannot and should not deter us from making a careful analysis of the problem of India's public debt; and such an analysis is all the more urgent and essential to-day, as the general financial condition of the country is admittedly of a disturbing character and the issues connected with its credit, both at home and abroad, with its borrowing capacity and with the advisability or otherwise of adding to its external debt have now been brought to the forefront.

There has been considerable talk about the debt of India, even in circles where economic questions, as such, receive but little attention. However, the general understanding of the problem is but vague and hazy. If I could, before I resume my seat, have succeeded in elucidating the problem so as to make the average citizen in the country have a more correct understanding of this question, I would feel pleased with my effort and justified in having taken your time. As the problem is vast in its scope and extent, and the factors

presented by it numerous, I would prefer to confine myself to a discussion of the debt incurred only by the Government of India; I would, therefore, not be dealing with the loans owing by the provincial governments and local bodies. But the problem connected with the debt of the provincial governments and local bodies is, by itself, of so important a character, that I hope some one amongst you should be able to make a careful study and furnish an authoritative thesis.

II.

It were best and, at the same time, convenient, that I should start with a brief history of the public debt of India. Public debt in the sense in which we use it now-a-days was practically unknown in India before the days of the East India Company. It was the Company which was responsible for creating a permanent debt in the country; and when its regime ended in 1858, the Indian taxpayers were left with a legacy of nearly a hundred million sterling of public debt. I should emphasise that almost the entire amount of this debt was created by unjustly debiting India with the cost of the various wars, which the Company entered upon, not that India might be benefited but that the Company's hold over her, might be consolidated. In 1792, the total Indian debt stood at £7 millions; and in 1858 it had risen to £69½ millions (excluding the mutiny items); most of the items which were thus saddled on the country ought to have been, in fairness, borne by the Company itself. Then came the Mutiny, the whole charge of which was again thrown on India, bringing the total debt beyond the one hundred million mark. This included the compensation paid

for the East India Company's stock to the extent of £12 millions. The humour of the situation—or, may I say, the tragedy of the situation—was that while India paid for the property, the ownership went to Great Britain. This was, perhaps, something of the foretaste of what the future economic policy of Great Britain towards India was to be.

The cost of the Abyssinian and Chinese Wars was similarly debited to India; and these, together with the expenditure of the Government on State railways, and irrigation works, famine relief, and maintenance of the exchange (yes, the problem of the ratio has been with us for two generations) raised the total Indian debt to £212 millions at the close of the last century. By March 31, 1930, we have reached the colossal figure of £850 millions or, converting the sterling debt at 18d. to the rupee, Rs. 1,132 crores. This phenomenal increase in the public debt in the present century was largely due to the great war during which the debt was considerably increased, first, in 1915-17 to meet the general budgetary and other requirements of the Government of India, and secondly on account of the contribution of £100 millions made by India to Britain. In the post-war period, the new debt incurred exceeded £200 millions in the last decade, due to the large-sized deficits persisting through five years in the national budget, increased civil and military expenditure, and losses on account of the sale of reverses. The total unproductive debt of the country, which came down to £2.25 millions in 1916 mounted up to more than £192 millions in 1924, and this was due to the increased expenditure during the war and the

Post-War periods. The chance, which presented itself in 1916 for wiping out the unproductive debt, was missed; and the country's debt position has since become worse than ever.

From this brief summary of the history of India's public debt, the conclusion emerges that it was wars in all forms, mainly for the benefit of England, in India and outside India, and even with India, during and after the regime of the East India Company, that were mainly responsible for the present heavy burden of public debt. So far, I have been giving the figures of the loans in terms of sterling. This however, should not create the impression that the whole of the Indian debt is incurred in the London market. In broad terms, it may be stated that of the total public debt, the obligations incurred in India are 55 per cent., and the external debt 45 per cent.

III.

It is useful and necessary at this stage to give a detailed account of the composition of our public debt. In the first place, Government have borrowed from the public in India, in the form of Loans and Bonds, some of them terminable only at the option of the Government, some redeemable a good many years hence, and some of shorter maturities. On March 31, 1930, the figure for this class of loans—which I may refer to, in general terms, as long-term loans as opposed to short-term Treasury Bills—stands at Rs. 405.31 crores.

In the second place, the Government have also secured accommodation from the public, from time to time, by sales of what are called

Treasury Bills. These Treasury Bills are generally for a maturity which does not exceed twelve months. They may be for three months, six months, nine months or twelve months. The essential principle and purpose of short-term borrowing of this kind is that the Government generally receive a good portion of their revenue only in the final quarter of the financial year, whereas expenditure is more or less evenly distributed amongst the twelve months; that in the earlier months of the financial year, it, therefore, happens that there is an excess of outgo over income; and that fill up the gap between the period when expenditure exceeds income and the period when income exceeds expenditure, the Government put themselves in funds by sales of short-term Bills. With reference to the use of Treasury Bills as the means of replenishing Government's cash balance as and when necessary, we may say it is a sound financial operation to which no exception can be taken. But the Government of India have also attempted to utilise Treasury Bills as a regulator of the money market and as a weapon in credit-restricting operations. At this stage, I do not want to say more than this, that Government's Treasury Bills policy in regard to regulation of the money market and credit has not been either successful or beneficial in its results, has been responsible for much bitter criticism in financial circles, and has resulted in real misunderstanding between the Government and the bankers. The total indebtedness of the Government on account of Treasury Bills sold to the public was expected to stand at Rs. 24 crores on March 31, 1930. This was the figure anticipated in the budget announced on February 28, of this year; but

developments subsequent to February 28, however, have falsified the anticipations and the actual figure of Treasury Bills on March 31, 1930 is really Rs. 34 crores, that is, Rs. 10 crores in excess of the estimate made only a month ago.

In the third place, in addition to the Treasury Bills, which the Government have sold to the public, they have also issued, to the Paper Currency Reserve, Treasury Bills which are popularly referred to as *ad hoc* securities. The figure under this head, as on March 31, 1930, was expected to be Rs. 34.50 crores. But here, too it should be stated that this was the figure anticipated in the budget, while the actual figure would be about Rs. 29 crores, the decrease being mainly due to the contraction of currency effected on March 28 against *ad hoc* securities for Rs. 5 crores.

In the fourth place, the Government of India do, what may be called, banking functions. The Post Office Savings Bank is the result primarily of the Government's anxiety to develop the saving habit amongst the masses, with the ultimate object, so far not realised, of investing the savings in productive works. Allied to Post Office Savings Bank deposits are Postal Cash Certificates, which are a feature of War-time and Post-War finance. The amount of debt on account of deposits received by Post Office Savings Banks was expected to be Rs. 37.48 crores on March 31, 1930 and the debt on account of Postal Cash Certificates Rs. 35.25 crores as against Rs. 23.20 crores and Rs. 3.13 crores respectively on March 31, 1923.

In the fifth place, the Government of India act as bankers to the provin-

cial governments and the railways. The balances standing to the credit of the provincial governments as well as of the various funds belonging to the railways are deposited with the central government; and the liabilities in respect of these items come to a considerable figure. Provident funds are responsible for a liability of Rs. 65.65 crores; Railway Reserve and Depreciation Funds for Rs. 31.77 crores; and provincial balances for Rs. 10.17 crores.

The grand total of the rupee obligations enumerated under the above five heads comes to Rs. 644.13 crores according to the budget estimate; but, for the reasons I have mentioned, there will be slight variations in the figures for the actual debt, as on March 31, 1930.

In the sixth place, the Government of India have also borrowed, in the London market, sterling loans and sterling bonds, some of them non-terminable unless the Government, by giving due notice, exercise the option to redeem them, some terminable a good many years hence and some earlier. The figure under this head comes to £ 289.04 millions.

In the seventh place, Government also borrow, now and again, not very frequently, but, in fact, almost timidly, from the London market by sales of sterling Treasury Bills. In the year 1929-30, the Government borrowed £6 millions by sale of nine month's Bills early in the financial year, which they repaid by the end of last February; but in December, 1929, they borrowed on twelve month's Bills; and, therefore, the liability on account of Sterling Bills on March 31, 1930 is for £6 millions.

In the eighth place, the capital value of liabilities undergoing redemption by way of terminable railway annuities, which stood at £ 61.31 millions on March 31, 1923, has been reduced to £ 51.86 millions on March 31, 1930.

In the ninth place, the Government have still to pay £16.13 millions, being the balance due to the British Government on account of the gift or tribute, whatever we may call it, of £ 100 million made by India to Britain during the War.

In the tenth place, Provident Funds account for a small liability of £ 2.66 millions.

The total debt in England detailed under the last five heads, thus, comes to £ 365.69 million or, converted into rupees on the basis of 1 s. 6 d. a Rupee, Rs. 487.59 crores.

IV.

The problem may also be approached with reference to the dates of maturities. There are, on the one hand, Treasury Bills to the amount of Rs. 34 crores in India and £ 6 million in London, whose repayment will have to be made within the next 6 months or so; there are, on the other hand, non-terminable loans to the amount of Rs. 175.5 crores in India and £ 177.2 millions in London,—non-terminable in the sense that Government are not bound to redeem them unless they choose to do so in which case due notice has to be given to the bondholders. Betwixt and between these two types of debts, there are loans of very early maturities, loans of medium maturities and loans of very late maturities. Government will have to redeem Rs. 15.3 crores in September this year; Rs. 7.14 crores in 1931; Rs. 14.41 crores in 1932; Rs. 21.46

crores in 1933; Rs. 25.98 crores in 1934; Rs. 12.78 crores in 1935; Rs. 9.9 crores before 1936; Rs. 19.54 crores before 1937. Amongst the sterling loans, there is only one maturity within the next ten years, that is, for £ 20.90 millions in 1932. The total maturities before 1937, in India and London, come to Rs. 154.37 crores.

There is a third way of looking at the public debt of India. As already stated, the total interest-bearing obligations as on March 31, 1930, are estimated to stand at Rs. 1,132 crores, against which the interest-yielding assets are these:

(1) Capital advanced to railways, Rs. 731.90 crores;

(2) Capital advanced to other commercial departments, Rs. 23.05 crores;

(3) Capital advanced to provinces, Rs. 142.45 crores; and;

(4) Capital advanced to Indian States and other miscellaneous interests-bearing loans, Rs. 17.57 crores.

Total interest-yielding assets, thus come to Rs. 914.97 crores. In addition to this, the amount in the shape of cash, bullion and securities held on Treasury account is Rs. 39.73 crores. Thus, Rs. 954.70 crores, out of a total debt of Rs. 1,131.72 crores, is represented by tangible assets; and of this, but for Rs. 40 crores, the balance is laid out in what is usually known as productive investments. The unproductive debt, that is, the portion of total interest-bearing obligations against which there are no assets, comes to Rs. 177.02 crores. The unproductive portion of debt represents, in broad terms, the accumulation of Budget deficits, the loans incurred on account of Reverse Councils and also the contribution made by India to

Britain at the time of the War. It has been a recognised policy of the Government that every step should be taken to bring down the figure of unproductive debt. Between March 31, 1923 and March 31, 1930, there has been a diminution of Rs. 27 crores in the total of unproductive debt. This diminution has taken place as a result of the annual allocation from current revenue of a certain specified amount to the Fund for the reduction or avoidance of debt, a fund regarding which I shall have to say more later.

There is yet a fourth way of studying the problem of public debt. On March 31, 1923, against a total debt of Rs. 881.74 crores, the domestic debt was Rs. 476.43 crores and the sterling debt, the equivalent of Rs. 405.31 crores. By March 31, 1924, the rupee debt increased by Rs. 10.5 crores and the sterling debt by Rs. 27 crores. March 31, 1925, saw a budget of Rs. 28 crores in the rupee debt and Rs. 23 crores in foreign debt (the increase in the latter being, however, due to the liability assumed by the Secretary of State for the East Indian Railway stock, aggregating 18½ million and being, therefore, no real increase in the foreign indebtedness of the country). The next three years are remarkable for the fact that the external debt remained at the same figure while the Government succeeded in securing all their new loan requirements by rupee floatations. Now, in the period 1925-28, the internal debt increased by Rs. 52 crores while the sterling obligations showed only a nominal rise of Rs. 4.5 crores. Thereafter, the position was changed. Owing to the difficulties connected with the raising of loans in India, and owing for the need

for providing funds to the Secretary of State in excess of what the Government were able to remit through the open market, and by transfer through the Paper Currency Reserve, sterling loans became once again a normal feature of our public debt policy. The position as on March 31, 1930 is that as against a total public debt of Rs. 1,131.72 crores, the rupee debt is Rs. 644.13 crores and sterling debt Rs. 487.59 crores. That is, whereas the total public debt has increased by Rs. 249.98 crores or 28.35 per cent., the rupee debt has increased by Rs. 167.70 crores or 35.09 per cent. and sterling debt by Rs. 82.28 crores or 20.25 per cent. I shall have occasion to discuss the economics and ethics of external borrowing later in my address. But I may say now that, viewing these figures as I have set them out, there are good grounds to believe that, for the four years 1925-28, India was able to stand on her own legs for her capital requirements and was, besides, in a position to put the Secretary of State in funds, as also to repay some of the sterling maturities without recourse to any loans on the London market. On the whole, the Government would appear to have realised the inadvisability of adding to the external obligation, if the domestic market could possibly be made to supply the needs,

There is yet a fifth angle from which the public debt position has to be reviewed. There are three important events that are likely to happen in the near future, which would have a considerable effect on this question. The three events I refer to are ; (1) the grant of provincial autonomy as one of the important features in the impending constitutional reforms; (2) the crea-

tion of a kind of autonomy for railways as the logical sequel of the Separation of Railway Finance from General Finance; and (3) the inauguration of a central banking institution. In case provincial autonomy is granted, it stands to reason that the central government could not be the bankers of the provincial governments in the same manner, or to the same extent, as they are now and that a good portion of the balances of the provincial governments now kept in deposit with the central government will have to be refunded. By the same token, the amounts kept by the railways on deposit with the central government in regard to provident funds and depreciation and reserve funds should also be returned, at least in large part to the railways, if they are placed on a footing which makes Railway Finance really separate from General Finance. In case the Reserve Bank becomes a reality, the Government will have to reduce the amount of *ad hoc* securities in the Paper Currency Reserve, and add thereto more substantial assets. The liabilities in respect of these three items would be between Rs. 60 crores to Rs. 80 crores; that is, there is a contingent possibility of the Government having to raise long-term loans from the market, wherewith they could discharge the liabilities to the Provinces, the Railways and the Paper Currency Reserve.

V.

In view of this fact, and in view of the large amounts which have to be found for the loan maturities in this decade, a question of first-rate importance alike to the Government and to the country is. What is the Government's credit policy? Is it sound, scientific and planned in the best interests of their own financial status

and integrity, the interests of the masses, of trade and industry, of national banking and insurance, and of the strength and durability of the foundations of national credit? The question thus posed involves the consideration of the criteria of national credit. The criteria of a nation's credit may be briefly expressed thus: (1) Is the budget balanced? (2) Is the State committed to a policy of borrowing only for productive purposes? And (3) Is there a suitable and adequate provision for a sinking fund against the total debt obligations?

The canons are so simple and so essential to the country for maintaining its credit, that it is unnecessary for me to dwell on them at length. So far as India is concerned, the position in regard to its credit policy was clearly understood and elucidated, for the first time, by Sir Basil Blackett to whom great credit in this behalf is due. Whatever difference of opinion we may have in regard to the other activities of Sir Basil as a Finance Member, there should be universal appreciation that he it was who took scientific steps to place the credit of the country on a sound and enduring basis. He made it clear that the principle of balancing the budget would never be departed from, and that no new loan should be raised except for productive purposes.

As regards the provision of a sinking fund for the gradual repayment or extinction of existing debt, he was responsible for the scheme for the "Avoidance or Reduction of Debt". This scheme was introduced, as from the year 1925-26 with a view to extinguish our entire debt in 80 years, our War Debt in 50 years.

the debt accumulated during the five deficit years, ended March 31, 1924, in 25 years, the debt due to the construction of the new capital of Delhi in 15 years. The Government of India, in a resolution dated December, 9, 1924 gave details of the scheme for Debt Redemption, the main feature of which was that "for a period of five years, in the first instance, the annual provision for the reduction or avoidance of debt to be charged against annual revenues to be fixed at Rs. 4 crores *plus* 1/80th of the excess of the debt outstanding at the end of each year over that outstanding on March 31, 1923." This scheme was adopted provisionally for five years; and as Sir George Schuster announced in his last budget speech, it has been decided to continue the scheme in the present form, pending the reconsideration of the financial system of India consequent upon the reforms arising from the report of the Simon Commission, and also pending the consideration of the Convention of the Separation of Railway Finance from General Finance for which a committee has been appointed, though I must add, parenthetically, that the committee has not shown exactly a spirit of earnestness or alacrity.

The provision made under this arrangement in the budget for the first year 1925-26 was Rs. 4.78 crores, while in the current year, the amount debited to current revenue on account of debt redemption is more than Rs. 6 crores. The effect of the definite and determined application of sound and scientific canons to the public debt problem of India was instantaneous and even magical, and, in fact, more substantial than Sir Basil, in his most sanguine moments could have thought

possible. In two years, the gilt-edged securities appreciated in value almost by leaps and bounds. The gilt-edge market in India became extraordinarily active with large-scale operations, and with a more increasing interest of the investing public in its activities. The 3½ per cent. Rupee Paper, which had once receded below Rs. 50, reached the high watermark of Rs. 79 in May, 1926. The 5 per cent. 1945-55 Loans created a record of peak value at Rs. 110. This new activity and vitality in the gilt-edge market enabled the Government to put through their large conversion operations in 1925, 1926 and even in 1927 on very favourable terms. How favourable was the position of the Government in this respect can be gathered from the effect that, while in the early years of the last decade, the borrowing rate of the Government was 6 per cent, tax free, that is, over 6½ per cent. subject to tax, the rate at which they could get large cash loans from the public in 1926 and 1927 was 4½ per cent. subject to tax. To bring the borrowing rate down by no less than 1½ per cent. in five or six years was an achievement of an outstanding character. The savings in interest charges on account of the refunding of the maturing loans on a lower basis of interest were, indeed, very substantial.

This buoyancy in the gilt-edge market, the record prices which Government securities attained, the resultant decrease in the borrowing rate of the Government of India, the facility with which the Indian Treasury was able to secure considerable sums by its new loan issues, the rise of Government's credit to a high attitude—these are, however, things of the past. A serious setback has

been witnessed in the gilt-edge market since the autumn of 1926. There has been a steady, and, often-times, a steep decline in gilt-edge values till in February of this year, the *nadir* was reached; the $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Rupee Paper, which once touched Rs. 79, sank down to Rs. 63 and the 5 per cent. 1945-55 Loan from the Mount Everest of Rs. 110 come down almost to the sea level. What are the influences that brought about this serious disintegration in the gilt-edge market? It may be remarked at once that the three maxims of sound finance, on which Sir Basil Blacket had insisted, are still being observed. It becomes, therefore, all the more necessary to ascertain the real and exact causes, which brought about the debacle in the gilt-edge market even though such canons of prudent finance as are generally considered applicable to public debt were being honoured in the full observance.

VI.

Before I proceed to state what, in my view, are the causes for this deterioration, I must briefly state the Government's side of the case. It is represented by them that the rise in gilt-edge values in 1926 was a kind of forced march, an unnatural rise, an attainment of a level which was unstable and unmaintainable for long. A reaction, we have been told, was inevitable. Another explanation furnished by the Government is that rupee securities had appreciated far too high in comparison with bonds and gilt-edge securities in the London market and that, sooner or later, a readjustment of the yield on rupee securities with that on sterling securities should be brought about by natural forces. As a third reason the politicians,

whose shoulders are considered broad enough for the carrying of the burdens of all unaccounted sins of commission and omission, come in for blame, as having, by an alleged violent and irresponsible talk, done everything possible to impair the confidence of investors in Government of India's securities. I shall not say that there is no modicum of truth, at all, in the reasons thus adduced by the Government; but what I object to is the Government's attempt to attribute all the blame only to these factors and to make themselves appear as totally innocent and guiltless. It is true that between March and May of 1926, there was a hectic rise in Government securities; that an orgy of speculation came to be enacted in the gilt-edge market; that many weak holders were drawn into the gamble so that when there was a retrogression in value, the holding capacity of the operators gave way. But this state of affairs can explain a setback of one per cent. or two per cent. but not of the sixteen per cent, which has taken place in some securities.

In the same way, the Government have been exaggerating the influence of the international factor. This talk of there being a need for some kind of adjustment between the value of rupee securities and sterling securities could be taken seriously only when India is on a real gold standard basis, at par with the standard of the other foreign countries. So far as the linking of our currency to international currency is concerned, the actual position is that we have gold bullion standard, looked at from the standpoint of the obligation which the Government have assumed to buy gold at a specified price; but we have only a sterling ex-

change standard looked at from the obligation of the Government in regard to the sale of gold. For, it should not be forgotten, that the Government have not undertaken to sell gold at any specified price but to sell gold or, at their option, sterling. With so imperfect and so clumsy a way of linking our currency to international currency, it is idle and disingenuous to talk of the need or inevitability of security prices in India falling in line with the prices of sterling securities or other international securities.

As for the diabolical part, which the politician is said to have played in regard to the pulling down of India's credit, in the domestic and London market; I have no doubt in my mind that the part, which the Government have played in pulling down their own credit, is far more diabolical than the one which the politician is credited to have played.

VII.

If I were asked to state what, in my opinion, are the causes which brought about the collapse in the Government securities market, I would say, that the disintegration in gilt-edge was due first to Government's credit-restricting operations, like the repeated contractions of currency by various ways, sales of Treasury Bills, sales of marketable securities in the Paper Currency Reserve, and forced increase in the Imperial Bank rate—credit-restricting operations undertaken on behalf of the eighteen pence ratio; secondly, to the Government's deliberate attempt to pull down the value of rupee securities in the mistaken belief that there should be a party between

sterling securities and rupee securities; thirdly, to the unscientific policy, and operations out of tune with market psychology and market methods in regard to new loan issues; fourthly, to the impression, which has been gaining ground in the public mind, that the assurances given by the authorities at the time of the new loan flotations are totally unreliable; fifthly, to the absence of understanding between the Government and banking circles or, to put it more frankly, the growing suspicion in the minds of bankers, and their growing bitterness towards the Government, in regard to the various operations carried out by the Treasury in the exchange, money and gilt-edge markets; and lastly but not leastly, to the unpopular Treasury Bills policy and operations.

Even those, who supported the Government at the time when the eighteen pence was placed on the statute book, have now been freely blaming the authorities that the most serious mistake of Government's financial policy in recent years is that they are prone to look at their financial and currency operations only from the exchange end; and never from the credit end. At this point, I should refer, though briefly, to the situation in the exchange market. In the last three years, the favourable trade balance in merchandise and treasure has tended to fluctuate round about Rs. 50 crores. But a good slice of the favourable balance of trade is eaten up by the private remittances, so that the Government are able to secure only a fraction of their sterling requirements.

The Government have not been able to do anything whereby export activity could be stimulated. And the only course, which they could adopt, has

been to tighten money conditions in India, so that the banks would find it worth while to sell sterling, and draw funds from London. Towards this end, the Imperial Bank rate was raised to 7 per cent. at a time when neither the cash position of the Imperial Bank, nor the money rates in banking circles justified an increase to that level. The 7 per cent. rate, which was justified at the time as being necessitated by the stringency in the international money market, is still kept up, though bank rates all over the world have been falling in quick and rapid succession in the last four months. Government have contracted currency repeatedly for large amounts in sundry ways,—that is, against sterling securities, against silver sales and against *ad hoc* securities. They have also been selling Treasury Bills for amounts much in excess of what would be required for the replenishments of their cash balances. The recent offer of nine months' Treasury Bills was really with a view to furnish to the banks an attractive investment in the sense that the banks could borrow in London at 3 per cent. to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and invest in India at 5 per cent. By these methods, Government have kept a tight hold on the monetary screw; and a joernal like the *Statist* of London recently remarked that a rate of exchange, that requires so much of artificial manipulation and forced measures, cannot surely be said to be a natural level, or to be a rate at which adjustment of prices and wages has been brought about. It is these credit-restricting measures, like inopportune sales of Treasury Bills at fantastically high rates, and sharp spasms of contractions, which have seriously affected the giltedge market. This is the view which is held not only by Indian businessmen and Indian students of economics and

finance, but practically by everyone of the European bankers and businessmen in India. I cannot help pointing out that Government cannot find any support for their policy and actions except amongst their own personnel.

VIII.

What, then, is the remedy? Before I discuss the remedies, which I might consider suitable for the situation, let me say this: It is no less in the interests of the Government than of those who have invested in Government securities, that a proper and effective remedy should be found forthwith; and that any undue delay would prove even more disastrous to the Government than to the investors. For, the Government are to-day faced with a most serious financial situation. Their credit has been disappearing so rapidly that they had to borrow the other day in London at a rate, which no self-respecting nation would have agreed to pay. And, in India, when last year the Government put up the borrowing rate by half per cent. over the rate of the previous year, even then, the new money that the Indian Treasury could secure was a paltry Rs. 12 crores, which was not even half of what they set out to obtain. If something is not done immediately to popularise Government securities, to bring their prices to a healthy level and to revive the confidence of investors in the stability of giltedge and in the integrity and continuity of Government's credit, the Treasury will meet with nothing but disaster both in regard to its new capital requirements, and its operations to convert the large maturities in this and the following years.

Now to the remedies for the credit ills of the country. I think a great improvement in the position can be

effected if, as suggested by *Indian Finance*—a financial weekly paper well-known for its solicitude for national welfare in financial matters—the Government agree to the utilisation of the Debt Redemption Fund for open market operation. There is, in 1930-31, an amount of Rs. 6 crores set apart from current revenue for the definite purpose of reducing or avoiding debt. "This amount," as suggested by the said paper, "can be utilised for the purposes in two ways : (1) by reducing the amount, or the new loan by just this amount, or (2) by keeping the new loan at the gross figure, and utilising the sums in the Debt Redemption Fund for the purchase of securities in the open market." It should be realised that the adoption of the first method is not calculated to produce any direct or tangible effect on giltedge values and that it is only by the adoption of the second method that an appreciable effect can be produced on giltedge, enabling the Government directly and substantially to raise their new loan requirements on markedly favourable terms. The procedure so far adopted by the Government has been the first one. That is, they have reduced the amount of the new loan requirements by the amount allocated from the revenue to the Debt Redemption Fund. In the years 1925, 1926 and 1927, Government securities were at a high level and there was no need for open-market operations. But the times are changed. The various operations necessitated by exchange have been so drastic and have produced such a depressing influence on giltedge securities that counter-measures to cancel their adverse effects are urgent and imperative.

It was Sir Basil Blackett's hope that "the existence of a regular pro-

vision out of revenue for reduction or avoidance of debt will not only reduce the net amount of our new borrowings for productive purposes, but will materially reduce their cost." The application of a portion of this fund for buying securities from the open market may impart a proper tone and health to the giltedge market, and thus create conditions extremely propitious for the flotation of new loans. I might mention that those who are conversant with Indian giltedge market, know fully well that the buying pressure of securities for a crore or two will make all the difference.

Though the securities in the hands of the Indian public are over Rs. 400 crores, only a very limited portion is dealt with in the market by dealers and speculators generally, while the majority of the actual investors are neither operators nor do they part with their investments unless from dire necessity or from panic. The amount of securities, which keep floating about in the market and the operations in respect of which cause the fluctuation in prices, may not be more than Rs. 10 crores on a very extravagant estimate. The Government have in their hands no less than Rs. 6 crores to "play" with; and it may not be necessary for them to utilise, say, more than Rs. 2 crores or so from the Fund. Yet, so small an outlay in the giltedge market will cause a steady improvement in prices and induce a general cheerfulness of tone.

IX

In this connection, I cannot over-emphasise the desirability of the Government's keeping in touch with bankers and financiers, who, after all is said and done, are the men to make

a success or failure of the many operations, which the Government have to initiate in the markets.

More than anything, the Government should, once and for all, now and here, realise that the old-time practice of looking at their financial and currency operations purely from the point of view of exchange must give place to a new policy in which the interests of credit are as zealously guarded as the interests of exchange. The Government appear to be concerned only with two things: (1) to maintain exchange within the gold points; and (2) to supply the Secretary of State with the requisite funds. Nothing else matters to them. If in carrying out these two objectives, their credit, at home and abroad, suffers,—if they are unable to raise the funds required for their capital expenditure,—if they are, day in and day out, in trouble in regard to their cash requirements,—if they are, therefore, compelled to come into the market under conditions, in which as beggars, they cannot be choosers, and in which the market is able to fleece them and force them to pay fantastic rates on their Treasury Bill borrowings, the Government do not seem to mind the humiliation in the least. I want the Government to be as proud of their credit as they now are of their prowess in maintaining what is generally considered as the unnatural ratio.

And last, and by no means least, I emphasise the need for a total reconsideration of the Treasury Bills policy. The questions involved in Treasury Bills merit a close attention. The Government have utilised Treasury Bills not only for the purpose of replenishing their cash balances but also as a regulator of the money market.

In this connection, I would like to draw attention to the authoritative comments contained in an article which appeared in *The Banker* of London in its issue of October, 1929. The writer of the article comes to the conclusion that "in so far as the issue of Treasury Bills is concerned, Government would be well advised to restrict them to their recognised purpose, namely, to bridge gaps between the revenue seasons during a financial year, and not to attempt to utilise them as a dynamic lever for currency and exchange control." No other operation of the Government has evoked such bitter criticism and antagonised the bankers so completely as the sales of Treasury Bills at rates, which have been fully one per cent. higher than the open-market rates quoted by banks for deposits. Oftentimes by Treasury Bills falling due at a time when Government's cash balances have been low, and when they have been unable to get the Bills renewed to any adequate extent or at any suitable rate, Treasury Bills have proved a bugbear to the Government. By competing with banks in regard to the funds, which ordinarily would have gone as deposits to the latter but have been decoyed into the Government's coffers by the more attractive rates offered, bankers have always been sore. Treasury Bills have consistently depressed giltedge values, Indian banks and Indian Insurance companies have had to make heavy allocations to depreciation on account of the decline in the values of their investments; and many of them, otherwise well-managed, are faced with many embarrassments, caused by the totally erroneous Treasury Bills policy of the Government. I am one of those who believe that Treasury

Bills constitute a necessary and useful instrument in the money market provided the Treasury Bills policy is correct and scientific. And Treasury Bills policy can be said to be correct and scientific, only if they are issued at rates which do not impair Government's credit nor divert banks, deposits, nor betray a loss of control on the part of the Government over the situation. Further, steps should be taken to create a free market in Treasury Bills so that they can change hands freely during the period of their currency. In short, Treasury Bills must be made a real instrument of mobility, which they are, in theory supposed to be.

X.

Before I conclude, I would like to discuss, as briefly as possible, the ethics and economics of foreign loans. If India was under no political obligation to Britain, the problem of foreign loans would present no great difficulties. The peculiarity of India's borrowing in the London market is that there is always a suspicion, not unjustified, that England, by virtue of her political position, takes undue advantage of India's dependence on her, both in regard to the rate of interest, which the latter is made to pay on her loans and in regard to the utilisation of the proceeds of such loans for the purchase of British materials whether the prices of those materials are competitive or not, in relation to the materials manufactured by, or available in, other countries. It is this suspicion which has invested the discussion on the foreign loans of India with a great degree of rancour and bitterness. There are other factors, which also complicate the position in regard to foreign loans. They are;

(1) exchange exigencies. That is, there are occasions when India has to borrow money in London not because she is short of funds, but because the process of remittance from India to London is made difficult. In other words, the obligation which the Government have assumed in regard to the ratio—a ratio which was installed against the unanimous protest of the Indian public—makes them borrow monies in London even though their cash position may not require such borrowing. (2) The financial interests in London have by no means been friendly to the political aspirations of India; and they have been inclined to think that because they have lent monies to India, the only safety for that money is that the present system of administration must continue for ever. Whenever there is any strong movement expressive of the political aspirations and ideals of the nation, the London market has chosen to become panicky, disseminating alarmist reports about conditions in India, and utilising those occasions for screwing out of us inordinate rates of interest on such borrowings as had to be made. (3) Amongst the retired Civilians, there are many who spend their time, and devote their energies to a propaganda for vilifying India; and this propaganda is not without its effect on India's credit. (4) The Bank of England, in its role as "friend, philosopher and guide" to the India Office, exercises a tyranny and exacts advantages, against which India has protested only in vain. (5) So far as the Government in India are concerned, they cannot assert their views as against the India Office in the same way as the latter cannot assert itself as against the Bank of England.

If the policy of borrowing abroad is to be continued, certain changes should be made in the procedure. In the first place, it is necessary that there should be a council of National Debt, whose duty it would be to accord sanction to the floatation of all loans, and especially the foreign loans, and otherwise do everything in the best interests of the country's credit. In the second place, India must shake off her dependence on a single market like London ; and at the next opportunity, she should negotiate for the floatation of a dollar loan in New York or a franc loan in Paris. France is now consumed with the ambition to figure as a great international monetary centre. With this object in view, the Government of France have removed, and are contemplating to remove further, many of the disabilities which have kept Paris in the background as an international lending centre. In the course of a month or two, Paris is expected to take a leading part in international lending; and the amount of new capital available for investment in France is, indeed, colossal. It will, therefore, be opportune for India to tap new markets like Paris and New York, and shake off her dependence on the one which is not at all friendly to her.

In the third place, the Government and the public, the businessman and the politician, one and all, should put their heads together, and through, say, a Supreme Economic Council, devise plans whereby the economic stamina of the nation could be improved in all ways and in all sections; whereby productivity may grow as rapidly as possible; and whereby the growth of new capital would be stimulated considerably. When one comes to think of it, India

is very much like America. We are rich in raw materials. Mother Earth has been especially bountiful, and yields a vast and varied store of minerals. We have unlimited power for industries, both in the form of coal and hydro-electric power. Labour is plentiful and cheap and, if properly guided and suitably remunerated, could be as efficient as labour anywhere else in the world. There is unlimited land available, plenty of cheap materials for building. That is, on the production side, the country has every facility required. Nor is there a dearth of capital. If only all the frozen, disabled and hoarded wealth of the country could be made to come out into the capital and investment market India has enough and more for any number of industrial concerns she may start. On the consumption side, one-fifth of the world's population reside within the borders of India and this offers infinite possibilities. With productive facilities on this scale, with a large potential supply of capital, and with consuming markets at the door, what is it that stands in the way of India inaugurating an industrial Renaissance, worthy of a country, which is only next to America in the natural resources and advantages? The desideratum is a determined and fervent desire on the part of the State and the people to make the best of what God has given them abundantly in His bountry. It is this determination which I would like to see implanted, fostered, encouraged, and growing strong in each one of us. Given that determination, believe me, India will, in ten years, have no need to think of external borrowings or discuss the ethics or economics of foreign loans. Like the United States of America transformed from a debtor country into a creditor country in the space

of ten years, India, too, can shake off the shackles of foreign obligations, able to find capital for all her domestic requirements, and, more, ready and willing and able to play her part in international lending.

The above is the full text of a speech delivered by Mr. N. R. Sarker at the Economic Society, St. Paul's College, Calcutta, on Thursday, April 3, 1930. (Ed.H. R.)

THE INDIAN STATES AT THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE.

By RAO BAHADUR M. V. KIBE SAHEB, M. A.

Speaking at a Banquet given at Baroda in January 1930, His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad, who is the doyen of the Indian Princes, observed that the four things they insisted upon, as reserved to them by Treaties, whether directly or consequentially, were as follows :—

Firstly, the need for the complete autonomy of the States in internal affairs. Secondly, the strict observance of our Treaties, both in the letter and in the spirit. Thirdly, the establishment of an independent court of arbitration to which both sides can appeal, as of right. And lastly, the devising of some means whereby the States will be able to speak with weight in all matters that are common between them and the rest of India.

As opposed to the above, the claim of British India as voiced by one of the ablest of the Indian publicists is as follows. Speaking from his place as the President of a Session of the Indian States Subjects Conference held in Bombay, Mr. C.Y. Chintamani said :—

1. India must have a rigid constitution. 2. Federation must be

the watch-word of the constitution. 3. State and Provincial Autonomy. 4. Residuary powers in the Central Government. 5. Indian States must have the same status as separate Provincial Units. 6. No separate electorates. 7. Two Chambers in the Central Legislature. 8. The lower one must be on the basis of population and the upper one on the basis of the Provinces and the States as Units.

If then, Mr. Chintamani's advice which undoubtedly is what the British India largely desires, were to be followed by the British Government, the claim of the Indian Princes as voiced by his Highness the Maharaja of Baroda, must undergo a great deal of change. That these two views are poles asunder, he who runs may read and yet if, and as, India has to attain its rightful place in the comity of nations of the world, a solution for the reconciliation of the above described views has to be found.

Excepting one or two all the Indian States are older than British India. The strong attachment of the Indian people has preserved them. Had not the British Government learnt a lesson

by the occurrence and the suppression of the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857-58, the process which converted Indian Territories into British Indian possessions might have continued unabated and perhaps there would have been no or a few Indian States by this time.

Owing to their scattered position, divided and small extent of territories with a few exceptions and the varying phases of the British policy towards them, many of the Indian States have remained backward as Governments and Administrations. All these factors severally and collectively are ignored when leaders like Mr. Chintamani propose as follows :—

(1) A declaration of fundamental rights in the form of a proclamation by the Ruling Prince recognizing the right of free speech, free press, free association, security of person and of property and Judicial trial. (This includes the absolute cessation of banishment of people from States and the confiscation of property by the mere fiat of the Prince).

(2) The abolition of *begar* or forced labour.

(3) The separation of judicial from executive functions, and an independent judiciary, the ruler retaining only the prerogative of pardon and mercy and never acting as a Court of Appeal.

(4) Local Self-government including village panchayats and rural and municipal Boards with majorities of elected members and elected chairmen.

(5) Legislative Councils with majorities of elected members and with at least the same powers as are exercised by the Councils in British India.

(6) No law shall be passed except by the Legislature.

(7) The Ruler's Privy Purse shall be absolutely separate from the State Budget. (It should be fixed at not more than 10% of the revenues in any State and in any circumstances, and any excess shall have to be voted by the Legislature).

(8) Cabinet Government presided over by the Ruling Prince. (In the more advanced States there should be responsible Government in the sense in which this term is understood. In other States, representative Government at the start leading upto a responsible Government within a period of 10 to 15 years).

(9) Free elementary education to all subjects of the State of both sexes. (An irreducible minimum of 10% of the revenues of the State should be spent on education every year and in all circumstances.)

(10) An irreducible minimum of 10% of the revenues of the State to be spent upon Public Health and Medical Relief.

(11) Economic Survey to be followed by systematic measures of economic development both in rural and urban areas.

For want of a proper setting, these suggestions sound and are like a counsel of perfection. Perhaps, owing to want of time and the limitations imposed upon a Presidential address, even in Mr. Chintamani's views there is some loose thinking. Let a State with 400 Square miles as its territory, 60,000 people as its population, in income of Rs. 5,00,000 annually and with a territory not only in separate blocks extending over 125 square miles, but in scattered villages, which

is not imaginary, be taken as an example applying to it his principles. In the first place, will he give autonomy to such a State? Will he give residuary powers to the Central Government in such a State? When it is a fact that the ruler of the above-mentioned State has the same honours and has to undergo similar expenses as in the case of a Ruler of a richer State, will Mr. Chintamani confine the expenditure of its Ruler to the same scale as in the case of the Ruler of a bigger and richer State. By introducing Legislative Councils and Rural and Municipal Boards, as well as the separation of judicial and executive functions, as advocated by him, will not power pass into the hands of an oligarchy? Is that consummation a desirable one, at any rate, would not his suggestions, if enforced, trample upon Treaty rights, make the necessary standard of living impossible and promote selfish intrigues making the Ruler, who may be capable of doing great good to his people, a non-entity? Indeed, will any self-respecting person, even for the sake of a hereditary dignity care to hold such an unenviable position. Indeed, to carry out such laudable suggestions as are advocated by Mr. Chintamani, which are typical of the other suggestions by the Indian publicists and politicians in general, would mean a greater reconstruction of the society and States than they imagine.

The principles enunciated by Mr. Chintamani if applied to the same State which is alluded to before would mean the setting aside of Rs. 100,000 for education and medical relief as a minimum. He will at least consider Rs. 500,00 for the expenses of the Ruler and his family. Owing

to the scattered nature of the territories comprising the State the charges on account of the collection of the revenue are over Rs. 50,000. Its administration, on a moderate scale and even with low paid officers must cost at least Rs. 25,000. Protection, which means the army and the police, of quite moderate strengths, must cost Rs. 50,000. The payments imposed by the Treaty and charities instituted by predecessors cost Rs. 25,000. The total of all these more or less fixed expenses covers more than two thirds the income of the State. The other is left for extraordinary expenses on account of the State, such as famines and the Ruler, such as guests, Darbars, Public Works, such as communications and buildings, town improvements and so on. In this way the field for reforms suggested by Mr. Chintamani is limited in smaller States at any rate.

Such are some of the handicaps inherent in the financial condition of the States. Those even with larger revenue, excepting a few which equal in area and revenue some of the major provinces of British India, the same quality of efficient men cannot be aspired to as in the British Indian Provinces. In many a State the Chief executive officer, who is the most highly paid and the best available, has to be even the head of the police and the Judicial Departments, not to say even of medical and Engineering. The lives of subjects have to be entrusted to amateurs, however well-intentioned they might be. It is this sort of necessity, and an historical tradition behind, that has forced the paramount power to divide States in the Kathiawar Peninsula into as many as seven classes

and in other cases to exercise more or less interference in the internal administrations in spite of the terms of the Treaty. Before the new consciousness arose among States, the agents of the British Government used to hear appeals in certain kinds of judicial cases. Much more so they exercised such rights during minorities. Latterly under the policy of meticulously following the terms of the Treaties much of this contact has been withdrawn except in cases of States where it was based on historical precedents. But owing to the material inability of some States to have the proper machinery of even protection, intervention of the paramount power is sometimes invited and welcomed by both the rulers and the ruled in the State and other times in the interests of either of the parties or of the paramount power it has to be enforced.

In spite of such a state of things, it stands to the credit of the Princes who have the Chamber as their vocal organ to have followed the practice of such constituent bodies. The Chamber of Princes unanimously passed a resolution which is a clear indication of their desire that their States should be well-administered. The Resolution is divided in the following parts:—

- (a) A fixed Privy Purse with a well-defined line between personal expenditure and that of the State.
- (b) Security of life and property.
- (c) An independent judiciary.
- (d) Clear and uniform laws approximating so far as circumstances permit to those of British India.
- (e) Stability of the Public Services.

- (f) Efficiency and continuity of administration.
- (g) Beneficent rule for the well-being and contentment of the people.

Even though such Resolutions may contain mere pious wishes, yet they have a moral effect. For long before the power of the House of Lords was curtailed in Great Britain, the British House of Commons continued to pass Resolutions against the Upper House from time to time until it succeeded in gaining a predominant position.

But the handicaps from which some rulers of the Indian States suffer clip the power of the subjects too. When a State's territory is so scattered in batches as to be spread over hundreds of square miles, how is it possible for the subjects, who may belong to different nationalities, speaking different languages, not to say of the different stages of civilization in which they are, as is the case in respect of several smaller states in the Southern Maharashtra Country, and lastly where numerical strength may be small, to think alike, meet together and continue to bring about any reform in the political unit under which they live? If they form regional groups, that might alienate the sympathies of a ruler apart from the fact that only a few grievances might be common so as to interest all. The problems that surround the Indian States are both various and serious and will have to be solved before any idea of an autonomous British India can achieve fulfilment.

The Butler Committee Report has emphasised the fact of the Paramountcy of the British Government. As a matter of fact, it is the only force which keeps in order the innumerable disputes, e. g. as regards boundaries,

which arise between the states. It intervenes, in the words of Lord Irwin on the occasion of the Session of the Princes' Chamber on the 25th February 1930, in the interests of the subjects of the Indian States, of India and of the Empire as a whole. This is, however, a large order and imposes no obligation on the bigger partner in the Indian Empire, viz. British India. The suggestions made by the Butler Committee to solve these problems do not go far enough. The Simon Commission Report cannot take cognizance of the former. Hence the necessity of a Round Table Conference to find a solution for both these problems.

It is necessary that its composition should not be on party lines. In order that it may accomplish the object for which it will be convened, it should consist of the aristocracy of intellect, considering all the factors, the method of representation at international gatherings in the West should be followed. Besides the heads of deputations, they should be accompanied by substitute delegates and expert advisers. The suggestion made above regarding the representation of the aristocracy of intellect can be fully given effect to by employing the devices advocated here. The pleadings of Sir Leslie Scott before the Butler Committee were worthy of an advocate. As a matter of fact the role assumed by the Indian States then was not in keeping with the position they demand in the Indian Polity. The committee should have been left severely alone, as some important individual States did. Anyhow, it is a godsend that a proper opportunity has been afforded by the proposed Round Table Conference to remedy the evils then wrought.

All sober minds are convinced that

the Dominion Status in India can only be reached by stages. In order to hasten the pace, moderate leaders in British India have advocated a Scheme whereby the affairs of the Indian States shall be exclusively under the Governor-General or the Viceroy, as is mostly the case at present, but it is clear from the utterances of leaders like Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Dr. Annie Besant that it would be a stop-gap arrangement only pending the achievement of the Dominion Status for India. The exclusion of the affairs of the Indian States from the purview of the people's assemblies will be only a temporary arrangement, and in the nature of a conciliation in order to avoid questions perplexing complexities.

The Montford Report held before the Indian States the idea of a Federation. It is unacceptable because all such formations lead towards the unitary type of rule which involves loss of sovereignty. When such a loss is voluntary and is meant as a sacrifice for a national cause, it is cheerfully undergone. The circumstances in India at present are quite the reverse. Any such step out here will overtly or covertly, consciously or unconsciously and willingly or unwillingly savour of pressure, and even coercion, and will not last a day after it is removed. Before a Federation can be entered into, parties to it should be possessed of something which would be surrendered in consideration of gaining some advantage in some other matter. Therefore, before the Indian States can join a Federation their rights must be fixed.

There have been too many causes that have led to the infringement of the rights of the States, apart from the difficulties

described in a preceding portion of this article. One is the tendency of the British Government to lay stress on precedents irrespective of the fact whether they applied to the circumstances of a particular case or not, in other words, the tendency to look upon the matters affecting the States in the aggregate. Another is want of means of making a common cause on the part of the States. This was indeed prevented by the very Treaties which established the relations between the States and the British Government. But all democratic Governments, and the British Government is essentially a democratic one, are impressed by numbers no less than by arguments.

Latterly the restrictions on common consultation have been loosened. As a result, the tendency of the Paramount power has been, in reviewing matters in the aggregate to level up and not to level down as was the case formerly. This can be seen in its recent action in raising the status of some States in Kathiawar from a lower to a higher class. Common consultation has led to common representation, as is the case with the Resolutions of the Chamber of Princes.

The Chamber of Princes is merely a deliberative body seeking to enforce its decisions by the influence of public opinion of a sort. It no doubt enables the Government of India to understand the view point of a large number of the Indian princes on certain questions on which it requires light. But here its patent usefulness ends. If it is to do a real good to Indian princes as a whole and preserve intact their privileges, dignities and rights it must be raised to the status of a league of Nations. Such a league alone will ensure their continued exist-

tence in the new polity which is looming large in the horizon of India. In the words of President Wilson of revered memory, "A general Association of Nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantee of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike." The Chamber, therefore, will have to be strengthened. It is at present a body subordinate to the Government of India in its working. Latterly some desirable advance has been made by holding informal conferences before the meeting of the Chamber, the Chamber and other meetings of the Princes as well as by the establishment of a Secretariat for the chancellor and a special organization of experts headed by a Director to consider questions, prepare cases and include the steps to popularize the cause in India and abroad. The States members have also taxed themselves for the purposes of meeting the heavy expenditure required for the above activities.

But all this is on a voluntary basis and it is not enough. It is true that all beginnings are like that. But as the Indian India has to meet British India on terms of equality and has to hold its own against the encroachments of a powerful neighbour with ambitions to become the paramount power, in the transitional period at any rate, the first named must become stronger by solidarity.

It is sometime said that there is self-government, a goal for which British India is striving, in Indian India. This is true only so far as it is a racial self-government, although that character too is fast disappearing with the steady Europeanization of services in them. The re-organiza-

tion of the military expenditure of the Indian States and the scheme for the co-operation of their Armies with the British army, so very desirable and favoured from the point of view of the preservation of peace, prosperity and safety of India as a whole is another reason why in the interests of the preservation of the individuality of the States, early steps be taken to have a united body of theirs.

There exists in India material enough immediately to form such a league as will achieve this aim. Measured by the standard of their relations with the Government of India, which is the biggest and most potent power in India, and which, besides holds the strings of all the Indian States in its hands, the latter are divided into three main and two sub-groups. The Treaty States, the Sanad States and the Mediatised States are the three main groups, while the first and last have sub-groups attached to each of them. To the last sub-group belong the guaranteed States and Estates and among the first there are some states which enjoy complete internal autonomy and there are others, on whom some restrictions have been placed. Among the first two groups are States which possess all the qualifications to become Members of a League in India which will in the fulness of time include them as well as the Government of India. In the case of some of even the Treaty States their status, vis a vis the latter (the Government of India) will have to be raised. But this has already been done in many cases when certain forms of the residuary jurisdiction exercised by the Government of India have been given up. As regards the Mediatised States, and their sub-groups, some of them, which

possess any distinguishing features, such as tradition, territory, opulence, should be given a higher status and the rest may be absorbed into the mother States from which they were separated. In this proposition again there is nothing revolutionary, since Mediatised States and guaranteed estates have been so allowed to be absorbed with, of course, certain safeguards, which, in no way, detract from the principle and states of inferior status have been raised to a higher status in their relations with the Government of India, and consequently in such formal relations as exist with one another.

There are no insurmountable difficulties in achieving the object of forming the League. Already the guaranteed estates in an important State, have been handed over to it. The same procedure may be followed in the case of guaranteed states or estates elsewhere. Then the Mediatised States generally may be given to their former overlords. This means that the political jurisdiction exercised over them by the political officers should be ceded. In doing this perhaps the state of things existing before the changes lately introduced by the political Department may have to be resorted to. Within the last few years in order perhaps to lighten the burden on the political Officers the extent of the residuary jurisdiction exercised by them has been reduced. It is this which is required to be changed, but in ceding such jurisdiction, as is proposed, there is nothing revolutionary. Recently, the feudatories of a big State in Southern India have been handed over to it.

These measures will considerably reduce the number of Indian States

and augment the status and resources of the remainder. Then will remain the Treaty and some Sanad States, which may be raised to the higher status, as, in the case of Mysore. Among the former, there are many too weak to lift the burden of becoming members of the League. These, at present, could be allowed to remain out of the League. There are several solutions in their case, which will have to be tried in different cases. One solution is to coalesce the States, which had a common origin as opportunities may occur. Another solution would be to form a federation of homogeneous States and have a common Army, Judiciary Educational and Medical institutions, and such federations could be made members of the League.

But the formation of the Indian League need not wait all the reconstructions suggested in previous paragraphs. For the purpose already stated in the words of president Wilson, the League, consisting of the Government of India and such other Indian States, as may be qualified for its membership, *e. g.* the Nizam, should be formed and thenceforth their mutual relations should be governed according to its covenants which should be based on the existing Treaties. As regards the other States, pending their reconstruction on the lines suggested, their affairs should continue as heretofore. The Government of India, assisted by the Chamber of princes which may continue to exist on the present lines for a time, should gradually bring about the reconstruction proposed. The nomenclature of the World League of Nations creates a confusion by con-

fusing Nations with States because what it really means is a league of States. Mostly even in Europe, or much more so in India, any other meaning would be inappropriate. However, all confusion would be avoided by naming the proposed organization as the League of Indian States.

There are certain principles which ought to be accepted for the organization of the League. They are as under :—

(1) The League is composed of Indian States which recognize one another's internal independence.

(2) The organ of the League would be the Princes' Chamber at Delhi. The Chamber will meet periodically. Its task would be the gradual codification of customs and practices which have taken the place of the international law in India, and the agreement upon such interstatal conventions as would from time to time be necessitated by new circumstances.

(3) A permanent Council of the Chamber be created to meet at Delhi or Simla, as occasions may arise, and to conduct all different business of the League.

(4) All members of the League agree once for all to submit all judicial disputes through international Court which are to be set up and abide by their decisions. They likewise agree to submit all non-judicial disputes to international Courts of conciliation which are also to be set up.

The Court of Arbitration, as a whole, should consist of as many judges as there are members of the League ; each member to appoint one

judge and one deputy judge who would take the place of the judge, in his absence. The President, the Vice President and say a dozen members should form the permanent bench of the Court and should be available to meet at Delhi or Simla, whenever an occasion may arise.

If a justiciable dispute arises between two States, the case is to go in the first instance before a bench comprising of two judges appointed by the two States in dispute and a President, who, as each case arises, is to be selected by the permanent bench of the Court from the members of the bench. This Court of first instance having given its judgment each party to have a right of appeal. The appeal to go before the permanent bench, which is to give judgment with a quorum of six judges. One of the functions of this Court may be to give judgment on the claim of a party to a Treaty to be released from its obligations on accounts of circumstances. This power would check the tendency of a strong State to modify Treaty provisions as its will.

Permanent Boards of conciliation may be appointed for the settlement of disputes of a political nature. The constitution of conciliation Boards to be established by the Indian League may be as follows :—

Every member of the League shall be appointed for a term of years, two conciliators and two deputy conciliators from among its own subjects. In case of dispute the three conciliators of each party shall meet to investigate the matter, to report thereon, and to propose, if possible, a settlement.

A second appeal from a bench of the Court of Arbitration and an appeal

from the Board of conciliation shall lie to the Privy Council.

This last provision may be objected to on the ground that it infringes on the sovereignty of a state. Now in the first place, even if it be assumed for a moment that it is so, it is an advance over the procedure in vogue at present. Although the Indian States are at liberty to approach the Parliament, only one appeal made on behalf of a confiscated Indian State has hitherto succeeded. That body is not likely to devote its attention to such cases frequently. In the second place even "independence", as observed by a judicial writer, "is not boundless liberty to a State to do what it likes, without any restriction whatever." In India a League has to be promoted to remove discontent and a smarting feeling and to do away with the policy of distrust, as manifested in the words of the address of the Poona Sarvajnik Sabha of 1877 "by the existence of the military camps in the territories of the Indian States and the presence of the Political Agents."

In order that the league or association of States may fully function it shall have to have a Library and a Board of Experts to advise and assist the individual states members on their requisition and the association as a whole. The following will give some idea of the experts required. Experts may be required in History, International Law, Currency, Banking, Commerce and Industry. This association may have its own Consuls at the capitals of or trade-centers in the British India and foreign countries, while at a general formal meeting of the League, the Princes should personally attend but at other meetings that may have to be convened, substi-

tute delegates in the person of their representatives who may attend and transact the business.

An organization of the Princes' Chamber as sketched in the preceding paragraphs will require finance. For this it may imitate the financial arrangements of the League of Nations. As its members contribute to its finances according to some proportion, the members of the League may also do the same. The Government of India too should substantially help it.

It is obvious that the scheme drawn up will be reached by gradual stages. It will have to be suitably modified for the transition period. The Butler Committee complained that "no practical proposals for new machinery have been placed before us". The scheme proposed by the Right Honourable Sir Leslie Scott was not supported by the Princes probably as it was a complicated one and did not give sufficient weight to the status claimed by them. The Butler Committee asserts that it has opened a "vista of the future", but it has refused "to survey the distant hills and the valleys that lead to them". It has failed to solve any problem. It has emphasised that "the Treaties, engagements and Sanads have been made with the Crown." and that "the paramountcy of the British must remain paramount". It also adds "we have left the door open to closer union". There is nothing in our proposals to prevent the adoption of some form of federal union as the two Indias of the present draw nearer to one another in the future."

The problems that confront the Indian States individually on the one hand and British India on the other are :—

(1) The relationship of the Indian States to the Crown.

(2) Paramountcy.

(3) Intervention.

(4) Arrangements for the conduct of political relations.

(5) Treatment of matters of joint concern, and

(6) Expert investigation of financial and fiscal problems.

The first three of these points are of vital importance from the point of view of the sovereign rights claimed or possessed by the Statse. The fourth will have to be solved whether in the event of Dominion Status being given to British India, the Crown of England thereby meaning, as in the Report of the Butler Committee, "The Secretary of State for India and the Governor-in-Council who are responsible to the Parliament of Great Britain" or British India becomes a Dominion in the Empire instead of a dependency as it is at present. In case these distinctions remain, different arrangements will have to be made for the conduct of political relations. As regards the last two they are mainly concerned with British India whatever its status might be. But the greatest difficulty is that no such proposition as the authorisation of a representative Committee to negotiate on behalf of the Chamber in pursuance of the Resolution adopted by that body can be entertained until its entire present constitution is changed much, if not fully, on the lines sketched in this paper.

These are practically the questions which are likely to be taken up at the Round Table Conference. It is understood that the Princes as a body will be both separately and along with the representatives of British India, allowed to represent their case, and discuss it

with the British Government and other parties. The relations between the Indian States and the Crown may in the transition period be like those in the different classes in the Mandated Territories under the covenant of the League of Nations. The questions of Paramountcy and intervention cannot perhaps be satisfactorily solved until some other check is devised to ensure that good government and indeed, as the trend of events show, some sort of representative government is introduced. Perhaps it is too early yet to expect that the Princes will tolerate even a friendly advice by any individual member of their order or its body at the present stage. It cannot, however, be forgotten, that in the middle of the last century in Germany as the result of the reflex of the second French revolution and later in Italy as the combined result of the writings of Mazzini, Generalship of Garibaldi and the statesmanship of Cavour many states on account of their weakness or misgovernment were wiped out. Unity is strength and safety lies in federation. But before a Federation can be established in India, the States must possess something definite which they can surrender. In the meantime, matters of joint interest such as means of communication or financial and fiscal problems can best be solved, but only to some extent, by having Boards of Arbitration or conciliation as already suggested. British India by its geographical position itself governs such matters. The monopoly of opium and salt and the individual efforts of the currency and customs duty were

acquired and exercised in this way. The Rulers of Indian States and therefore, their Chamber, has no voice in the disposition of their armies, even for the maintenance of the internal safety in the country, not to speak of their having no voice in the defence of the country from an outside attack. These questions again cannot be satisfactorily settled until the many problems that will confront the Round Table Conference receive solution at its hands.

In a Report submitted to the Mysore Government on the proposed constitution of the State, the eminent educationist Dr. Sir Brajendra Nath Seal observed :—

“The Continent of India (British and Native) parcelled out into so many Governments big and small, each autonomous in its own place and measure, will form a constituent group within the world system known as the British Empire”.

Much water will have to run under the bridges before this idea which was more graphically sketched by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar on July 2nd 1923 in London fructifies. His Highness said “The ideal that appeals to me most for my country is that of the United States of India in which each Province and every important State can be in a position to work out its own destiny, can take from each the best it has to give, help each other and cooperate with one another in matters of common interest, joining hands for a greater India, a greater British Empire”.

INDEPENDENCE Vs. DOMINION STATUS FOR INDIA.

By Mr. BHAGAT RAM KUMAR, M. A. (Oxon.)

Nothing is better calculated to illustrate the domination of Indian politics by sentiment on both sides than the history of events during the last few years culminating in the Declaration of Independence at Lahore. The Declaration of the Congress is a direct answer to the appointment of the Simon Commission, Mr. Gandhi's return greetings to Lord Birkenhead's. Few sane men can defend the proceedings of the Congress, and fewer still can defend the proceedings of the Baldwin Cabinet in the appointment of the Commission. Both events are so soon discredited, except with the diehards on both sides, for both were the result of sentiment overpowering reason. If Mr. Gandhi has run away with the better sense of the Indian people, Lord Birkenhead ran away with the better sense of the British people. The one overlooked the simple, but fundamental fact, that in the long run India cannot be governed except with her own consent and goodwill, and the other has overlooked the equally fundamental fact that independence is a question not of resolutions but of achievement. Theories and facts do not always coincide. There are certain facts so obvious to every one who gives them even a passing glance, that one wonders how statesmen and leaders can overlook them. But sentiment has always proved to be the pitfall of many statesmen—and of nations. George III and his minis-

ters were swayed entirely by sentiment in the treatment of the American colonies, with fatal consequences to the British empire. The Noncooperation movement in 1920 was again based upon sentiment—and we know the demoralisation it brought upon Indian life in its train. If Lord Birkenhead can take his stand upon sentiments of racial and Imperial arrogance—and this was the dominant impression created by his tenure at the Indian Office—Mr. Gandhi can equally take his stand upon Indian sentiments of outraged dignity, broken promises, and foiled hopes. And whilst the two exchange cordial greetings and reparates, the relations of their peoples are being merely poisoned.

2. For the fundamental bedrock of the relationship between India and England must be the principle of justice, right relationship—the principle which is the bedrock of all relationships. Every relationship must have a moral end, it must be advantageous to both sides equally, and must be recognised as such by both. All other relationships are unjust and immoral and can be maintained only at the point of the sword. Nor is it in the long run worth while maintaining such false relationship, for a relationship that involves injustice on one side can never be even for the good of the perpetrator. It is a truism that the jailor is himself equally a prisoner, and the slaveowner a slave. So it is

in all life. If India refuses to maintain a certain relationship voluntarily with England, it would be the most disastrous thing for England to attempt to enforce it upon her. She has found this to her cost in America and Ireland, and her attitude of almost indifference to the claims of the Colonies to declare their independence points to the assimilation of the lesson. If the Colonies remain in the Empire it is because they do so voluntarily and the change from the older relationship has not involved England in any loss. Relationships are entered into for definite ends, and nothing more, and the achievement of those ends is the justification of the relationship. There can be no marriage—forced and indissoluble—in the political life any more than in the individual life, for the essence of every relationship is the good of both parties spontaneously recognised as such.

3. It follows that no particular form of relationship is absolutely the best and good and true for all time. Rather relationships are passing from a lower level to a higher with the progress of civilisation. To the savage there can be no conception of spontaneous love in the marriage relationship, because marriage to him is nothing else but the satisfaction of the physical appetites. But with every step in civilisation mere brute force gives place to voluntary cooperation. If marriage is to be anything more than a mere satisfaction of appetite at every desire—if a man is to retain a woman or a number of them to help him in his occupations—force must be replaced by co-operation voluntarily entered into. And the conception of this co-operation must increasingly become nobler and nobler. So in political

relationships. When the English occupied India, its forcible occupation was the only method of consummating the relationship. The condemnation of British rule in India as based upon usurpation and conquest, has no intrinsic force, for in thus judging we apply moral ideas of our age to those of the past. As well may we condemn the savage for consummating his marriage by abduction. There was no more moral wrong, according to the ideas of the age, in the British conquest of India than in the Mugol or other previous conquests. Invasions, conquests, raids, plunder were the recognised sport of the age, and most of our own kings were busy in the same game. Hence to investigate into the steps by which the relationship was entered into is irrelevant to the point at issue before us. Civilisation has advanced, our moral conceptions have become nobler and it is our problem, taking the actual facts of the relationship into consideration, to base them upon a moral footing—according to the morality of our age. Because India was conquered by the sword, is no reason why she should be always held by the sword, unless we admit that our moral standards are the same as of the past. To maintain a relationship out of tune with morality of the age is to be false to that morality and thereby poison the relationship. Even from a practical point of view, it is impossible to maintain the old relationship based upon conquest, for the very success of the British administration in establishing a strong fabric of political structure has brought about changes in the Indian life which must inevitably lead to the next step. It is one of the lessons of history that the greater the success of a benevolent ruler, the sooner is the day of his own destruction. The very

success of the Tudor monarchy brought about conditions of life which made its continuance impossible, and if in other countries monarchy exists for longer periods, it is a testimony of its inefficiency and not efficiency. Hence there can be no greater praise of the British rule in India than the claim on the part of the ruled that the purpose of the benevolent autocracy has been achieved and that there must be an overhauling of the older basis of government if the nation is to continue its onward march. The rule of the head of the family over the younger members would be intolerable if it were to continue for ever, and a course if it were needed for ever. And so also in the political relationships of the ruler and the ruled.

4. If the present controversy over the question of Independence *versus* Dominion Status were looked at from this point of view by both sides, there would be much less of bitterness and misunderstanding and more of an attempt at mutual accomodation. For these two terms, do not express the real point of the controversy; they merely lift the discussion of practical problems to the realm of sentimental theory and raise up walls of prejudice on both sides. The Englishman naturally takes fright at the mere word 'Independence', forgetting that the Colonies enjoy Independence in practice; and the Indian refuses to believe that his dignity can be maintained by anything short of national Independence. The one refuses to consider Independence because of sentimental prejudice and an unconscious feeling that India's Independence means material loss to him; the other refuses to consider Dominion Status because of outraged dignity, which sees no self-respect except in Independence. Both sides

refuse to examine the implications of the words they are prejudiced against and have raised issues of a sham fight where none really existed.

5. For the point of the present controversy is not fundamentally one of Independence or Dependence but one of a new relationship between India and England, in which the Indian voice should possess the final word in all matters relating to India. No Indian desires Independence just for the sake of the sound of that word, but for its implications. Mr. Gandhi was willing to remain in the Empire till midnight December 31, 1929, for he knew that the same implications are contained in another word. And no Englishman would care to restrain India if he understood that the implications of Independence are contained in what the British Government has promised to India more than once—Dominion Status. Indians of all political thought are persuaded that India has reached a stage of political development when the old basis of her relationship with England is strangling her life, political, social, religious, and economic, and that to save India from this strangulation, she must take over the control of her own affairs. This is a natural attitude and casts no reflection upon the past of the British Government in India. They would desire to achieve this orientation within the Empire and with the willing consent of the British, for they see before their eyes other communities within the Empire who are enjoying this position. But if the latter are unwilling and adopt the attitude of all vested interests, then the same objective must needs be gained through Independence. Self-government, within the Empire if possible, without it, if impossible, is

their attitude, and in no way can it be considered offensive if looked at in this way. For the moral standards of the age are all in favour of this attitude of mind. The British Government in India has on more than one occasion explicitly justified its continuance in the country on its moral responsibility for the welfare of the masses and it has definitely repudiated the theory that India exists for the benefit of England. The Indian intelligentsia in its advocacy of a new relationship in the political connection between England and India takes its stand on the fundamental principle that this moral responsibility can in the future only be fulfilled by a change in the basis of relationship. Slavery is moral under certain conditions, it is moral as long as it contributes to the good of both. But when it becomes a mere instrument of exploitation on the one side and a strangulation of the growing powers and desires on the other, it becomes immoral. So, it is contended by the advocates of Indian reform, that the relationship between England and India has passed from the first stage into the second. It has ceased to be moral, and is becoming unjust.

6. The proof of this assertion is seen in the life of both countries. On the side of England, it is giving rise to a growing class of Dyers and O'Dyers, with their theories of racial arrogance and imperial impudence that must sooner or later lay axe at the very root of the empire. It is a lesson of history that no empires have ever been built up by the military conquerors; they either destroy other kingdoms or their own. The building up of an empire depends upon the civil ruler. That is, it is not the

exploiting type of mind that can cement different peoples into enduring bonds of union. If India is to be ruled by the methods of Dyer and O'Dyer, there is little hope for the future of the empire. And if the method succeeds, the measure of its success in India would be the measure of the degradation of cultural life in England. It is possible for a slave-owner to temporarily maintain his hold over unwilling slaves by weapons of terror and savagery his superior intelligence and wealth place at his disposal, but at what a cost to his own real life. The brutalising effects of such a policy far surpass the temporary material gains. The initiating of a policy of terror in India must sooner or later react upon English life itself, as foreseen by Burke. And even then the success can be but temporary. When Englishmen have not been able to terrorise the little Island next to their doors, is there any chance of their permanently terrorising India.

7. In the life of India, the demoralising results of the unnatural relationship are equally manifest. The whole of the political life and energies of the intelligentsia are concentrated in the fight for the new change, while the daily problems of life are left untouched. It is a frequent charge of the opponents of our claims that our unfitness for any more powers is shown by the deterioration of nation building subjects entrusted to us in the towns and municipalities, and by the deterioration of services as a consequence of their Indianisation. Those who are in touch with public activities may willingly admit the accuracy of the charge to a certain extent. But the reason is obvious to all except to those who have

made themselves into advocates. It is this, that the people are so engrossed in the one fundamental struggle that all minor affairs seem for the time being trivial. Not only this, but the Englishman himself finds he is able to do far less than before for the people because of their new sentiments which take the form of suspicion of everything done by a foreigner. All round there is stagnation and misery and the government is unable to fulfil its moral function, as much because it is cut of touch with the new needs as because the people refuse to allow it to help them. Non-Cooperation is the policy of the people not only in the Councils but everywhere.

8. If the Englishman would admit that the only justification of any relationship between England and India must be the good of both—moral, material and spiritual—and the Indian confess that this is all that he desires and nothing more, the controversy Independence *versus* Dominion Status would be brought down to the basis of rational discussion of the ways and means, and the solution be within sight. For it is possible to reconcile the most diverse interests if treated rationally, but impossible to reconcile even the same interests if treated upon sentimental grounds. If the Indian talks of Independence as his birthright, and sentimental claptrap of the same kind, the Englishman can also appeal to the sentimental claptrap of the imperial school and of "England expects everyman to do his duty". Such a dispute can have only one end—an appeal to the sword on one side or both and a final disruption of repulsive elements. And yet rationally both appeals are equally nonsensical.

There can be no intrinsic right to absolute independence or to empire. Certainly India has been all the better because she temporarily forfeited her intrinsic right to independence, as can be tested by a comparison of the political life in British India with that of the Indian India. But the empire itself can only justify its future existence by placing before us a nobler ideal that would be unattainable without it. If we accept this, then we see that the apparent antagonists have but a single aim and that the whole battle was on sham issues.

9. If we accept that the aim of India and England is the same, that is that the relationship between the two should be moral in essence, the controversy will assume a new turn. England will be anxious to give India the fullest liberty, whether you call it Independence or Dominion Status, and India will be anxious to continue her alliance with England, because every tie of interest and welfare will command her. And then both will realise that what one has been so persistently demanding, the other has been equally persistently offering. England has offered India Dominion Status, but Dominion Status as understood today carries with it the right of even leaving the British Empire. Dominion Status implies absolute power of the Dominion over her army, navy, services, power of appointing ambassadors, declaring war and making peace, controlling finances and in fact exercising all the rights of a sovereign country. And if this is Dominion Status, how is it different from Independence? From the British point of view Independence cannot bring any greater disasters than

Dominion Status. But if India can enjoy all the rights of an independent power without going out into the barren wilderness of isolated nationalism, in a century when the trend is in just the opposite direction, what is the gain of the step? England will not be so slow to redeem her promise, for fear lest this be the first step to the last; India will not be so ready to take her stand on mere dignity of sentiment. The two will come together as friends and co-helpers and arrive at a solution of the fundamental question, which whether it leads to separation or a new adjustment of relationship, will place it on a footing more in tune with the moral ideas of the day and, therefore, more in harmony with the laws of human progress and prosperity of both the peoples.

10. For only in such an atmosphere will it be recognised by both sides that the functions of Government are twofold. There are the merely physical and material advantages which it is the duty of every government to ensure to the people, and the moral and spiritual advantages. No government worth the name, according to the ideas of this age, can plead neutrality in the performance of the latter function. And if the British Government in India is judged by these two standards—by its performances and not professions—it will be found to have been criminally negligent. And the neglect is inherent in its very constitution. Morality, it was pointed out by Green, can never be enforced by an outward agency: it is a matter of inward growth. All that the state can do is to create conditions favourable to it. But in order that it should desire to create such conditions there must be an inherent

sympathy between the government and the governed. Such a sympathy can never grow up when the governed and those that govern are separated by every obstacle of language, culture, religion, race, and customs, as is the case in India. A thousand years of British rule will not materially alter the moral and spiritual condition of India, for the government can never enter into the skin of the governed; *i. e.*, it can never become a dynamic agent in the creation of these conditions of life that make for the good life. It has fulfilled the first condition of political life admirably, because it suited the genius of the race. It has brought order out of chaos, and perfected the machinery of administration. But man does not live by bread alone, nor nations for mere protection of life and liberty. And this is the justification of the Indians' claim to manage their own affairs. The very perfection of the machinery is the need for the urgency of the Indian demand. Nor can Englishman, if they are fair, fail to recognise the truth of the Indian plea. Look where you will, the life of the nation is anæmic. Materially, morally, intellectually we are the last among the nations of the world. Is this all the result of the 150 years of British rule—a period of time when every other country has made progress by leaps and bounds? This is not a condemnation of the British rule, for a condemnation would imply that they could have done something which they have left undone. It is merely to point out a fundamental fact of human nature and progress. And if Englishmen realised this, would they not themselves be the first to recognise the righteousness of our demand? And if they offered Independence, would we not rather choose Dominion Status?

HENRY DEROZIO : ANGLO-INDIAN POET AND REFORMER.

(By Mr. H. W. B. MORENO)

HENRY Louis Vivian Derozio was born on the 18th April, 1809 in Lower Circular Road, Calcutta. He was of mixed parentage. He was baptized in St. John's Church, Calcutta (the old Cathedral) on the 12th August 1809 by the Rev. James Ward D. D., the Chaplain, who at the same font, on the 3rd January 1812, baptized William Makepeace Thackeray, the renowned novelist, also born in Calcutta. As a boy he received his education in David Drummond's Academy in Dhuramtola, where he was a favourite with both master and pupils. He worked for a time on the office stool of the firm of James Scott and Company, and later for two years in an Indigo Factory at Bhagalpore. He soon returned to Calcutta, however, and there espoused literature and teaching as his profession.

It was largely Derozio's originality, vivacity and genius which stimulated among the educated Indian classes of his day that freedom of thought which led to the foundation of the Brahmo Samaj, the centenary of which was celebrated in August 1928. Before Derozio was eighteen he had published two books of poems which have earned for him a genuine place among the poets of the Romantic movement. He became a sort of literary lion in Calcutta and was admired and respected by the best brains of the day. A newspaper, the 'India Gazette' of Dr. John Grant, offered the young genius

shelter. Few months later he was appointed as a teacher in the Hindu College where, although he was an extraordinary success, his services came to an untimely end owing to a lamentable controversy with the authorities. He was the originator among his pupils and friends of an entirely new train of thought. Leaders of the time, like Raja Dakhinranjan Mukherjee, and orators like Ram Gopal Ghosh, the silver-tongued, were trained by him.

The British in the East in those days were so curious about the things of the East that they had little time to interpret or explain the West. All the treasures of Oriental art and learning were opening up before them and they were so busy with their Munshis and Pundits that they did not trouble themselves about the yearnings of the East for Western knowledge. A few missionaries and others, it is true, were employed in helping Bengali youths to learn English, but, generally speaking, the missionaries of those days had no great sympathies with the East, and if Indians went to them it was simply because they felt they had to learn the language of the English, and they were the only people willing to teach it.

Then came Derozio. Within a few months of his entering the Hindu College he had most of the better class

Indians in a ferment. There were not in those days so many wonders of western science; but what Derozio taught, not only in the class room, but in lectures, at his debating societies and in conversations, was an entirely novel method of viewing the world and its activities. He taught his students to reason in new ways to ask for proofs, to question conventions. The orthodox, who wanted nothing new were greatly annoyed, and he soon became the victim of religious intolerance and persecution. Some impossible charges were made against him. These, on inquiry, were shown to be fabricated, but he was compelled to resign his connection with the College. He then started teaching in his own house where he also organized and edited a daily newspaper known as the 'East Indian'. He soon collected about him another great circle of friends and admirers. But on December 26, 1831, at the early age of twenty-two he was suddenly stricken with cholera and died.

A biographer has written of him, "the gifted Eurasian (Anglo-Indian) teacher, philosopher and poet, during the short period of his connection with the Hindu College did more to arouse, quicken and impel the thought of Young India than anyone then living or since dead."

Separated from the English poets of the nineteenth century by thousands of miles, and coming a little later than the poet, who adorned the Romantic period, he yet had (says a writer in a local journal) the same free thinking mind, the same challenge to orthodoxy, the same outlook on life, the same love for Nature, and the same facile command over the Eng-

lish language. Something of the poetry is doubtless imitative, but most of it is the pure gold of utterance. His longest poem., 'The Fakir of Jungheera' was a particularly ambitious effort; but it is in his sonnets that we enjoy with him the simple joys of woodland sights the sounds of Nature and all that is found living and throbbing in her. We soon learn to appreciate the vigour, the vision, the faith that permeated his life and work.

It was Derozio who first advised his community to live on good terms with their Indian friends. In the East Indian of Saturday, the 17th December 1831, there appeared a report of the examination of the pupils of the Dharamtola Academy which contains the last lines he wrote. After commenting on the excellence of the examination passed by the boys he goes on to say : The most pleasing feature in this institution is its freedom from illiberality. At some of the Calcutta schools objections are made on to Natives (Indians), not so much on the part of the masters as on the part of the Christian parents. At the Dhuramtola Academy it is quite delightful to see Hindu Christian youths striving together for academic honours; they will do much towards softening this asperities, which always arise between hostile sects and when the Hindu and the Christian have learned from mutual intercourse how much there is to be admired in the human character without reference to differences of opinion in religious matters, we shall be brought nearer than we now are to that happy condition when—

"Man to man the world o'er.

Shall brithers be and a' that."

"To those parents who object to the bringing up of their children among native youths, we desire to represent the suicidal nature of their conduct. Can they check the progress of knowledge at certain schools? Can they close the gates of the Hindu College and other institutions? If not, is it not obvious that they cannot withhold knowledge from Hindu youths? And if they manifest illiberal feeling towards those youths, are they not afraid of a reaction? In a few years the Hindus will take their stand by the best and the proudest Christians and it cannot be desirable to excite the feelings of the former against the latter. The East Indians (Anglo-Indians) complain of suffering from proscription, is it for them to proscribe? Suffering should teach us not to make others suffer. It is to produce a different effect on East Indians (Anglo-Indians)? We hope not. They will find, after all, that it is their best interest to unite and co-operate with the other native inhabitants of India. Any other course will subject them to greater opposition than they have at present. Can they afford to make more enemies?" Of such prophetic words the Anglo-Indian community have yet to take knowledge.

In autumn of 1831 an unusually high rate of mortality prevailed in Calcutta and its suburbs due chiefly to cholera, dysentery and fever. All over Calcutta and its neighbourhood cholera raged in virulent form, and nearly every case proved fatal. On Saturday, December 17th, the day the above statement appeared in print, Terozio was stricken, for eight days he struggled with the disease. There crowded round his sick-bed—

not terrified by the ravages of cholera but rising above the fear of contagion—his pupil-friends of the Hindu College. All through sleepless, weary, painful nights and days he was tended, Krishna Mohan Bannerjee, Ram Gopal Ghosh, Mohesh Chunder Ghosh and others, sharing the anxiety and fatigue of his mother and his sister, Amelia. Racked with pain that filled the room with low meaning, worn out by sleepless days and nights and the violence of cholera-morbus, on Monday, the 26th December 1831, the weary eyes closed in death.

For him as for all true men, death had no fear. It was "the gloomy entrance to a sunnier world." This is how he had sung of death and fate, and man's eternal energy—

Death! my best friend, if thou doest ope, the door.

The gloomy entrance to a sunnier world,

It boots not when my being's scene is furled,

So thou canst aught like vanished bliss restore.

I vainly call on thee, for fate the more

Her bolts hurls down, as she has ever hurled :

And in my war with her I've felt, and feel

Grief's path cut to my heart by misery's steel.

But man's eternal energies can make

An atmosphere around him, and so take

Good out of evil, like the yellow bee,

That sucks from flowers malignant
a sweet treasure.

O tyrant fate ! thus shall I vanquish
thee,

For out of suffering shall I gather
pleasure.

Commenting on a review of Derozio's poetry which appeared in the 'Oriental Quarterly Magazine' for December 1829, the 'Government Gazette,' of about the same date, then edited by Dr. John Grant, says :—
"When the reviewer blames him (Derozio) for making the Byronic School too much his model, we must say for our young poet that he himself, at the time of publishing his 'Fakir of Jungheera,' anticipated that an objection against exaggerated passion and sentiment would be made. Why then, it may be asked, did he not adopt a simpler model ? This we shall briefly explain. In an article quoted from the Quarterly Review' it is justly remarked that whoever endeavours to rival the best models of ancient and modern times must be sustained by his own inherent love of excellence, without depending on any other support.' He must give place to others whom fashion favours. He would be popular, must be new and striking, or nothing. The consequence is that books are written not in the manner that is best fitted to instructively amuse the public but to flatter it. Derozio was in no condition to be sustained by his own inherent love of excellence without depending on any other support. The style adopted in the 'Fakir of Jungheera' is not, we believe, the one most congenial to him. This is very evident in the first volume he published. To bring out a book was to him, however, a serious undertaking, because

one of the first considerations, was that the book should sell. To render this probable he felt it necessary to give in to what he believed to be the general taste ; and he was, therefore, obliged to adopt the popular and fashionable model."

Had a few years more of his life been possible for Derozio, he would have demonstrated to the full what he had already demonstrated in part, that there was something more in him and his power of song, than sweet imitative echo. The judgment which an impartial world passes on men and the position assigned them by an unbiassed succeeding generation, free from the heats of personal likes and dislikes and bitter controversy, is based not on what a man might have been, or on what at some early period of his life he may have been, but on what he actually was and what he achieved up to the time of his death. It is on these lines alone that an estimate of Derozio should be made.

His sonnet entitled the "Harp of India" is a fitting conclusion to the literary work of one, who though cut down, at the very outset of his career, possessed a heart true to all things high and great in India.

Why hangest thou lonely on yon
withered bough ?

Unstrung for ever, must thou there
remain ;

Thy music once was sweet—who
hears it now ?

Why doth the breeze sigh over
thee in vain ?

Silence hath bound thee with her
fate chain ;—

Neglected, mute, and desolate art
thou,

Like ruined monument on desert plain ;

Oh ! many a hand more worthy far than mine

Once thy harmonious chords to sweetness gave,

And many a wreath for them did Fame entwine

Of flowers still blooming on the minstrel's grave.

Those hands are cold—but if thy notes divine

May be by mortal wakened once again,

Harp of my Country, let me strike the strain.

THE SALT MONOPOLY IN INDIA.

By "SURVEYOR" OF "BOMBAY CHRONICLE"

DR. C. Aylwin (of the firm of Aylwin and Company), of Calcutta, addressed a letter in 1846 to the Cheshire Salt Chamber of Commerce drawing their attention, among other matters, to the scandalous manner in which the East India Company was pursuing its salt monopoly. This letter was not written with a view to expose the inhuman methods of the Company in enforcing its salt policy but was written with the avowed object of bringing pressure on the various vested interests in Britain viz., salt and textile manufacturers, ship-owners, sugar merchants, to influence Parliament to compel the Company to abandon the salt monopoly so that the Cheshire manufacturers of salt might find a market in India for their produce. Incidentally, salt trade would also reduce the number of unemployed workers in that country. If, therefore, this new market in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa

were secured, English shipping would benefit enormously, for, on the return voyage, sugar, (which was then largely manufactured as a part time occupation in much the same manner as khadi is being woven in the villages to-day), could be brought from Bengal to England at cheaper freight rates in the interest of the English consumers. This would give an impetus to the Indian manufacturers to produce more sugar and obtain therefore sufficient profits to enable them to purchase Manchester piecegoods. Thus by opening out the salt trade and encouraging the production of cheap sugar also for the benefit of England, a demand was created for Lancashire goods. This plan succeeded admirably, as we now know too well to our irreparable loss. Aylwin had therefore killed many birds with one stone, but in doing so he denounced the Company and exposed their methods of exploitation of the Indian ryots in enforcing the

monopoly. He spared no pains in his letter emphatically to point out how the monopoly operated adversely against the economic and physical condition of the people of India and particularly against the "molunghees"—the Indian manufacturers of salt.

Sweated Labour.

The Company got its salt manufactured through the "adjoura" and "ticka molunghees." A "ticka molunghee" earned by the terms of the contract with the Company double the wages received by his "adjoura" brother. Several petitions were made by the "adjoura molunghees" to put them on the same level as the "ticka molunghee", and in 1874, the Governor-General very kindly acceded to their demand. But even this concession did not improve their wretched economic condition. Aylwin's observations in this connection are illuminating: It is, however much to be apprehended that even these rates were an inadequate compensation for the "molunghee" labour. The Agent of the 24 Purgannahs says that the total net earnings to each man at the contract rates, even if the quantity contracted for were fully supplied, would only be six rupees or twelve shillings, for seven and half months' labour the time during which the "molunghees" were commonly employed in each year in the jungles! Special courts of justice were set up to protect the interests of the "molunghees" but, writes Rickard, these only helped to tantalise wretches, who neither can or else do not prefer a complaint from the dread of still greater oppression. We may, therefore, conclude that the condition of the "molun-

ghees" is not improved from what has generally been admitted, ever since the establishment of the monopoly, to be of great misery.' From these extracts, it will be seen how the East India Company reaped huge profits by sweating the poor Indian manufacturers of salt, and how unscrupulous were their methods to obtain the maximum of gains by coercing them. The Company also manipulated the prices as and how it liked. The average wholesale price of salt fixed by the Company in 1844-45 was about Rs. 400 per 100 Bengal maunds, including Government duty at Rs. 3 per Bengal maund! The "molunghees" "sufferings were further enhanced by the most unhealthy climatic conditions under which they had to work in the Sunderband where the Company had its principal factories. It was on the toils and sufferings of these people that the foundations of the British Empire in India were laid and strengthened.

A Nefarious practice.

We now come to another chapter in the ignoble history of exploitation by the East India Company whose legacy the present Government have inherited. In spite of protest made by the people incessantly from time to time ever since the monopoly was instituted Government have continued to defy public opinion and winked at the miseries which have entailed from following such a policy. The Honourable Company's nefarious practice was to get as much revenue as was possible by deliberately restricting the supply of salt to the people. How this reacted on the health of the Indian may be easily imagined. Aylwin estimated the per capita consumption of salt in his days to be only

12 lbs. "The people in Bengal I have no doubt," he writes, "should they ever get cheap salt, will consume it as largely as any other class of men. There are even some circumstances connected with their peculiar condition, which would lead one to suppose it probable that they would consume it even in a somewhat larger proportion than the inhabitants of many other portions of the globe. Their climate is damp, most of their country is distant from the sea air, their soil is not impregnated with saline matter, their diet is almost wholly vegetables, and remarkable for its insipidity, and the poverty of the great mass of the people is so great as to exclude them from the use almost of any other condiment than salt."

Reducing the supply.

Aylwin was firmly of the opinion that in so far as the alimentary use of salt was concerned the people of Bengal were likely to consume rather more than other people. He proceeds, "A Bengal and Madras sepoy on foreign service receives a ration of three-quarters of an ounce of salt per diem, which is at the rate of 17 lbs per annum. A Bombay sepoy is allowed the extravagant amount of two ounces a day which is equal to above 45 lbs per annum. These allowances refer to services on shore. The allowances when at sea somewhat preposterously are much greater in his case as the Bengal sepoy is allowed a ration between 22 lbs, and 23 lbs, per annum, and the Bombay sepoy the same with an allowance of some salt fish, whilst the Madras sepoy goes 21½ ounces per diem equal about 50 lbs. per annum with salt fish to boot." It is also recorded that the

French Government in India according to a contract with the Company, obtained from the latter salt for its possession at the rate of 22 to 23 lbs per capita. While, therefore, the Company's servants in the lowest grades secured as much as 22 to 23 lbs. and more salt rations, it was the Company's settled policy to supply not more than 12 lbs. per head to the Indian ryots.

Significant.

It is a most significant fact that there has been no change in this figure. The per capita consumption to-day is about the same, i. e., 6 to 7 seers of salt. This fact bears an eloquent testimony to the inelastic working of the salt monopoly. Government apologists have now tried to crow from the housetops to the effect that the economic condition of the Indian nation has improved considerably as a result of British rule in India during the last two hundred years. These ultra-loyalists-cum-pseudo-economists may be asked: How is it that, whereas the civilised countries all over the world have increased their consumption of salt per capita, particularly for agricultural and industrial purpose a predominantly agricultural country like India has not kept pace with civilized people since the period under review? It is needless to point out that the reason is to be found in the working of the salt monopoly, and the heavy duty which restricts the consumption to the detriment of the masses and their cattle. How this policy is still being pursued is illustrated in the instance given by Sjt. Rajagopalachari in a speech delivered the other day. He then said; "In the Madras coast every year nature deposits beautiful crystalline salt over a

vast area of 30 miles extent. If gathered and sold in the market, it would then be a crore worth of salt every year. But Government guards it like the dog in the manger and lets the rains wash the salt down every year because they do not want this salt. This wanton destruction is but a symbol of the adopted policy towards India." Instances may be easily multiplied to show that the same policy is being followed elsewhere in India.

Unjust and oppressive

The deficiency of salt supplied to the ryots evoked from Aylwin the following valuable opinion: "There can.....to an unprejudicial mind be no question of a deficiency existing both in supply as well as quality and from personal experience and after seven years' residence in India, during the greater portion of which I have been brought into close and immediate contact with all classes of the native I have no hesitation in stating that the absence of proper supply of pure and wholesome salt in tropical climates predisposes the human system to many, if not most, of the maladies that are considered incidental to the East. Indeed I have in my mind no doubt that the fearful and loathsome disease elephantiasis, so prevalent amongst the lower and poorer classes of the Hindus, is mainly, if not altogether, attributable to the want of an antiseptic to the avgetable diet so universal in India, as I have in many instances found that where the disorganization of the tissues has not been allowed to proceed to an advanced stage very beneficial results have ensued from constantly bathing the limb affected in strong solutions of lime and salt water. It is thus evident that salt

becomes one of the first necessities of life and that the sale monopoly is unjust and oppressive to the poor."

Poorest suffer most.

Aylwin then proceeds to show how the duty falls heavily on the poor people. He writes. "If we take the Board of Salt's estimate of the average annual consumption, say 12lbs., or 6 seers for each individual and compute the number of persons comprising a family in Bengal to average five (which is decidedly below the mark) we shall, estimating the annual earnings of a labourer at three rupees as per month, or £3-16-0 per annum, find that to purchase a sufficient and an adequate supply of salt for himself and an adequate supply of salt for himself and family, he will have to part with no less than one month or, say, one and a half month's portion of his annual earnings. In these districts, however, which I regret to state, the majority where the average annual rate of labour is not over 18 rupees or wretched raiyat has no only to feed but also to clothe himself and family, how fearfully—dreadfully must tax such as this on one of the first necessities of life, operate to retard the condition and social position of all who are subject to its baneful and withering influence."

If one considers the rise in prices of necessities of life like wheat, rice, sugar, etc. and the fall in the purchasing power of the rupee since the period under review, it will be clearly understood that the salt tax falls equally heavily to-day on the poorer and the agricultural classes as it did during the last century and the arguments employed by Aylwin then

apply with the same force to the present situation.

That the monopoly was a curse in these days there are no two opinions on the subject ; but how it affected the health of the cattle employed in agriculture is another indictment of the Government policy. According to Aylwin, want of salt was mainly the cause which made the horned cattle, sheep and horses of Bengal by far the smallest and puniest and the worst conditioned which Aylwin had met in any part of India. Mahatma Gandhi in the speech delivered on March 12, touched upon this helplessness of the peasants to give more salt to their cattle due of course, to the dearness of commodity brought about by the incidence of the tax.

Drawback to farming.

The tax also restricts the use of salt as manure. Robertson in a report submitted to Parliament in 1878 writes in this connection as follows :—

The high price of salt in India is a serious drawback to agriculture. In England good agricultural salt for the use of stock, or for use as manure can generally be purchased at about 30s. per ton; similar salt costs, in this Presidency about 50 rupees per ton. Live stock cannot be maintained in good health unless they have frequent and regular access to salt ; but it is rather as a condiment than as a food that salt is so valuable. It renders food more palatable, improves the appetite, increases the flow of saliva and assists the digestive processes. Salt is peculiarly obnoxious to intestinal worms and the prevalence of these and other internal parasites in such numbers in the farm stock of this country, is to be accounted for by

the almost entire absence of salt in their diet. Salt has long been used for promoting vegetation. It is of the greatest value as a manure in inland countries. Land under the influences of sea breezes generally gets, by means of these breezes, sufficient salt for the requirements of agricultural crops. It has been ascertained by direct experiment that the land near some coasts receives annually as much as 300 lbs. of salt per acre carried to it by winds. Salt is generally used as an auxiliary manure with lime or other manures. In England as much as 600 lbs. of salt per acre is supplied with other manures to lands, and for meadow land a usual up-dressing is 200 lbs. of salt, with about 100 lbs. of nitrate of soda. Heavy dressing of salt are sometimes applied to pasture land to improve the herbage and kill insects injurious to grass. But salt is also used to prevent the too rapid decomposition of organic manure, a purpose for which in this country where putrefication is so rapid, it is much needed: field yard manure when stacked in the land decomposes so rapidly that in a space of four or five months the whole becomes a fine mould which, though valuable, does not serve the same purpose on the land as fold-yard manure in its natural state."

A Surat incident.

The purpose of collecting the above extracts is only to show that the conditions have not materially changed now than they were a century ago. That the salt duty is pressing heavily on the slender resources of our peasantry has been amply proved by such eminent writers and economists as Gokhale, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Romesh Chander Dutt and Gandhiji.

That the tax is iniquitous and should go requires no historian, statistician or a logician to demonstrate. But one more incident from history may be cited to show how the tax has always been resented by our people. On August 30th, 1844 after a vain appeal to the civil authorities the citizens of Surat "rose tumultuously to resist the levying of an increased salt tax." "The troops", writes Trotter in his *History of India*, "being brought about against them, the rioters dispersed for that day, after having attacked the jail and done some other deeds of violence. Fresh troops were ordered to the spot from other stations, but meanwhile peace had been restored by the promptness of Sir Robert Arbuthnot, Collector of Surat,

in delaying the enforcements of the dreaded impost until the receipt of fresh order from his Government. His example was followed by Sir George Arthur, Governor of Bombay, who decreed remission of certain town duties pending a reference to the supreme Government. The answer given by the Governor-General was not unfavourable to the cause of peace. The increased tax on salt was to be lowered by one half, and all town duties done away with from the first of October, and so the smouldering disaffection died out at once without need of further appeals to the logic of guns and bayonets." It is a significant coincidence that it is in the Surat district that Mahatma Gandhi started his attack on the salt tax.

BRITAIN AND INDIA : THEIR PRESENT RELATIONS.

By Mr. HOOSEINBHOY LALJEE

(*President, Indian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay.*)

IT would be mere self-deception for any person, either official or non-official, to overlook the fact that Mr. Gandhi's movement has received very wide support throughout the length and breadth of the country. The correct view to take of this movement is that Mr. Gandhi has deliberately selected this method as a sort of referendum to the people, and he will be a bold man who will say that he has not got the masses with him in this connection.

The commercial community in India has always stood, and still stands, for law and order, but it requires the Government to read the signs of the times correctly and to act in statesmanlike manner. Retired Government officials and others who know the India of 1915 and before, may very wisely advise people in London that nothing but a strong hand will retain an efficient administration here. All that I can say is that these people are out of date, and

their information is based on material which has no application to-day. The people of India will no longer stand for anything short of the government of India by Indians in the best interests of India," and there is no half-way house. Is the Viceroy prepared to say that the Cabinet is willing to consider the details of a statute for making Indians master in their own house? Regarding military and one or two other complicated questions like Indian States, there may be room for deliberation and give-and-take or patience; but regarding Indians being masters in their own house there is no half-way house; the question now therefore is, even though His Excellency the Viceroy may not be able to say anything about Dominion Status being considered at the Round Table Conference, is he prepared to say that the Cabinet are prepared to consider details regarding a statute for making Indians masters in their own house? If this can be made clear by His Excellency the Viceroy, the suspicion lurking in the minds of Mr. Gandhi and the public at large will be removed. I am not unaware of the fact that it may be urged that all this could be discussed at the Round Table Conference. If Mr. Gandhi had faith enough to wait till then, it would be unnecessary to request the Viceroy to make a declaration, but things having developed to the point they have, I think statesmanship requires that, in the interests of India His Excellency should make every effort to satisfy Mr. Gandhi and other leaders, that the British Cabinet are not playing with the Indian people but really mean to put them on the highway to the goal indicated in the announcement of 1917.

Definite efforts are being made in the direction of communal unity by trusted leaders on both sides, and I am not so pessimistic as to think that a satisfactory solution of the problem will not be found, if the Government of India make their intention clear and unambiguous. We Hindus and Muslims, who have lived together for centuries, know that we must continue with the help of each other to put the country on right lines, and the hardships inflicted on the country by the economic policy of the Government, as it has been till now, does not fall on the Musalmans more lightly because they are Musalmans, nor are the effects of this policy harder on the Hindus than on the Musalmans because they are born Hindus. It is short-sighted communal jealousy which has made this problem look as big and dark as it is made out to be, and I am convinced that the best interests of the country as a whole should not be sacrificed owing to communal considerations by either side. The Government of India will not be justified in making the communal question an excuse for their halting policy if they wish to have the co-operation of India hereafter.

The Government's fiscal and financial policies have hit us so hard that some of us are lost in despondence and a good many are of opinion that our conditions are getting every day from bad to worse, and that the only course open to us is to exert all our influence and take such actions as would give as early a relief as possible to the people of India. All Indians, including a large number of commercial bodies have decided to support the Swadeshi movement, and that too by all means possible. Every country has done so, and even Britain

is doing her best to advance her own manufactures and produce. Our National industrial policy should be to encourage the existing industries and support new ones. The changes that have taken place after the Great War and lessons we have learnt as to what is being done by all the civilized nations of the world, must now make us bold to support Swadeshism and make treaties with people who shall be prepared to give us equal terms.

The present state of affairs effects trade, commerce, industry and even agricultural development in the whole country to an extent which it is difficult for any one to calculate and describe. It is also going to effect the people of Britain much more, and it will depend upon the attitude of the people of Britain towards the people of this country, when the trouble will end. The trade and industries of Britain are at present not flourishing, they are in a state of depression. A peaceful and contented India would be a great asset to Britain, and yet it is

a tragedy that while the statesmen and politicians of Britain take so much pains to cultivate friendship with Soviet Russia, very little attention is paid to restoring, to a normal and friendly state, relations between Britain and this country. We learn that Britain is giving credit to Soviet Russia to the extent of £ 3,000,000 in connection with a contract for supply of fertilizers and other chemicals to Russia, and it is expected that the Soviet orders this year will total more than £10,000,000. South Africa enjoys full rights as a Dominion of the British Commonwealth, and yet wants independence and Britain takes care anxiously to see that her self-respect is preserved in order that she may not want to get out of the Commonwealth. If Britain, in matters of self-respect of nationalities can stoop to conquer some of the colonies, and in matters of trade can stoop to conquer. Soviet Russia, surely she can try to conquer the heart of this country.

AFGHANISTAN AND THE PATHAN BORDER.*

By SIR HAMILTON GRANT, K. C. S. I., K. C. I. E.

There are many who wondered, and who perhaps still wonder, why such an unconscionable fuss was made everywhere about Amanullah, the dethroned King of Afghanistan, during his visit to Europe two years ago. The answer is simple enough. It is on this side, and this side only that India is vulnerable on her land frontier.

Over the whole immense remaining expanse of her northern borders, India is safeguarded by the impassable barrier of the Himalayas. It is only through Afghanistan that the path lies open to an invading force; it is by this route from time immemorial the invaders have come down upon India—Alexander the Great, Mahmud of Ghuzni, and the other early Moham-

* An address given before the Royal Empire Society, London.

medan incursionists, the great Moguls and the Persian Nadir Shah. You have only to glance at the map to realize why this should be so. From the river Oxus the mountains surge up into a great welter of highlands to the Indian border, but from Herat on the western extremity of Afghanistan a comparatively open road lies to a force moving eastwards on India.

A Dual Border.

This being so, it is, and always has been, obviously desirable that the Power holding India should be on friendly terms with the power controlling this route, and it is for this reason that it has been the policy of the British Government for the last hundred years and more to cultivate friendly relations with the rulers of Afghanistan.

For the same reason, but from a very different motive, it is in the interests of all other Powers who might, at any time, have differences with us, equally to impress and to establish friendly relations with a ruler through whom they might, should occasion arise, give us a nasty stab in the side. There was, therefore, something somewhat naive about the colossal entertainments that were showered on the dethroned monarch, Amanullah, in practically every capital in Europe, but world policies, when divested from the shroud of delicate diplomatic language, are often apt to appear quaintly crude.

Afghanistan is important to Britain in another way as the immediate neighbour of India with a common border inhabited by the most turbulent tribes in the world. On this side there is, curiously enough, a dual border, that is, first the boundary of

the settled districts of British India, and beyond that again there is the international boundary with Afghanistan, commonly known as the Durand Line.

Between these lines live those wild tribes of whom in the past we have heard so much from time to time according as their misbehaviour necessitated punitive operations. They live inside the Indian Empire and are nominally under our political control, but the influence of the ruler of Afghanistan over these tribes even though they lie outside his actual boundary is predominant and this has always been a complicating factor in their management.

Relations with Afghanistan.

The actual relations between the British Government and Afghanistan began early in the last century, when the machinations of Napoleon and the obvious ambitions of Russia first called attention to the danger on this side. It was fear of Russia that, prompted the amazing adventure of the first Afghan war, ending, as it did, in a terrible debacle.

The honour of Britain was, however, retrieved by Pollock's avenging army and the Amir Dost Muhammad placed on the throne of Afghanistan. In 1855 he came down to Peshawar to meet Sir John Lawrence and there made that agreement of friendship that was destined to be of vital importance to us, for two years later in the dark days of the Indian Mutiny, Dost Muhammad, true to his bond, restrained his people straining at the leash from swooping down and adding materially to our discomfiture. He was succeeded by his son Sher Ali, and relations continued fairly satisfac-

tory until our action in the Russian, and Turkish War prompted Russia as a diversion to send an Envoy to Kabul.

Here again fear of Russia prompted us to action which led to the second Afghan war, to the flight of Shere Ali, the Treaty of Gandamak with his son Yakub, the despatch of the unhappy Cavagnari as envoy to Kabul, his murder, and the consequent recrudescence of war, to Lord Roberts' stupendous achievements both at Kabul and Kandahar, and to the eventual establishment of the exiled Abdurrahman on the throne. This was a hard man taming a hard people, and his methods were such as make the modern Westerner shudder, but he consolidated Afghanistan as a kingdom for the first time and left his son Habibullah a peaceful succession and a peaceful reign until the Great War.

Experiences in 1904.

I had, myself, the privilege of being one of the Mission who went to Kabul in 1904 to reaffirm the various Treaties and engagements with the Amir. It was an interesting experience dealing with the people with the veneer of a high civilization but, for the most part, with the hearts of barbarians. On one occasion I remember when we were sitting in the palace on one of the conferences, the Afghan Councillors dressed in correct frock coats and resplendent uniforms, Sir Louis Dane, the head of our Mission, expostulated on some small matter and said:—"Really, such an expression is unworthy of a civilized Power." Whereupon they looked at each other and burst into laughter and one of them, a member of the old

school, said:—"Good Lord! you don't think we are civilized."

On another occasion, when the Treaty we had concluded was actually being signed, the Amir, lifting his pen, made a slight blot on the engrossed Treaty. Attempts were at once made to erase the mark, but without success, and the Amir said with a smile:—"Well, after all, it is only a little mole its face." Whereupon, Sir Louis Dane, with his great felicity quoted the Persian verse:—"I would give Samarkand and Bokhara for the mole on the face of my lady love." This was greeted with loud merriment and applause, and the Amir neatly remarked:—"Well! you have got the mole—what about giving me Samarkand and Bokhara," which, by the way, were Russian territory.

Habibullah's Message.

On the entry of Turkey into the Great War, Britain was naturally very concerned as to the attitude of Afghanistan. Had Afghanistan come in against us at that time, or later, the effects would have been of a more disastrous character than probably many people realize. India, instead of being an asset providing vast numbers of troops and supplies for every theatre of war, would have become an embarrassing liability calling for very heavy support and would, moreover, undoubtedly have been confronted with tribal war over the whole frontier coupled with grave internal unrest.

As it was, Habibullah formally promised neutrality and secretly sent in the dead of night for our Mohammedan Agent at Kabul, and asked him to communicate the following message to the Government India:—"So long as the independence of my country is not

threatened, I mean, if I possibly can, to keep my country neutral, but the Government of India must not judge me by anything I say or do: my position is very difficult."

The Amir's Difficulties.

The message was viewed in the Viceroy's Council in various ways. Some thought that the Amir was throwing dust in our eyes and meant to break with us when it suited him. Others were for accepting the Amir's statement on its face value. I am happy to say that Lord Hardinge accepted the latter view, and even, when some days later the Amir asked to be sent the arrears of his subsidy amounting to about £250,000 in gold, it was agreed not only to meet his wishes, but to increase his subsidy in view of the expenses involved. The story of the Amir's difficulties is a romantic history by itself. Suffice it that at the end of the war he still maintained neutrality and was murdered a short time after the Armistice, a martyr to his own good faith to us.

After a brief and futile attempt on the part of the deceased Amir's brother, Nasrullah, to succeed him, his second son, Amanullah, with the army at his back, assumed the reins. The country was seething with all the various hysterical emotions aroused by the Great War, and more than all, by bitterness at their failure to aid Turkey, the head of Islam. Internal trouble had broken out in India and seditionists from India were at work in Kabul making the most of the situation.

Foolish Campaign.

In these circumstances it is small wonder that the young Amir should have prepared to fall on India if, in-

deed, it were true that the British Raj was tottering. His plans were precipitated by a local commander and the senseless and crazy third Afghan war was forced on us in 1919. There is not space here to go into the rights and wrongs of that foolish business or deal with the details of the campaign. But one fact clearly emerges, which those who now cry out for complete independence for India would do well to bear in mind, and that is that there is a neighbour in the North who will not be slow to swoop down if the defences are weakened. He will not come as the friend of Swaraj but with fire and sword, to plunder and ravage. Suffice it that it was the proudest act of my official life that I should have been the instrument of bringing to a close in the shortest time possible a war which could have led to nothing but expenditure in life and treasure and the general disruption of Afghanistan.

You all know the more recent events. The young Amanullah's feverish energy as a ruler, his spectacular visit to Europe, his unfortunate conversations at Angora with Kemal, and his subsequent reforming zeal on his return to his country, which led to his downfall, dethronement and flight.

Soviet Danger.

The usurper from the North who succeeded him has been ousted and has paid the penalty, and Nadir Khan, one of the royal house, rules in his stead. He has been recognized, and we wish him well, but he has a hard task before him to consolidate his kingdom and make good his position. This is no time for prophecy.

All along the northern borders of Afghanistan lie Soviet Republics, and there is of course, the danger that Afghan-Turkestan may at some time break away and become Sovietised, but this does not seem probable. For the rest of Afghanistan, I consider that there is little or no danger from Soviet propaganda, nor can I conceive that at any time, unless our diplomacy went mad, Afghanistan would willingly admit a soviet armed movement towards the Indian frontier, or join in such a movement against us. I mention this because I have heard a great deal of alarmist talk on this subject.

Let me now turn to the turbulent strip of country that stretches along the border of British India from Chitral to the sea. It is parceled out among numerous tribes, each with its own form of government, but for the most part these hills are hungry and they border on fat lands below. For the most part they are inhabited by hereditary robbers. Small wonder then that there should be constant raids and forays and that from time to time the misbehaviour of one or other of these tribes should have become so serious as to necessitate unitive operations.

Raids on British territory.

What commonly happens is this—a virile young man in one of the British districts has a quarrel over land or women, commits murder in prosecution of the consequent blood feud and flies from justice to the shelter of the tribal hills.

There is no land there for him and he knows no craft. He has only one means of subsistence and that is to raid British territory. He col-

lects round him other broken men and the young hot-bloods of the tribe. They form a gang and come down by night and harry the countryside. Police, border-police and troops are continually out after them, it may be from time to time the gang is intercepted and destroyed, but more often they escape back to the shelter of the hills, and the bill mounts up against the tribe who harbours them. It is an exciting life dealing with concurrences of this kind and fraught often with sad loss:—

“A scrimmage in a border Station,
A gallop down a dark defile,
Two thousand pounds of education,
Falls to a ten rupee jenzail.”

The Khassadar System.

There are many ways of dealing with this problem, but recourse has been made more of late to a very excellent system known as the Khassadar System. This consists really in setting a thief to catch a thief. We enrol and pay a number of tribesmen to act as guardians of certain routes. They provide their own arms and ammunition and are liberally paid for their job and are subject to inspection by British officers. This system gives employment and livelihood to the virile young men of the tribe. It puts no more arms into the country than are already there, and it ensures that an expert form of crime is dealt with by an expert agency.

The pathans and the Afghans proper are ethnologically practically the same. There is a theory that they are the survival of the lost ten tribes of Israel, but of this there is little evidence. They are, however,

certainly of Semitic origin and for the most part splendid fellows:—"He trod the ling like a buck in Spring, and looked like a lance in rest." Afghans and Pathans have a reputation for perfidy, but I think this is greatly exaggerated, and with the example of Dost Muhammad and the Amir Habibullah before us it would be well if we put from us the catch-word of Kipling:—"Trust a snake before a harlot, and a harlot before an Afghan."

Great loyalty.

They certainly are capable of great personal loyalty, and I would as soon have my back against a wall with some pathan friends round me as with any other people in the world. Like

most hill folk they are hospitable to a fault: they are very brave: they love sport, and above all, have a stupendous sense of humour. In the most acrimonious jirga, a well-timed jest will often turn the whole situation.

Such is a brief summary of the problems that face us on the North-West Frontier of India and of the character of the peoples with whom we have to deal there. In spite of its alarms and excursions and its blood-stained roads and the fanatic assassin's knife, there is something very alluring about those grim hills with their verdant pockets, and those who have served on the frontier must needs from time to time feel strongly the call of that borderland.

A SUMMER IN OVER ALLS :

[*Experiences of an Indian Student in Ford's Factory at Detroit.*]

By Mr. P. D. DEVANANDAM, M. A.

"HEY, there ?" shouted the Hi-bernian service cop manacingly brandishing his insignia of office at me, "You get into that there line, or get the hell out of here."

But the alternative he cheerfully suggested was not any the assuring after my hectic hegira all the way from the shady elms of Yale to the Mecca of automobile labour. So I meekly acquiesced and fell in line with the long queue of men waiting at the gate of the employment office of the Ford

Rouge plant in Detroit, one early morning in June.

It was barely seven, and the employment office was n't to be opened for a whole hour yet. Still there were already over fifty men ahead of me in the line, and with every passing minute the number behind us kept swelling. Across the road from the entrance to the office was a huge crowd of men waiting for a chance to be admitted to the queue. Evidently they could not convince the service cops of

the urgency of their need for work, inspite of their threadbare clothes and unshaven chins. Every time I looked across at them I felt a pang of remorse, as if I were deliberately snatching the bread from those hungry mouths. But curiously enough, however, every time one of them got past the vigilant guardsman to join the queue I felt a personal resentment against them, individually and collectively! I sorely needed a job at the factory myself, for all the wealth I then had was exactly eleven dollars and fifty-three cents. Every new addition to the waiting line, therefore, made me feel less secure of the chance of my being hired. I positively hated each one of them—and I hated myself for hating them.

Way out from where I stood I could also see the huge bridge that formed the pretentious main entrance of the plant. As often as the street-cars groaned up the mysterious tunnel that led on out to the bridge, its seething loading of workmen in variegated overalls, sporting silver-plated badges, gushed out pell-mell and vanished inside the ogre-like maw of the factory. Lucky men! Each one of them had a job. Did I hate them too, I was wondering.

"Hey, move on there." shouted a score of impatient voices behind me. At last they had started letting the men in. Two solid hours after I had fallen in line, every minute of the last hour spent in moving forward an inch at a time, I found myself handing my letters to the Employment Manager. One of them was from the University Employment Bureau at Yale and the other a sort of a recommendation from the head of the Ford Trade School. Then, two minutes of agoni-

sing suspense which seemed to stretch into an eternity of discomfort.

"Guess I'll put you in on inspection", grunted the Employment Manager not unkindly, and handed me a card. Hired? Not yet!

Another line; this time headed towards the Medical department. A young man sitting at the entrance to the hallway viewed me suspiciously as I handed in my card when my turn eventually came. Terribly conscious that he was conferring a great honour on me, he slowly pulled a long printed form.

"Hindu?", he queried in a throaty voice.

I nodded.

"Age?"

"Twenty-eight."

"No? You don't look it. Are you sure?" He put down 23.

"Religion?"

"Christian."

He is positive I am bluffing him now. Why, are n't all Hindus Mohammedans?

I was in no mood for controversy. But with a poser like that I had to go into genealogical details as to how I happened to be born a Christian.

"Ever worked in a factory?"

"N...No."

"What?" he gasped, "Then, what the hell had you been doing these days?"

"Been going to school", I replied apologetically.

He was about to give me up as a desperate liar when I showed him my letter from Yale.

He put down under 'previous employer'—Yale (Shades of Eli!)

Another line! This took me past a "doctor" who looked into my eyes and ticked off that my hearing was O. K. (As a matter of fact, I am very deaf!) And then, as a kind of an after-thought he ordered me to rattle off a few numbers from a distant board. Then we all made a bee-line for an empty cubicle in a sort of a partitioned ward. There we stripped and waited in the chilly air for the doctor to find us as he made his round. Finally he came, perfunctorily poked me between the ribs, passed his hands over my limbs, made me emit a sort of a "gladiator-like cough", and was about to check off the line which read: "Fit for any, moderate or light job", when by the merest fluke his eye lighted upon that letter from Yale.

"College boy, eh? For the summer?" he asked kindly.

"Yes sir." I smiled.

He ticked off "light job", and walked out brusquely!

Another line! This time to get my time Card, my badge number, and an official notification that I was hired. Whew! And now I was No. C. 3431. A card bearing the great news that I was henceforth entitled to that proud designation was given me. It opened with a magniloquent greeting: "Now that you are Ford employee, welcome and may you stay with us long etc. etc." Armed with that little paste-board and highly elated with the cordial welcome, I sought out the Inspection building and the Foreman.

"What the blankety-blank do you want?" he snarled. I gave him the card meekly.

"Where the blankety-blank do you blankety, blank, dumb guys come from, and what the blankety-blank

do you fellows think I could do with you? Hey, you, blankety-blank! Take this kid, and put him on some thing."

The reception was getting a little over cordial after all! But the "Straw boss" into whose keeping I was now assigned came to my rescue with a cheerful "C' mon kid, chuck that coat off and follow me". After propelling me through and past, in and out, over and beneath several imposing lines of groaning machinery and stretches of whirling conveyor belts, he finally discovered a man who needed a helper and was willing to give me a chance to bid for the honour.

II.

The work at the Ford plants, of its very nature, is neither strenuous nor physically taxing—except in a few departments like the foundry, for instance. Nor even does it demand anything like skill, save perhaps in the engineering section. For the most part, any man who is fortunate enough to land a job in the plant can pick up his work in a few hours, and in the course of a few days acquire enough skill to satisfy the most persnickety "boss"—unless other considerations intervene.

In fact, Henry Ford takes pride in the way he has split up the various departmental activities of the plant into such simple processes that "he estimates that in his plants 43% of all jobs require not over a day training, 36% from one day to one week, 6% from one to two weeks, 14% from one month to a year and 1% from one to six years. That is 85% of the workers could learn their tasks within one month". All heavy work

thus taken over by mechanical contraptions, and all technical jobs turned over to highly paid technicians, most of the labour that is needed for the plants are supplied by the "suit-case brigade" of transitory workers who are today and may not be tomorrow, hired and fired as the business policy of the inhuman Capitalist dictator prompts.

My job all these three summer months Detroit was an inane joke. From the production building would pour in a constant flux of "connecting rods" sometimes also called piston rods. Very few of us knew just where it went in the car. It is an iron rod about eleven inches in length with a circular ring an inch and a half in diameter at one end. Inside this ring which is over an inch in width there are two elliptical grooves intersecting each other diagonally with two horizontal grooves running across the points where the two elliptical rings intersect. On either side of this bottom ring are two bolts, and at the centre a cavity leading out into a spout. At the other end of the rod there is another ring, an inch in diameter which has a brass lining and a single groove running right round it in the centre. On the top, right near the centre, there are two eye-lets facing a cavity leading out of the brass ring on to the rod itself.

After several processes these rods come on the conveyor belt at which I was employed at the rate of one every other second. There were eight of us on each side of the belt, every one having a special responsibility in regard to our friend the piston rod. The two number 1s gave Mr. P. R. an air bath. No. 2 would lay His Honour horizontally over the

micrometer and inspect his length. If he was below or above the required length by the fifth of an inch he was sent back to a sort of Procrustian bed whence he emerged to face rodeal No. 3. This consisted in looking at wide ring below for blow-holes inside the surface and in examining the grooves. If O. K. ed the rod passes on, otherwise it is "scrapped" into a box which is transported back to the production department. Process No. 4 involves guaging the groove inside the brass ring on the top. Dirty ring grooves, bronze scraps, wide ring grooves were eliminated here and diverted to the repairs department. No. 5 picks up the rod and finds out with a guage if the ring groove is in the centre, if the two eyelets at the top are in place, hits the ring on an iron piece to be sure that the brass is sound and that the two screws at the bottom are secure, and finally guages the outer width of the brass ring. At each stage, of course, eliminations when required are made. No. 6 with a scissor-like guage measures the inside of the brass ring, while No. 7 "plugs" the hole to be sure of its dimensions. No. 8 then weighs the rod—and after that we lose sight of His Honour the Piston Rod. He disappears as mysteriously at one end of the belt as he keeps popping up at one end at the rate of one every other second!!

This gives a very partial idea of what most of us in the plant do day in and day out whatever be the nature of the various processes we might be handling. But the *effect* of the work of that sort! We were reduced to mere automata. From the moment I started till I laid down my guage for the day my hands went through the self-same muscular movements no less

than 6 times in every second on process 5, for instance, where I had acquired such excellent practice that my "boss" was loathe to put me elsewhere. I did n't have to think, my hands worked automatically.

If for any reason any one of us paused for a minute no less than thirty rods would be held up, pushed back on the conveyor belt which, however, keeps tyrannically on the move. The man right behind you and before you would start bellowing, the "boss" would come over and bawl you out roundly and you look confoundedly silly. Sometimes it happens that the conveyor belt has to be stopped. And then a regular pandemonium.

"Hey, you, blankety-blank, what's the hold up!"

"Hey, you! step on it!"

"Hey! what the hell. Wake up!"

"If you don' wanna work, go home!"

Not only you work steady and mechanically moving your hands back and forth as your process demands, you have to keep up with the gang. If they speed up, you do too: if you get a "spell" and mysterious whisperings of "take it easy" go around, you should be warned and check up on your speed.

"You don' 'ave ta use yer ol' bean, kid" sagely advised my cockney friend on process 7, "jes' yer 'ands like a mechanical roobow."

The effect of such an occupation on an individual is best understood when actually felt and experienced. He loses all sense of manhood. All the time he is at work there is nothing to think about, nothing to feel about. The whole thing, in the sophisticated

words of a college mate of mine, is "so damned impersonal". Three months of this sort of work, and one becomes a nut himself and "nut" in Americanese means mentally deranged!

Naturally the factory worker is always shirking. There was not a single hour I was in the factory when I did not attempt by some crooked means or other to do as much less work as I possibly could and get by with it. I connived with my "buddies", if there was a possibility of contriving a plan to let one off from the belt for a "spell" in the toilet. Why not. There was always that sullen, silent, but ominous resentment, a positive hatred against the system that made us that way.

Not only did it make me dishonest, disloyal to my ideals, it made me terribly individualistic. I always felt the same sort of selfishness among my "buddies" also. They were all decent fellows, every one of them, doing anything by way of helping one another when it came to passing round "chew", "snuff", even distributing an excessive lunch, loaning money for an extra ice-cream cone or carfare. Quite often I have been offered free rides in their automobiles back and forth from the plant. But when it came to helping me out on the belt when I was in a jam—it was a different matter! I could n't make myself do it. Why should I? I did n't get paid extra for that! Not only that. If a man on another process passed on a bad rod which he ought to have scrapped I would n't scrap it for him. Why should I? That was his job! For the first month I felt conscience stricken about things like that—but by that time I had also lost my soul!

The system got the better of me: I gave up fighting against it.

There was with me a young fellow, quite an idealist, a worker born and bred, a socialist of the extreme left whose company greatly fascinated me. After we had punched out, he and I would stand out together on the bridge while waiting for the street car, and "talk it over". "Dave", he said to me one day, "Don't you ever think we don't realize what we all are here. We know we shirk; we know we lie; we know we don't give the other guy a fair deal; we know we don't stand together on the belt. And we hate being so damned rotten. But, hell, man, how can we be otherwise. It is the system."

III

Henry Ford believes in working every minute of the twenty-four hour day. In fact the factory is never closed except on four or five holidays in the year. It is true that most of the men work only five days a week, but since each department takes its two days off by rotation some department or other is on the job all the time.

Every twenty-four hour day is divided into three "shifts". The first shift starts at 12 midnight and quits at 8 in the morning. The day shift then steps in and keeps on till 4 in the afternoon when the afternoon shift takes charge till the midnight. Every fortnight I was changed from one shift to the other so that every body got an equal chance of seeing daylight—and getting indigestion. The day shift and the afternoon shift are not so bad, but whenever my turn came on the "graveyard" or the "divorce" shift, as the midnight shift is called, I always felt like quitting.

Here is how it worked:

- 10-30 p.m. The faithful alarm clock goes off—and is incidentally hit by a viciously aimed book.
- 10-45 p.m. Dire imprecations on Ford and his ilk temporarily cease.
- 11-00 p.m. In a restaurant drinking coffee and eating breakfast.
- 11-10 p.m. In a street car full of haggard men fighting hard to keep awake.
- 11-45 p.m. Punch in a daze and go to the wash room to wash face.
- 12-00 p.m. Start work in sullen silence. Feel like hitting the foreman and kicking the straw boss for a row.
- 1-00 a.m. Getting reconciled so far as to exchange a few bantering words with men on either side.
- 2-00 a.m. Go to drinking faucet and turn water straight on eyes, and rush back to the belt.
- 3-00 a.m. Repeat process above.
- 3-15 a.m. Make a dash for the lunch waggon and scramble for a place in queue. Five minutes later emerge triumphantly with two pints of coffee and a couple of sandwiches. Five minutes to gulp the sandwiches and wash them down with hot coffee. In the line to return empty bottles.

5-00 a.m. Get foreman's permission to go to wash-room and sleep five minutes. On way back turn drinking faucet right on the eyes.

6-00 a.m. Waggish Pollack next to me flaps his arms and crows like a rooster.

Foreman speeds up the conveyor belt. General resentment among workmen.

6-30 a.m. Lights out. Shouts of whooppee. It is day.

8-00 a.m. Dash out pell mell, and after a hurried wash run out of gate down the bridge wearily dragging self past a stream of haggard men to get a place in street-car.

9-00 a.m. In a restaurant. Feel hungry and unable to eat a morsel of food.

10-00 a.m. Go to bed. Find you can't sleep.

Smoke endless cigarettes. Try reading a novel.

Wish hard you could get some "dope" that would put you to sleep.

12. a.m. Get worried. Make an effort to sleep.

5. p.m. Fellows coming from the day shift make a terrible din. Wake up. Feel "bum".

Make yourself generally

disagreeable to every one around.

6. p.m. sit down to supper in eloquent silence !

Try going for a walk.

7-30 p.m. In bed again. Feel very tired and sleepy. Try Coue

Try Coue a la Boudoin. Work yourself into a frenzy of madness.

Sleep! Sleep! Sleep! sl.e...ee.....p.

The deleterious effect of the "graveyard" shift on the body is nothing compared to the irreparable harm it does the man. I began to feel so badly about the funny way I started acting with my room-mates and the sort of a damper I became that I felt forced to leave them and take up a room all by myself. The group of us that went from Yale had planned on a sort of a joint-family system for economic reasons, but we soon discovered that the shifts made us all so cross and unsociable that we decided to seek for separate rooms ! Talking about the midnight shift with my married buddies in the factory I heard curiously interesting reactions. One of them, a man about 55, for several years a Church sexton, and still an active member of the Church, told me that since he was put on a three-shift department which forced his staying away nights one out of every three fortnights he had been forced by circumstances to grant his wife a divorce.

The afternoon shift is not quite so bad. But the trouble with the shift system is the fortnightly readjustment of one's whole life. The human body is an organism, not a machine.

You can't keep changing your hours of sleep and work without damaging the vitality of your body and its capacity to function. But the capitalist, what does he care? "If don't want to work, go home". He knows he has got the labourer under his iron heel.

IV.

The cosmopolitan make up of the 200,000 workmen in all that constitute the labour force of Henry Ford in his three Detroit factories alone is a very noticeable feature. On the conveyor belt on which I worked there were 24 men in all, including the straw boss and those on 'transportation'. Two of them were English four Scotch, three Irish, two Mexicans, five Pollacks, two Italians, One German, two American Negroes, one Canadian French, one syrian—and only 7 of them were American born! I was told that there are 48 nationalities represented on the payroll of Henry Ford. Discrimination does not come in where work is concerned but the various groups tend to draw a hard and fast when it comes to social intercourse. Each group has its own social club. But on the whole one finds less race-prejudice among the workmen in factories then in any place else in America, not excluding churches and campuses. This broader out-look is possibly due to the fact that these workmen "of the suitcase brigade" have at one time or an other travelled quite widely. Among the men I worked with—which is after all a very insignificant number considering the thousands employed by Ford—no less than five had been in India, for instance; and two of them, ex-soldiers of the British Army,

could carry on a fairly intelligible conversation in Urdu! Imagine my surprise, when a little before Lunch time, a new arrival transferred from some other department, put on the process next to mine casually inquiring "*Ketha baji hai?*" He launched forth into a conversation about his former foreman, a *both kapda admi* (I expurgate the expletives and the tobacco juice out of sheer respect for the British Army) and finally wound up with a few sage remarks about the American *ladukhis!*

One is never sure of job in the Ford plant from the general superintendent down to the common factory hand. Men are hired and fired by the hundreds every day in the week. The constant bogey of a "lay off" hanging over one's head like a veritable sword of Democles gives the workmen no active interest in his job. He does just enough to get by with it, so that when he is laid off might have no unpleasant qualms that he had given his employer of his best. These lay offs are the most illogical moves that the powers that be in American factories indulge in so frequently. Sometimes it might be due to over-production, when more stock than there is immediate need for has been accumulated, but quite often it is merely to intimidate the factory hand and to make him conscious of his helplessness. The more timid, and especially the older men who are married are effectively cowed down into something like efficiency by this bullying, but on the younger men its effect is deleterious and positively demoralising. He takes these lay offs as a matter of course and ceases to worry, while he is on the job he

has a "hell of a good time" with his money in a riotous living on what margin is left over for luxury, and then lets the future take care of itself!

It is true that in the Ford plants wages are comparatively high, the minimum being 5 dollars a day. The recruit gets five dollars a day the first two months of his stay when he is given a raise of a dollar. The next raise is 40 cents which it might be his good fortune to get in another couple of months and possibly in the course of a few years he might get the maximum 8 dollars. But all that if he is permitted to stay on the job! The tantalizing part of it all is when a big lay-off comes just about the time he is earning, say \$ 6.80 a day, he is given a "quit slip". Then after a few months he is taken on to start again as a recruit on 5 dollars! In the few months I spent in the factory I ran across several men who had spent years with Henry Ford who had thus climbed up again and again only to be "laid off" for months to pick up a precarious livelihood during those months of enforced idleness.

V.

My train was moving out Detroit, and I heaved a sigh of relief as I reclined on my seat. I felt I was once more a man among men—not a mere machine. Somehow at that time a facetious parody on the Lord's Prayer kept humming in my ears.

"Our Father who art in Dearborn
Henry is thy name.
Let pay day come.
Thy will be done in Highland park
As it is in Rouge plant.
Give us this day our daily six bucks;
And forgive us for taking it,
As we forgive those who take it from
us.

Lead us not into thought and action,
But deliver us bound into wage
slavery.

For thine is the production, the
power and the glory.
Ah-men!
The irony of it!

The march of modern progress in industry, it is true, has been accelerated by the epoch-making discoveries of science but one can't help squirming with uneasiness when one realises what it is doing to human behaviour patterns and to social relationships; and what it is likely to do to them in the future. In the words of a recent writer on economic problems, "it has sundered the ancient trinity of work, play and art, and thus tends to upset an admirable, and perhaps biologically necessary human equation". It has indeed enormously promoted the importance of money, making it the *sine qua non* of modern life. This leads to a serious confusion of values, in that the symbol displaces the underlying reality. It has mercilessly destroyed a whole age of art making men today be content to be a half-skilled "hand" in a mechanized word. And the problem is: "How shall we live?" Like one of H. G. Wells's human automata, like robots, or like men who somehow exist.

The tremendous waste of human material that the modern system of mechanical industry involves seems to bring in its wake, and has so far brought, more misery than happiness into the world. One should go out and live with and try to experience the same reactions that the sort of factory life in our day produces on the worker to fully realise what that means. The owners of factories have no interest in labour save as a com-

modity. Perhaps it might be possible to run factories on the principle that it is for the worker, in the last analysis, the wheels of industry are principally turned. But would that not imply a complete overthrow of the present state of capitalism?

A college mate of mine who also spent the summer at the Ford plant writes: "Sooner or later youth will

rebel against it all. Here is the choice before us. Shall we mistake mere movement for life, mere speed for progress? Or shall we choose rather to be the artist, creative, dreaming, rebellious. After all it is only by dreaming new dreams, dreaming them into reality can we escape from the crowd,—and escaping transfigure the crowd, for we men must live together."

LORD LANSDOWNE AS ADMINISTRATOR AND STATESMAN.

By Mr. C. L. R. SASTRI, B. Sc.

"..... this huge stage presenteth nought but shows,
Whereon the stars in secret influence comment."

I.

THESE are the days of biographies: especially, of political biographies.

"All Balzac's novels occupy one shelf,

The new edition fifty volumes long," says Bishop Blougram. But, to fill political biographies, nothing less than a whole library is required. They crowd upon us every year with ever-increasing voluminousness. Nor (worse luck!) is there the smallest ray of hope that the supply will, in the near future, at any rate, be stopped. The proper subjects of biography, indeed, appear to be politicians. At all events they seem to come in more handy, at less "expense of spirit", than the rest of mankind put together. The reason is not far to seek. Politics, for all the immense vogue it enjoys, is not, in essence, a difficult game. It does not

demand from its followers any extraordinary or super-human qualities. In fact, the principal explanation of why politicians preponderate among subjects of biography is the (comparatively) easy way in which they achieve fame. A literary man, for instance, with twice, or even thrice, the mental capacity of the average politician, may not "find" himself, as the saying is, may not come to his intellectual inheritance, till he is on the very verge of senility: when praise, of whatever kind, can bring him no solace, no comfort, since he no longer possesses the "nerves of delight" wherewith to enjoy it: the world, as usual, applauding

"the hollow ghost
Which blamed the living man."

But, with your politicians, or the most of them, there is no such fear: they (God bless them!) reap their rewards while yet young, while the

blood is still coursing hot within their veins. "A very little wit," wrote Swift, "is valued in a woman, as we are pleased with a few words spoken plainly by a parrot." A politician is in the same enviable position: with him, enough is, so to speak, as good as a feast. Listen, else, to that master of English prose, Mr. H. M. Tomlinson. He is writing of "Great Statesmen":

"Success in a political career can be understood by all of us. It attracts the attention which applauds the owner of a Derby winner, or the Bishop who began as a poor, industrious, but tactful child. *Politicians live on the level of the common intelligence, and compete there with each other in charging the ignorance of the commonalty with emotion...* A confident man with a blood-shot voice and a gift for repartee is sure to make a success of politics, especially if he is not too particular."* (our italics.)

That is why, no doubt, biographies of politicians preponderate over the biographies of others to such an enormous extent. But, all the same, we could wish that their publication would cease entirely for a couple of years to come. As Hamlet, in his bitterness, said about marriages: "Those that are made shall stay as they are, but let us have no more."

II.

The foregoing introduction will, we are sure, have given our readers a general idea about our attitude towards the book before us, Lord Newton's biography of Lord Lansdowne. We just fail to see why it was written at all. It is impossible to detect the

least little bit of brilliance in either the biographer or the biographee. Lord Newton himself nearly confesses as much, here and there, about his hero. He is, by the way, a conservative, and, as such, is duly imbued with the spirit, or spirtlessness, of that huge anachronism among English political groupings; and though, now and then, his being is invaded by fits of originality, it is only fair to admit that he usually succeeds in suppressing them—no doubt in the interests of sanity and party-discipline. Strange as it may seem, there *were* occasions when he felt an inner compulsion to stand *up* to the obscurantism of his party-leaders: as, e.g., on the People's Budget. He writes himself: "Nearly twenty years have passed since the rejection of the People's Budget, and all the prophecies made with regard to its failure have since been justified: yet, if their opinion could be taken, most people of political experience would agree that its rejection was a tactical error..... The tactical error had been committed of fighting the Bill so hard in the Commons that retreat had become almost impossible without stultifying the language that had been used. *Yet there must have been many peers besides myself who voted out of loyalty to the leaders, while feeling an uncomfortable conviction that we were walking deliberately into a trap set by our opponents.*" (Our italics pp. 382-3.)

Nevertheless, as the passage shows, he voted against it, against his better instincts. Throughout, this seems to have been the case, more or less: he could never command the grand manner, he could never rise to

* *Waiting for Daylight*. By H. M. Tomlinson. Cassell, 1922. Pp. 163-4.

the height of the argument, however brilliantly he might begin. We are reminded of what Hazlitt said of the poet Campbell: "When he launches a sentiment that you think will float him triumphantly for once to the bottom of the stanza, he stops short at the end of the first or second line and stands shivering on the bank of beauty." The same charge may be levelled against Lord Newton. We have no doubt that he is a far more capable politician than he makes himself out to be in his book; and though we differ from him cent per cent. in most of the views he has taken the trouble to expound, we cannot compliment him on his rare modesty. For, he is fettered in many ways: not the least of which is his excessive hero-worship of Lord Lansdowne. If he had only let himself go, if he had only cared for himself, his book would, we are sure, have been a far more readable one. It is a readable one even as it is; and though it is the bare truth to say that we have not a high opinion of the author's literary gifts, we yet must confess that we read his presentation of recent history without any undue tax on our nerves, or weariness to our spirits. For that is precisely where the merit of Lord Newton's book resides. We may not, indeed, like it as Lord Lansdowne's biography: we may not even think that Lord Lansdowne *needed* a biography: but we like this book (the latter part of it, especially) for the succinct way in which some modern historical events have been related. It is true that he has knocked off huge chunks from Messrs. Gooch and Temperley's unrivalled work on the *Origins of the War*, and that there was, naturally

enough little scope for much independent research on his own part. As he himself admits in his preface: "The political biographer of to-day is therefore left with no sensational secrets to disclose, and the utmost that he can expect to achieve is the bridging of certain gaps and the throwing of some additional light upon what have hitherto been looked upon as minor political mysteries". Nevertheless, Lord Newton deserves our congratulations on his comprehensive knowledge of his own chosen field of study.

Lord Newton deserves our thanks in another matter also. We are obliged to him more than we can tell for having condensed his material into the pages of a single volume. Never has literature known such a foolish bed of Procrustes as the conventional length of a political biography. We can but hope that the fashion herein set will be followed by would-be writers of statesmen's lives. The public is simply tired of the bulky two-volume biographies. Everyone remembers the vehement protest of Mr. Lytton Strachey, conveyed in his own matchless sentences, in his preface to *Eminent Victorians*.*

"Those two fat volumes, with which it is our custom to commemorate the dead—who does not know them, with their ill-digested masses of material, their slipshod style, their tone of tedious panegyric, their lamentable lack of selection, of detachment, of design? They are as familiar as the *carte* of the undertaker, and wear the same air of funereal barbarism. One is tempted to suppose, of some of them, that

* Chatto & windus. 1918.

they were composed by that functionary, as the final item of his job."

Of course, we should not get tired of them if they were all written in the manner of Mr. A. G. Gardiner's *Life of Sir William Harcourt*.* But there can, we fear, be only one A. G. Gardiner in generation; and this being so, we should feel thankful if biographers-to-come would oblige us by following in the footsteps of Lord Newton.

III

We have already referred to the fact that Lord Lansdowne was very far from being a brilliant man. In fact, we cannot avoid the suspicion that he was one of the most ordinary and unimaginative people that were ever pitchforked into high places. He was born in the top-layer of society; and everything else adjusted itself to that level. His career was a complete proof of the biblical maxim: "Those that have shall have more;" not because of any compelling rational principle, but simply and solely because they started life "having." Henry Charles Keith Petty-Fitzmaurice, fifth Marquis of Lansdowne, was born on the 14th January, 1845: "he had in his veins an equal proportion of the blood of four nations English, Irish, Scotch, and French, the influence of French blood being noticeable in his personal appearance." (P.3.) Now, one most crucial fact emerges at the very outset. He was exceptionally filial: his devotion to his mother was extra-ordinarily deep and strong. "It is worth noting that from the first day that he left home for school he made a practice of writing constantly to his mother,

and that from 1855 until her death in 1895, he, when separated from her, never failed to write at least once a week, and nothing was ever allowed to interfere with this habit." (P. 4.) It is such things as this that make life worth living, that render man's sojourn in this world a zestful affair. His school and college career passed off tolerably well.—Lord Newton perhaps would say that they passed off brilliantly,—and more than one teacher of his commented on his "want of imagination." Now, the remarks of teachers on their wealthy and titled pupils are notoriously untrustworthy, are characterised by an astonishing degree of fatuousness, but this time we think that they were exactly right, that, for once, they hit the nail on the head: intelligent prophecy could go no further. For Lord Lansdowne, throughout his long and eventful career, suffered from this lamentable want. He was not in the least imaginative, he never visualised a thing a part from its momentary and material setting, he was as "straightforward, prosaic, quotidian, and *terre a terre*" (to quote from a modern author) as he could well be. For him there was no meaning except what was apparent on the surface in his philosophy two *plus* two always did make four whatever took place beyond the Torres Vedras of his taste and intellect was simply as though it were *not*.

"A primrose by a river's brim
A yellow primrose was to him,
And it was nothing more."

Such persons, it hardly needs mentioning are not highly developed, either intellectually or spiritually; and

* Canstable. 2 Vols. 1923.

Lord Lansdowne was the very quintessence of ordinariness. We shall recur to his "want of imagination" later on.

At Oxford he studied hard for a First: being under the immediate care of the famous Jowett of Balliol. All the same, he missed it: a malady, as everyone will agree, most incident to promising youth. However, it did not matter in the end: how could it? As his biographer consolingly observes: "After all, there was no occasion for despondency. The difference between a first and second class is largely sentimental: those who have achieved a first have often been political failures, and one of the most brilliant and industrious men of our time, the late Lord Curzon, incurred precisely the same disappointment some years later." (P. 10.) A more profound remark has not, we dare to think, been passed by Lord Newton in the 496 pages (Appendices excluded) of his book; and not only do we agree with him, but we feel most thankful to him for his observation, which, we have no doubt, must have brought that strange herb, "heart's-ease," to many a sore mind, to many a mind that was down and out. Lord Lansdowne, then, did not lose his spirits at this disappointment: he had no occasion to. A miss, it has been said, is as good as a mile; and Lord Lansdowne was offered a junior Lordship of the Treasury by Gladstone. Lord Lansdowne, it must be noted in passing, started his political career as a Liberal: though, as we shall see later, he changed his party later on. The Liberal camp was not, we feel, precisely the right one for a man who declared, "The longer I live the more firmly do I believe in blood and

breeding" (P. 40.), and who deplored what he called "the triumph of democratic principles." (P. 101.) His second appointment was as Under-Secretary of State for war (1872). Later on he became Under-Secretary for India. By this time his feelings towards his political family, we may imagine were similar to those of the old woman who lived in a shoe: the differences between himself and his chief came to a head over the Irish Land Bills, and he resigned from his post.

IV

Though, as his biographer says, he (Lord Lansdowne) was gradually drawing away from the Liberal Party and tending more to the Conservatives, Gladstone, in his own generous way, offered him the Governor-Generalship of Canada (1883). It may be here pertinent to remark that though his very first appointment was due to Gladstone and, though Gladstone (in spite of his younger colleague's resigning from his Under-Secretaryship of India owing to political differences with himself) was so generous as to offer him the important position of the Governor-Generalship of Canada, Lord Lansdowne never had the decency to feel grateful to him, but, on the other hand, as Lord Newton reminds us "acquired a distrust of Mr. Gladstone which became more marked from year to year." (P. 20.) Nothing very important happened at this period: the outstanding event was the opening of the great transcontinental railway. Lord Lansdowne, in fact, had a notoriously smooth time of it much of which was spent in salmon-catching in the Cascapedia River. There was, however, one incident which was to reveal a by no means

unimportant aspect of his mind. In 1885 there occurred the second rebellion of Louis Riel, "a half-breed who had headed a rebellion in 1870." Louis Riel was captured, and there arose the question of what to do with him. The queen was for clemency : but not her servant. He wrote to the queen saying that "in this instance it was desirable that the prerogative of mercy should not be exercised."

(P.33.) Lord Lansdowne, we may add, got what he wanted : Riel was hanged. Now, this was not a solitary instance of his lordship's obstinacy and cruelty. We shall show, when we come to his Viceroyalty of India, that he acted, if possible, even more obstinately and cruelly. (See the Manipur incident, below). When he was set on a man, or a group of men, being hanged, he usually saw to it that he, or they, *were* hanged, that he, or they, did not get any reprieve by whatever means. Others might retract : others might show the soft heart : but not Henry Charles Keith Petty-Fitzmaurice, fifth Marquis of Lansdowne. The explanation, of course, is that not only, as his tutors were acute enough to observe, was he wanting in imagination, but that he was actually, to a certain extent, hard-hearted : he was not, as Bismarck said of Lord Salisbury, a lath painted to look like iron, but the iron itself. Says Portia :

"The quality of mercy is not strain'd ;

.....
It is enthroned in the hearts of kings,

It is an attribute to God himself ;
And earthly power doth then show
liketh God's

When mercy seasons justice."

Lord Lansdowne, apparently, forgot his shakespeare after missing his First at Oxford. But your English aristocrat, maybe (especially if he has in his veins an equal proportion of the blood of four nations, English, Irish, Scotch, and French), has no use for an ancient's advice : he is sufficient unto himself, he is the Law and the prophets rolled into one.

V.

Now we come to Lord Lansdowne's Viceroyalty of India. His period of office lasted from December 1888 to January 1894. Just as in Canada, conditions in India were generally peaceful. No events of great, of supreme, importance happened : though, at the same time, they were not so devoid of significance that we do not get a clue to the real nature of the Viceroy's rule. In reading this chapter of Lord Newton's book, it would be interesting as well as instructive to follow the author's running comments in the process of narration. Lord Newton is a Die-hard even among Die-hards. Of course, we are not "Indians", but "natives" but perhaps this is too old a taunt to hurt us. However, this native of England writes of us and of our country in this wise.

"The firm and statesmanlike rule of Lord Dufferin had done much to calm the agitation and ill-feeling caused by what has been termed the sentimental ignorance of his predecessor, but although Anglo-Indians and the more enlightened sections of *natives* felt the highest admiration for him, it would be idle to pretend that the class represented by the National Congress regretted his departure..... Shortly before relinquishing office, Lord Dufferin had made a striking and unanswerable speech, *in which he*

exposed relentlessly the hollowness of the native demand for self-government, and the so-called reformers were foolish enough to imagine that by adroit flattery of Lord Lansdowne they would succeed in persuading him to disavow the action of his predecessor. Needless to say, this attempt failed completely, and the new Viceroy showed his good sense by refusing to express any opinion on contentious subjects." (Our italics. Pp. 59-60).

Englishmen, the lords of the earth that they are, can, indeed, afford to "expose relentlessly the hollowness of the native demand for self-government." But, being mere Indians, or, rather, mere "natives", we cannot, for the life of us, see where the "hollowness" comes in. We did not know that a nation's demand for self-government could have varying degrees of solidity. We are, however, only a subject-people (and "natives" at that), so we dare not "expose relentlessly the hollowness" (consecrated word !) of Lord Newton's, or Lord Dufferin's, or Lord Lansdowne's, or any other Lord's or commoner's arguments. The truth is, of course, that all this talk of "hollowness" etc., is merely a kind of smoke-screen behind which lies the greatest argument of all, viz., that of the most naked and brutish physical force. Given the latter, some people seem to think that they can do anything and everything they please. As Mr. Hilaire Belloc says :

"Whatever happens, we have got The Maxim gun, and they have not ;"

"we" standing for the great Anglo-Saxon race which, report has it, governs nearly one-fifth of the

earth's surface, and over whose empire, it is notorious, "the sun never sets"—perhaps because, we have the temerity to suggest, he has never been known to rise. That is why no doubt, the representatives of England can, and often do, speak so ruthlessly, so blood-thirstily, when occasions arise (and sometimes even, to do them justice, when they do *not* arise). They have got the Maxim gun, and—well, *we* (Lord Newton's "natives") have not.

The two outstanding events during Lord Lansdowne's administration were his dealings with Afghanistan and with the small hill-state, Manipur. First of Afghanistan.

The Amir of Afghanistan was at the time one, Abdur Rahman. Lord Newton says :

"Amirs of Afghanistan have always occupied the delightful position of being able to blackmail the Indian Government, and have seldom neglected an opportunity. At this particular moment, Abdurrahman was giving it a great deal of trouble over the railway at Chaman, and the Secretary of State, Lord Cross, was evidently rather nervous at the idea of irritating him, *whilst Lord Lansdowne, as is evident from his letter to Lord Cross of April 2, 1889, was in favour of stronger measures.*" (pp-66-7: Our italics).

The noble Marquis was of opinion that the British "should stand no nonsense from him." It will be seen that Lord Lansdowne was the precursor of the Dyers and the O'Dwyers of more recent date. He contained them all, including even that paragon of virtue, Miss Katherine Mayo, in himself: for, Mayo-wise, he delivers himself of the following sentiments:

"The disloyal Bengalis tried hard to prevent the Corporation from giving me an address, but were badly beaten. I hear some of the *babus* are very repentant, but *they are led by a little knot of seditious scoundrels, and they are arrant cowards.*" (p. 122.) (Our italics) We are tempted to ask, is not Lord Lansdowne laying it on a trifle too thick, is he not, to use Matthew Arnold's expressive phrase, a little too "vivacious" at our expense? When a Viceroy indulges in such words, when he loves to disport himself in the very muck-heap of language, in regard to the people whom he, for the time being, governs, we can well understand the nature of the Viceroy himself as well as the quality of his rule. We need go no further: at the very outset we have a glimpse of Lord Lansdowne's theory of Government. He belonged to the lineage of the Milners and Curzons: while the present chivalrous, if errant, knight of Tipperary is nothing but his intellectual offspring.

Coming back to Afghanistan, Lord Roberts, we are told, suggested that the Amir should be invited to England. Lord Lansdowne lost no time in deprecating the idea, and went to the Secretary of State: "People at home have no sense of proportion in their dealings with Eastern visitors, and it is by no means unlikely that His Highness would meet with an amount of fulsome civility and adulation sufficient to disturb his equilibrium for the rest of his days." (p. 108.) This naturally provides an occasion for the biographer to blow the gaff: or, in more austere language, to point a moral and adorn a tale: "The recent visit of Amanullah affords a valuable object-lesson. This

potentate, who only a few years before had made a totally unprovoked attack upon India, was received with the highest possible honours, *treated like a civilized being*, and became the object of unlimited newspaper gush, with the result that he lost his head—and, at the time of writing, has lost his throne, too." (P. 109. Our italics.)

Note how full of contempt these words are. The Amir of Afghanistan was "treated like a civilized being", forsooth! *That is* the head and front of the offence: *that is* the unpardonable sin! What a blot upon England's unsullied name, indeed! It is, however, such haughty remarks as these that spoil the whole case of the *Sahiblogs*, and condemn them out of their own mouths. We, Indians, may, or may not, be fit for Independence or even for Dominion Status. But—we ask in all humility—would it not be more pertinent to consider whether a nation consisting of writers like Lord Newton, and Lord Birkenhead, and Lord Meston, is fit to govern foreign nationalities? Manners, we seem to have heard somewhere, make a man; but, apparently, they do not make a nation; and the very first thing that Westerners have to learn is to behave decently to Easterners. But you cannot, as the saying is, make a silk purse out of a sow's ear, and you cannot expect, likewise, the commonest decency from races whose whole mentality is top-heavy with a most over-weening pride.

Lord Newton is disposed to congratulate Lord Lansdowne on "the peaceful settlement with Afghanistan, which put an end for a time to many futile punitive expeditions." (P. 125.) Of course, if one is *bent* on congratu-

lating a man at any cost, on eulogising him for every thing he does, or fails to do, it is not for the likes of us to hinder one from so doing. But there are, as everyone knows, more ways of killing a cat than by strangling him, and this kind of supporting one's hero through thick and thin only proves his undoing in the end: even your political biographers must learn to draw the line somewhere. At what cost, however, was this "peaceful settlement" arrived at? At the cost of not less than *six* lacs of rupees per annum! Lord Lansdowne, in fact, obtained the Amir's good-will "by the increase of his annual subsidy from twelve to eighteen lacs of rupees!" (P.114.)

We shall now deal with the Manipur affair. Manipur is a small hill state. The Senapati or Commander-in-Chief deposed his brother, the Maharajah, and a Regent was placed on the throne. The Government of India insisted on the Senapati being exiled and, accordingly, the Chief Commissioner of Assam, one Mr. Quinton, with a force of 400 men, set out to do the official bidding. "After a conference between the Chief Commissioner and the Political Agent, it was arranged that a Durbar should be held, at which the Regent should be called upon to banish the Senapati." (P.81.) The Senapati was invited to the Durbar. The idea was to get at the Senapati's person in this wise. No one will suspect an invitation to a Durbar, and the crafty officers thought of making a sort of ruse of that high function, which is always associated in Indian minds with honour and hospitality. The Durbar was, accordingly, convened, and when the Commissioner and the Agent sought out their victim, the Senapati,— why, no Senapati was there to allow himself to be victimised

at their sweet pleasure. The Senapati did not come, "and the unsuccessful attempt to seize him in his Palace led to open hostilities, which resulted in the British troops being forced to withdraw into the grounds of the Residency. After the fighting was over, Mr. Quinton and some British officers were inveigled into entering the Palace on the pretext of a conference, and were then treacherously assassinated at the instigation of the Senapati." (P.81.) See the (unconscious) humour of it! When the British officials wanted to get at the Senapati's person, they could invite him to the Durbar, and could think of doing whatever they liked with him in the event of his coming there. This is, of course, pure reason and justice and hospitality and what not. But if the *Senapati* on his part were to do the same, then at once it would assume the character of being "inveigled" into the palace, on the "pretext" of a conference, and the result would be their being "treacherously" assassinated. We indeed like the one policy as little as the other. But, if you want to give names to things, then call the same thing by the same name always: don't give it new (and fanciful) names just to suit your purpose. If we are to tell the truth, we must say that Messrs. Quinton and Grimwood (the Political Agent) richly deserved their fate— especially Mr. Quinton. This incident was undoubtedly an example of Divine justice. But Lord Newton and Lord Lansdowne think otherwise: or, rather, they express it differently.

They are moved to a noble rage: nothing less than the prestige of England was at stake. What? A mere "native" to assassinate two Englishmen? Especially when the two Englishmen thought of assassi-

nating or exiling the "native," *first*? O heavens! could human treachery go futher? The senapati, it is clear, simply didn't play according to the rules of the game: the unwritten rules which prescribe that, in any given event, an Indian should unconditionally allow himself to be beaten by an Englishman, be the circumstances what they may. It was, to put it differently, not fair on the part of the Senapati to deprive the Commissioner of the triumph that he was, hourly, expecting, and, not only to deprive the Commissioner of his triumph, but actually to transfer that triumph into his own hands! Poor Mr. Quinton! The Senapati was too much for him: he had the audacity to take a leaf out of his own book.

When news of Mr. Quinton's and Mr. Grimwood's assassination reached Calcutta, a punitive expedition was sent to Manipur, and, eventually, the Senapati was captured and sentenced to death. Unfortunately, however, for Lord Lansdowne, Members of parliament came to know the actual facts of the case, and some of them made the position of both the Secretary of State and the Viceroy very uncomfortable, indeed.) Lord Newton, in the pages of his book, is often given to deploring the "growing" interference of the House of Commons in matters Indian, and, naturally, he does not allow this occasion to pass by without his usual meanings. A great deal of correspondence passed between the Secretary of State, Lord Cross, and Lord Lansdowne. Lord Lansdowne, it is needless to say, defends Mr. Quinton's action without so much as a single reservation, while Lord Cross takes a more just and sensible view. "That Quinton's action," the noble

Marquis pleads, "should have been compared to that of one who asked a man to dinner and had a policeman in the house to arrest his guest shows how completely the situation has been misunderstood". (p. 83.) But our point is that the situation was not in the least misunderstood: it was understood only in its true colours. In letter after letter Lord Lansdowne tries to browbeat his chief into acquiescence with his view of the case, even going to the length of saying: "I am quite willing to admit that, in view of the amount of attention which the Manipur affair has attracted in Parliament, it is desirable that you should be made fully aware of a decision to execute the Regent, or the Senapati, *although, even in such a case, I should hope that you would be content to accept our conclusion unreservedly.*" (Our italics. P. 86-87) It was, we cannot help feeling, well for Lord Lansdowne that the Secretary of State was only Lord Cross: for we shudder to think what would have happened to him if a more masterful personality had been at the helm of affairs. But, even as it was, Lord Lansdowne was not allowed to proceed on his course without a mild rebuke: Lord Cross decided, at long last, to assert himself. In his letter of July 19, 1891, he wrote:

"Of course I will defend Mr. Quinton against treachery, but I must express my disapproval of the practice, and this was one of the main reasons against publishing that long telegram, as in the latter part of it, in your very laudable anxiety to maintain the honour of Mr. Quinton's memory, you went far beyond what was necessary to defend him from treachery." (P.88.)

"Shorten my days thou canst with
 sullen sorrow,
And pluck nights from me, but not
 lend a morrow :
Thou canst help Time to furrow
 me with age,
But stop no wrinkle in his pil-
 grimage;
Thy word is current with him for
 my death;
But dead, thy kingdom cannot buy
 my breath."

VI.

Not much need be written about Lord Lansdowne in his next incarnation as Secretary of State for War. When we say that he was at the head of the Army Department during the South African war we shall have said enough. Lord Newton's opinion apart, we cannot think that this period of Lord Lansdowne's career was marked by any peculiar brilliance. This chapter of Lord Newton's is marked by the dead-set he makes against General Sir Redvers Buller, the Commander-in-Chief of the English forces in South Africa until he was superceded by Lord Roberts. However, we are not concerned with this: we shall content ourselves with advising our readers to peruse Mr. H. W. Nevinson's account of him in his book, *Changes and Chances* (Nisbet.). We shall see what Lord Newton's estimate of Lord Lansdowne is in his capacity of Secretary of State for war. He has no words to spare in lauding his hero. Lord Lansdowne, it seems, was this, that, and the other. He was, in fact, a *born* Secretary of State for War: the like of whom was never seen in the past, and is not likely to be seen in the future. He writes, answering the critics who were

disposed to consider him a failure at the War Office, and as being largely responsible for the reverses in South Africa: "Far from this being the case, he had been emphatically the best Secretary of State for War since Cardwell, although the services which he rendered to the army have never been recognised." (p.191.) Again:

"Lord Middleton, who had twelve years' experience of the War Office has pointed out that a serious injustice to Lord Lansdowne's memory as War Minister has been done by the attempt made by the Liberal party to assume that the whole credit for the organization and equipment of the Expeditionary Force rested with Lord Haldane. This claim, which Lord Haldane can scarcely be said to have discouraged, has been revived since his death." (P. 193.)

We had been under the impression, till, of course, Lord Newton came forward to dispel our ignorance, that *Lord Haldane* was the best Secretary of State for War since Cardwell. But we are now corrected. All the same, and since our own view, not backed by a high authority, will not be regarded as sufficiently weighty, we should like to reply to Lord Newton in the words of no less a man than Sir John Marriot: "Lord Newton makes a valiant effort not merely to refute the criticisms commonly passed on Lansdowne's administration of the War Office, but to establish his positive claim to be regarded as 'emphatically the best secretary of State for War since Cardwell.' Perhaps the positive claim is not a particularly high one, but it will take a great deal of special

pleading to acquit Lansdowne of a share of responsibility for the shortcomings in our military system revealed by the South African War, even though a larger share must rest on Lord Wolseley and the technical advisers of the civilian Chief. It were surely wiser for a biographer to acknowledge that Lansdowne was not particularly well-fitted for the War Office, always a tiresome and ungrateful task for a politician, and to concentrate (as indeed Lord Newton mostly does) on the brilliant success achieved by Lansdowne at the Foreign Office."*

VII

After his War Office period was over, Lord Lansdowne was offered the post of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. This was indeed a place for which, by temperament, he was eminently fitted. He was essentially a diplomat. Lord Newton relates that "Lord Lansdowne before his death spoke of his tenure of the Foreign Office as incomparably the most interesting period of his life." (P. 195.) In fact, he might have said with Herman Melville, when he had finished writing his master-piece, *Moby Dick*, "I feel that I am now come to the inmost leaf of the bulb." Lord Lansdowne, to do him justice, was a success as Foreign Secretary. It was he that gave the death-blow to his illustrious predecessor's policy of "splendid isolation," and ranged England alongside two European Powers as also one Eastern Power. It is true that circumstances helped him, but that is no reason we should withhold credit where credit is due. The Anglo-French "Entente" was due

*See Sir John Marriot's article on "Lord Lansdowne" in the *Quarterly Review* of January 1930. P. 144.

to Lord Lansdowne and M. Cambon, the French Ambassador in London, and the Anglo-Japanese Alliance to Lord Lansdowne and Count Hayashi, the Japanese Minister in London. After the "Entente" was formed, it was but a step to bring in Russia, which was already allied with France. There was a talk, earlier, for an agreement between England and Germany. Two distinguished Germans, Baron Von Eckardstein, a Secretary at the German Embassy, and Count Hatzfeld, the German Ambassador in London, stand out prominently in this connection. But, unfortunately, for various causes, all these negotiations broke down. The principal cause, perhaps, was the Bulow-Chamberlain recriminations. But whatever might have been the feelings of Englishmen at the time, there is no doubt that at the present moment they are congratulating themselves on that break-down. As Lord Newton says: "The failure of the negotiations in 1901 may be described as a turning-point in the history of the world, and will, doubtless, provide a subject of endless speculation as to what would have occurred had they ended favourably; but one thing is certain, and that is that William II. would have been almost intolerable as an ally." (P. 208.)

One point that emerges very clearly is the enormous influence that Germany wielded in the diplomatic world in the years preceding the War; and especially the enormous influence that was wielded by a *single* person, the now thrice-unfortunate Kaiser Wilhelm II. It is easy, of course, to write all sorts of bad things against Germany, but it is acknowledged that in what has been called the "Venezue-

lan Question," in which for a time Germany and England co-operated with each other, the Germans, as Lord Lansdowne himself confessed, "ran straight as far as we were concerned," (p. 260) and that it "was not one which redounded much to the prestige of the British Government." (*Ibid.*) As has been said by a recent writer:

"Just as in 1899, when Bulow had actually agreed with Chamberlain upon the prolegomena of an Anglo-German understanding, the German nation caused the project to fail, so in 1902 the hostility of the British to the collaboration of Germany with England in the blockade of Venezuela rendered it impossible to accept the memorable offer of the German Government in the succeeding year. That offer will always stand to Germany's credit in any fair representation of events. German enterprise had just secured from the Turkish Government the handsome concession of the right to construct a railway to Bagdad and beyond it, with branch-lines in the parts adjoining. The Germans were not unwilling to share their spoil. British co-operation was invited...The offer was unequal so far as the control of the concern was concerned, but, nevertheless, in view of Germany's initiative in the project, not ungenerous. Mr. Balfour's Government gave it consideration; but public agitation turned it down. Thus, for better or for worse, Lord Lansdowne had made the great refusal, and from that day, and even more and more, Great Britain drew towards France."*

So, after all, Germany was not so unredeemably black, nor England so radiantly white; and much would be gained if this were always borne in mind.

* *British Foreign Secretaries: 1807-1916.* By Algernon Cecil Bell. 1927. P. 312.

By the Anglo-French treaty, England secured a free hand in Egypt and France in Morocco. A perusal of this chapter will show how large a part Lord Cromer played in it. He almost bombarded Lord Lansdowne with letter after letter in which he pleaded for an understanding with France at any cost. As Lord Newton remarks: "It must be added that Lord Cromer never lost an opportunity of conciliating French sentiment whenever that was possible." (P. 287.)

The Anglo-Japanese alliance was a sort of mutual insurance policy: to wit, that should Japan be attacked by more than one European Power, England should come to her rescue, where as if England were attacked in the East in regard to her possessions there, Japan should at once mobilise to assist her.

A reader of these chapters will notice that all the negotiations were conducted secretly, and that only when everything was done that should have been done, when, that is to say, the last finishing touch was given, did the various treaties come to the light of day. Lord Newton writes somewhere approving of this secret diplomacy and even deploring that it no longer prevails. But there are others who hold that it is to such secret diplomacy that wars like the last war were due. For instance, that great soldier, Sir Ian Hamilton, recently spoke to the following effect: "They (*i.e.*, the European nations) might have stopped the war with a word if they had not been fatally entangled and committed by those military and naval conversations carried on for years, carried on secretly behind the backs of Parliament and

the people, behind the backs even of some members of the Cabinet."*

VIII.

If we except his appointment as Minister without Portfolio in the Coalition Government, Lord Lansdowne's Foreign Secretaryship closes his official career. Lord Newton writes a long chapter on him in his capacity of Leader of the Opposition in the House of Lords, and, as usual, closes it with a shower of praise. But we may nonetheless, safely ignore it: if everything, as Lord Newton seems to think, were to be of the very first importance, we simply don't know where we would all be. What strikes us as the crucial event in his closing period is his celebrated "Peace Letter" which appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* of November 29, 1917. In it Lord Lansdowne pleaded for an honourable peace: he was dead tired of the war and did not see where it would all end, and whether it would end at all. He writes: "We are not going to lose this War, but its prolongation will spell ruin for the civilized world, and an infinite addition to the load of human suffering which already weighs upon it. Security will be invaluable to a world which has the vitality to profit by it, but what will be the value of the blessings of peace to nations so exhausted that they can scarcely stretch out a hand with which to grasp them?" (P. 467.) Of course, as always happens in such cases, his letter was attacked right and left, and the hell hounds of the Press were let loose upon him. Lord Lansdowne, however, did not write this letter in a sudden fit of pessimism, or of fear, or of humanity: he had been elaborating it in his brain for not less

* Quoted by "Kappa" in the *Nation and Athenaeum* of December 21, 1929.

than a year. In fact, his memorandum, as to the terms upon which peace might be concluded, dated November 13, 1916, written at the request of the Prime Minister was, as Lord Newton says, "an anticipation of the celebrated Peace Letter which appeared a year later, and disposes of the erroneous impression that the latter was due to a sudden access of pessimism." (P.450)

If we were asked what, in our view, was the achievement that Lord Lansdowne would be remembered by more than any other, we should have no hesitation in replying: "His Peace Letter." It is true that it had no visible effect, but there is no doubt that it must have made many highly-placed persons suffer a pang of conscience at their own costly follies, follies that were the undoing of millions and millions of men.

Lord Lansdowne died on June 3, 1927, at Newtown Anmer, the home of his younger daughter, Lady Osborne Beauclerk.

IX.

We shall now conclude our article. We like a man's biography to be written by a friend, and not by a foe. In fact, we shall go to the length of saying that unless one feels some kind of sympathy with one's subject, one should not write at all. But, then this does not preclude us from holding, also, that there are and must be, certain obvious limits even to sympathy. Everything is best done within some more or less well-defined restrictions. No biographer can have all his own way. His hero, however great he may be, cannot be a hero in every walk of life. He should not be exalted to the position of a demi-god. Lord Newton too often forgets this

very elementary law. Each one of us has his hero, and we should not quarrel with Lord Newton if *his* hero is Lord Lansdowne. But, nevertheless, we do protest against his thrusting him down our throats, heedless of all discretion. He strikes the topmost note in praise always: sometimes even without a single qualification. We have read his book very carefully; and do most poignantly fail to find his eulogy justified by the facts of the case in many instances. Lest we be thought of talking quite at random, we shall try to quote chapter and verse, so to speak, for our assertion. Take his Governor-Generalship of Canada. Lord Newton writes:

"During the past half-century we have been represented in Canada by many distinguished men, some of whom were remarkable for exceptional personal charm, but it may be confidently stated that not one of them left a more enduring memory of respect and affection amongst the Canadian people than the occupant of this office from 1883 to 1888." (P.54)

Then about his Viceroyalty of India:

"When he sailed from Calcutta at the end of January 1894, amid scenes of remarkable enthusiasm, it is questionable whether any Viceroy ever left India who was more generally regretted." (P. 126).

We have already quoted his dictum about Lord Lansdowne's tenure of the War Office "he has been emphatically the best Secretary of State for War since Cardwell." (P.191) The same magnificent opinion is held about his Foreign Secretaryship also.

"It may be truthfully asserted that it would be difficult to cite any man

who established himself more rapidly and firmly in the opinion of all alike as an international statesman of the first order." (P.345). As Leader of the Opposition, too, we are asked to believe that Lord Lansdowne towered above all the previous Leaders :

"Within the period roughly covered by this book there were four Conservative and Unionist leaders in the House of Lords: the late Lord Salisbury, the late Duke of Devonshire, Lord Lansdowne, and Lord Curzon; and, of these, Lord Lansdowne must, taken all round, be distinctly pronounced as the most successful, in spite of the fact that it was during his time that misfortune overtook the House." (Our italics. P.456)

Now, what are we to say to all this? Is it not perfervid praise? Is it not one consistently fulsome admiration? Was Lord Lansdowne as great as all that? Was ever *anybody* as great as all that? It would seem, indeed, that there was almost nothing that Lord Lansdowne touched that he did not touch to tremendous issues: he was a genius all through. But, we are constrained to ask, "Is excellence so common?"

Assuredly not. As Matthew Arnold says :

"But excellence is not common and abundant; on the contrary, as the Greek poet long ago said, excellence dwells among rocks hardly accessible, and a man must almost wear his heart out before he can reach her. Whoever talks of excellence as common and abundant is on the way to lose all right standard of excellence."*

"A wise scepticism is the first attribute of a good critic" so we are told by the distinguished American poet and critic, James Russell Lowell. But Lord Newton's book is marked by the most complete faith imaginable." Not for him any of your puerile "buff" and "*he* deals only in what have been called triumphant certainties and "absolute shalls." Lord Newton would have done well to have controlled his enthusiasm to at least a slight extent: as it is, he allows it to flow over like a mug of ale at sight of his hero, whenever and wherever that sight is vouchsafed him. Hero-worship is, of course, good, within certain limits: it becomes a disease, and an ineradicable disease, carried to such lengths as Lord Newton's.

MAITHIL POETS AND BENGALI CRITICS.

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

BY a strange freak of circumstances a part of the literature of Mithila has become an integral portion of the literature of Bengal. The curious thing is that there is no published literature in Mithila itself. Sanskrit

books written by Maithil writers have been published, but nothing written in the Maithil language has been printed in Mithila. The Maithil alphabet and the Maithil language do not exist outside manuscripts. The

* *Essays in Criticism Second Series*, By Matthew Arnold. Essay on "Milton."

alphabet has not been cast in type and anything that is printed is in the Nagri character. The Bengali script very closely resembles the Maithil script and the two must have been identical a few hundred years ago. There is thus no difficulty in printing Maithil writing in Bengali type, and there was certainly a time when the Maithil language was perfectly well understood by a section of the inhabitants of Bengal, particularly by those people who had to proceed to Mithila to acquire Sanskrit learning.

The mere fact that there was no seat of Sanskrit learning in Bengal five or six hundred years ago proves conclusively that the intellectual advancement of Bengal is of very recent date. On the other hand, the fame of Mithila as a great centre of learning goes back to the period of the Ramayan, if not earlier. In course of time the geographical locality of Mithila may have shifted a little, but the tradition of learning remained unimpaired through the ages and men of vast learning were to be found in Mithila a few hundred years ago. Brahmin scholars from Bengal used to go to Mithila and spend there several years in the study of various branches of Sanskrit learning. The first indigenous Sanskrit school of teaching was founded in Bengal barely about five hundred years ago. Till then the relationship between Mithila and Bengal was that of the teacher and disciple.

In northern India the evolution of provincial languages and dialects affords a wide scope of research. Most languages and dialects are Sanskritic in origin with a large admixture of pre-Sanskrit dialects. Excluding Persian which was at no time a spoken language

in India, and Hindustani, which dates from the Moghul period, we find that Sindhi, which is spoken throughout Sind with a very slight diversity between the dialects of Upper and Lower Sind, is a close derivative from Sanskrit, though modern Sindhi has been of necessity largely Persianised. Throughout the Punjab the language spoken is Punjabi with scarcely noticeable shades of difference in the eastern and western parts of the Province. From Delhi to Lucknow the old spoken dialects have been superseded by Hindustani, the *lingua franca* of the Moghul Empire just as English is now spoken and understood throughout India. In Bengal the Bengali language is spoken throughout by both Hindus and Mussalmans, though the accent and intonation in East Bengal differ considerably from the West. It is in Bihar alone that we are confronted with a bewildering variety of dialects. The district of Mozufferpore, for instance, is quite close to the district of Saran and yet the spoken dialects of these two districts are so entirely dissimilar that there seems to be nothing common between them. In Mozufferpore, Durbhunga, Bhagalpur and Monghyr the language spoken is Maithil with variations. In Saran, Shahabad and Gorakhpur and Azamgarh districts in the United Provinces the Bhojpuri dialect is spoken and this dialect is certainly not of Sanskritic origin. It must have been originally a non-Aryan language which, in course of time, has very slightly been modified by Prakrit and Hindustani. To a research scholar Bhojpuri appears to afford a very promising field for investigation. In the Patna and Gaya districts, which were directly under Mahomedan rule, a sort of vulgar and mixed Hindustani

is spoken. Bihar is thus a Province of many dialects and many tongues.

The written literature of north-eastern India, till a few hundred years ago, was Sanskrit. In the works of Kalidasa and other Sanskrit dramatists we find that two languages are used, Sanskrit and Prakrit, the latter being a dialect derived from Sanskrit. The finer language is used by the cultured actors in the dramas while Prakrit is spoken by women and vulgar people. Pali, which is another derivative of Sanskrit and was apparently spoken and understood by the common people, was used by Buddha in his discourses and teachings, and a considerable portion of Buddhist literature is in Pali.

Mithila being an important centre of Sanskrit culture all literary work and even correspondence were done in Sanskrit. The first Maithil writer was Vidyapati Thakur, the court Pandit of Raja Siva Sinha of Mithila. Vidyapati was an erudite Sanskrit scholar of vast learning and wrote several books in Sanskrit, but his fame rests entirely upon the lyrical poems composed in the Maithil language. He is perhaps more famous in Bengal than in Mithila, because his poems were first published in Bengal, though manuscript copies can still be found in Mithila and his songs are still sung there. Following Vidyapati several other poets, some of them of considerable distinction, appeared in Mithila, but they never attained wide publicity and their works were never printed. In spite of the exquisite lyrics of Vidyapati and other Maithil poets the Maithil language never became a literary language, mainly because Sanskrit, though it was not a living language, continued to be the language of

scholars and pandits. The progress and development of the Maithil language were arrested. There is no literary Maithil prose, no printed books, no grammar prepared by Maithil scholars, no system of the Maithil language. Even the preservation of the beautiful poems of Vidyapati is due to the accident that they were taken to Bengal by Bengali students in Mithila and were extensively admired by the Vaishnavas of Bengal. Vidyapati along with Chandidas is still regarded as the father of Bengali poetry.

So strong was the appeal of Vidyapati's poetry and as fascinating was his musical language that a host of imitators appeared among the Vaishnava poets of Bengal. They composed poems and songs in what was supposed to be the language and style of Vidyapati. They were, however, handicapped by their ignorance of the Maithil language. With the exception of the poems of Vidyapati they had no other help to the study of the Maithil language. After the establishment of Sanskrit schools of learning in Bengal all connection between Bengal and Mithila was cut off. No Bengali could speak the Maithil language and there were no facilities in existence for learning that language. The Bengali imitators of the Maithil poet Vidyapati found it impossible to write the pure Maithil language and the poems composed by them were in a mixed and inaccurate language. In course of time the very name of the Maithil language was forgotten. People in Bengal came to believe that Vidyapati was a Bengali and he and his imitators had invented a language which was designated Brajaboli. As a matter of unquestionable fact there is no such language or dialect as Braja-

boli anywhere in India. There is such a dialect at Brajbhakha but it bears no resemblance to the language used by Vidyapati and his Bengali imitators, and in any case Bengali poets could not be expected to have any knowledge of such a language, much less to know it so well as to be able to compose verses in it. The language of Vidyapati, in course of time, was forgotten in Bengal. The text of his poems became corrupted and sometimes so hopelessly mutilated as to form merely jumble of meaningless sounds. To make matters worse, a number of commentators appeared and they published annotated editions of the poems of Vidyapati. They were wholly ignorant of the Maithil language and they were not even aware of the fact that Vidyapati was a native of Mithila. The inevitable result was that the meanings of words given by these commentators were wrong and their gloss was fantastic and full of error. They proceeded on the assumption that Vidyapati was a Bengali and any language that he used must be comprehensible to a Bengali commentator.

About sixty years ago it was found out that Vidyapati was not a Bengali but an inhabitant of Mithila and the language used by him was not the mythical Brajaboli but Maithil. Grierson collected a number of Vidyapati's poems in Mithila and published them, but these did not attract much attention in Bengal. About twenty-five years ago I undertook to bring out an edition of the collected poems of Vidyapati. I had spent my boyhood in Bihar and knew the dialects spoken in that Province. I visited Mithila and obtained a palm leaf and other manuscripts of the poems of

Vidyapati. I had the very great advantage of warm and enthusiastic assistance from Chanda Jha, himself a Maithil poet, a fine Sanskrit scholar and the greatest authority on Vidyapati. In Mithila I found manuscript copies of the writings of other Maithil poets. It was in the course of these inquiries and the work of research that I discovered that Vidyapati was not the only poet whose lyrics had been introduced in Bengal. There was another poet named Govindadas whose poems had also found their way to Bengal. His poems also have been somewhat corrupted in Bengal as was only to be expected, but in Mithila I found the correct text. Other particulars about the poet were found. I brought these with a manuscript copy of the poems down to Calcutta. I read a series of papers on the subject at the Bengali Sahitya Parishad and summaries of those papers are on record in the minutes of that Society. The papers were published in a Bengali magazine. Neither in the Sahitya Parishad nor outside of it was a single voice raised in protest. It was inconceivable that a truth of this kind could be challenged or denied. It has been proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that the poems of the Maithil poet Vidyapati were brought down to Bengal from Mithila. There can be no suggestion that the writings of any Bengali poet were at any time conveyed to Mithila. In Mithila itself the writings of Maithil poets exist in manuscript only. They have never been printed, not even the poems of so great a poet as Vidyapati. Bengal owes a great deal to Mithila; Mithila owes nothing to Bengal.

In Bengal itself there were several Bengali poets of the name of Govindadas.

They were called Vaishnava poets because they wrote about the love of Krishna and Radha. No manuscripts of these poets are in existence. It is impossible to identify them or to distinguish the poems of any particular poet bearing the name of Govindadas. Only one of them was designated Kaviraj (a King among poets) Govindadas and he was confused with the Maithil poet bearing the same name. The Bengali poet was a Vaidya or Kaviraj by caste and he was erroneously supposed to be the author of the Maithil poems. Similarly so long as Vidyapati was believed to be a Bengali he was called Vidyapati Bhattacharya and he was supposed to be a native of either Eastern or Western Bengal. No one, however, had any theory to explain why a Bengali poet should have written in a language which was not Bengali, or whence he acquired that language.

A few years ago I had occasion to write a series of articles in two Bengali magazines on the words and language used by the Vaishnava poets. I pointed out that the chief of the several poets named Govindadas was a Maithil poet. Another short paper written by me was read at the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad in which it was proved from the context of certain poems that Kaviraj Govindadas, to distinguish him from other poets bearing the same name, was a Maithil poet. This time I was assailed fiercely by a number of critics, who denied that Govindadas was a Maithil and asserted that he was a Bengali and everything about his family history was known. It was even vehemently affirmed that the language in which Govindadas wrote his poems was Brajaboli and not Maithil. Bengali patriotism was roused. Why

should Kaviraj Govindadas be surrendered to Mithila? At one time it was seriously claimed that Kalidas was a Bengali.

I did not feel myself called upon to reply to these critics. They did not even know that it was not for the first time five or six years ago that I announced that Govindadas, the chief poet of that name, was a Maithil poet. They had no knowledge of the records of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad. Quite recently I delivered a lecture on Govindadas Jha of Mithila at the University of Patna. In the short debate that followed some one echoed the criticisms that had appeared in Bengal. These echoes were like the confused echoes that are heard in the Gol Ghar of Patna. My critic quoted chapter and verse, as he said, to prove that Govindadas was a Bengali and he declared that my theory had been exploded. I had to reply to him and I never saw him again at any of my other lectures. A certain very eminent personage, albeit his eminence is bad, has been known to quote Holy Writ to suit his purpose. No authority that can be quoted can overcome the one fact that the poems of Govindadas current in Bengal have been found in Mithila. In Bengal they are frequently mutilated and corrupted, in Mithila they are pure and undefiled. There would be no room for controversy left if an edition of the poems were published from Mithila but in this duty the people of Mithila have lamentably failed. It is absolutely wrong to say that my declaration that Govindadas was a Maithil poet is a theory. It is nothing of the kind. It is a discovery made quite unwittingly. At that time I was so entirely pre-occupied with inquiries into the

writings of Vidyapati that I gave no thought to any other poet. There are a number of Govindadas and I had not read their writings very carefully. I was greatly surprised to find that the principal poet of the name of Govindadas was a Maithil and copies of his poems can be found in Mithila. Was I to keep back this knowledge and help in the maintenance of the delusion that this poet was a Bengali? I confess that my provincial patriotism invariably yields homage to the sovereign majesty of truth. It is my bounden duty to establish the truth and to brush aside ignorant criticism.

For there cannot be a shadow of a doubt that all the criticism levelled at this discovery is hopelessly ignorant and all the more violent because it is supposed to be patriotic. There can be no more astonishing claim than that Maithil and Brajaboli are two distinct languages. This is wholly untrue. Brajaboli was a word coined in Bengal at a time when it was forgotten that the language in which Vidyapati wrote was Maithil. Maithil poets naturally wrote pure Maithil while their Bengali imitators wrote an incorrect and mixed language. Both the original and the imitation were designated Brajaboli until it was clearly established that the language used by Vidyapati was Maithil. Those who claim that Maithil and Brajaboli are two separate languages are ignorant of both. Not one of these critics and theorists has ever visited Mithila with a view of learning the Maithil language or finding out the names and writings of other Maithil poets. How many of them can tell the number of poets who bore the name of Govindadas, or distinguish between the writings of

the different poets of that name? Who was the author of the poems known as the 51 poems? Probably he was the best among the Bengali poets and the one that was born in the Burdwan district. However that may be, the contention that the particular Govindadas whose poems have been found in Mithila wrote in a corrupt and mixed language called Brajaboli is the height of ignorance and presumption. On the contrary, Govindadas Jha composed his poems in the purest and most musical Maithil. Put his poems in the hands of any scholar in Mithila and he will unhesitatingly declare that the language is the finest Maithil. Moreover, in many poems the turns of phrase, the choice of words are so subtle that they indicate a matchless mastery over the Maithil language. Only a Maithil poet of remarkable genius can wield the Maithil language as Govindadas Jha did, and to characterise his language as impure is absurd. To call his language Brajaboli implies nothing else.

As is to be fully expected the text found in Mithila is invariably more accurate than the one current in Bengal. If that does not prove that Govindadas Jha was a Maithil poet how else can it be explained? I do not desire to multiply instances, but I shall give the Bengali and Maithil texts of a single poem. The Bengali text is taken from Akshay Chandra Sircar's edition. He was an eminent Bengali scholar and writer.

कुलवती कठिन कराट उद्याटल,
ताहे कि कन्टक बाधा ।
निज मरियाद सिन्धु सङ्गे डारनु,
ताहे कितदिनी अगाधा ॥

सजनि मझु परिखन करु दूर ।
 कैछे हृदय करि पन्थ हेरत हरि,
 सोंझरि सोंझरि मन भूर ॥
 कोटि कुसुम शर बरिखये यहुपर,
 ताहे कि जलद जल लागि ।
 प्रेम दहन दह याक हृदय सह,
 ताहे कि बजरके आगि ॥
 यहु पदतले हाम जीवन सोपनु,
 ताहे कि तनु अनुरोध ।
 गोविन्द दास कहइ धनि अभिसार,
 सहचरी पाओल बोध ॥

Compare this text with the one I found in Mithila :—

सजनि मझु परिखन करु दूर ।
 कैसे हृदय करि पन्थ हेरत हरि,
 सुमरि सुमरि मन भूर ॥
 कुल मरिजाद कपाट उदवाटल,
 ताहि कि काठक बाधा ।
 निज मरिजाद सिन्धु सम पइरल,
 ताहि कि तटिनी अगवा ॥
 कोटि कुसुम शर बरिखए जसुपर,
 ताहि कि जलद जल लागि ।
 प्रेम दहन दह जाक हृदय सह,
 ताहि कि बजरक आगि ॥
 जसु पदतल निज जीवन सोपल,
 नाहि कि तनु अनुरोध ।
 गोविन्द दास कह धनि २ अभिसार,
 सहचरी पाओल बोध ॥

“ My friend, put an end to my text. When I remember with what a heavy heart Hari is watching the path for my coming I am filled with grief. I have opened wide the (strong) door of family honour; compared with it what is a wooden door (of the house)? I have swum across my own honour which is deep as the sea; compared with it is the river (Jamuna) unfathomable? How can the rain affect one

on whom fall millions of the flowery arrows (of Cupid)? To one whose heart can bear the burning of Love's fire what is the fire of the thunderbolt? From him at whose feet I have offered my life shall I withhold my person? Govindadas says, praise be to thee, fair one, proceed to thy assignation, thy companion has been satisfied.”

If these two readings are carefully compared we shall not only be satisfied as to the accuracy of the Maithil version but may also be able to form an idea of the difference between Maithil and Brajaboli. The first four lines of the text published in Bengal are wrong as regards the words used and the meaning conveyed. The Maithil word ताहि becomes ताहे. In the first line the word कुलवति is used instead of कुल मरिजाद. The comparison in the Maithil text is between the strong door of family honour and the wooden door of the house. In the Bengal reading the word thorn is used instead of the door of the family house. In the next two lines the simile in the Bengal text is wrong, for instead of comparing between the depths of her own honour and the river Jamuna Radha says she has cast her honour into the sea. An examination of the words of the Bengal version will show how Maithil words were corrupted into Brajaboli. उदारन may be called Brajaboli. It is a corrupted form of the Maithil word डारल. The Maithil word कईसे becomes कईछे. जसु is corrupted into यहु. बजरक becomes बजरके, हम becomes हाम. Neither Hindi nor Maithil is spoken correctly in Bengal and the same errors have found their way into writing. It is ludicrous to claim that Brajaboli is an entirely distinct language from Maithil. It would be equally correct to say that

Pidgin-English and the Hindustani spoken by Englishmen in India are separate languages. Brajaboli is to Maithil what Anglo-Hindustani is to Hindustani. The Bengali imitators of Vidyapati and Govindadas Jha derived their knowledge of the Maithil language from the poems of the Maithil poets. No other Maithil literature was available to them. There was no means of learning the Maithil language apart from these poems. The Bengali writers of Maithil poems as well as the scribes who copied their writings made mistakes. The texts of the Maithil poets themselves were mutilated and corrupted. This mangled and mutilated language became Brajaboli because in Bengal they had forgotten even the name of the Maithil language.

Govindadas Jha is as certainly a Maithil poet as Vidyapati. After what has been set forth above no reasonable man who is open to conviction, can have the slightest doubt on this point. Bengal had the good fortune of bringing the writings of these Maithil poets from Mithila and these two writings now form an important part of Bengali literature. It does not, however, necessarily follow that we must insist on claiming that these two poets were Bengalis by birth when there is conclusive and irrefragable evidence that they were natives of Mithila and wrote in the Maithil language. Owing to the ignorance of the Maithil language in Bengal the texts of these two eminent poets have been distorted and corrupted in Bengal. The original and pure texts are to be had in Mithila. In editing the poems of Vidyapati I was able to restore the original text with the help of Maithil manuscripts found in Mithila. The same thing can be done as regards the poems of Govinda-

das. There is no need whatever to obscure the issue. It cannot be denied that there were several poets in Bengal who bore the name of Govindadas. Their writings are included in the large anthology known as Pad kalpataru, but it is impossible to distinguish the writings of one Govindadas from another and no attempt has ever been made to do so. There is only one Govindadas who stands out from the other poets of that name and he is distinguishable because he wrote his poems in the purest Maithil and not in the corrupt and mixed Maithil called Brajaboli. I have explained that I made this discovery by an accident but that does not effect its importance. It is no longer open to doubt that Vidyapati was a Maithil poet. If the poems of one Maithil poet were brought to Bengal why not those of another? The Bengali students and scholars who took away the poems of Govindadas Jha from Mithila showed sound judgment for as a poet Govindadas is second only to Vidyapati. It would have never occurred to them to assert that this Govindadas was a Bengali.

To insist in the face of such first hand and positive evidence as has been found in Mithila that this particular Govindadas was a Bengali and he wrote in a language which is not pure Maithil is mere perversity. To Bengal belongs the great credit of having preserved and published the writings of Govindadas Jha. With the rendering of this service we Bengalis should be content, but it is no longer open to us to persist in denying that Govindadas Jha was a native of Mithila or that his poems are written in the Maithil language.

THE SITUATION IN INDIA TO-DAY.

By Mr. F. W. WILSON,
Editor 'Indian Daily Mail.'

WHETHER you agree with Mr. Gandhi or not, and whether you are willing to applaud or criticise the methods he has adopted in this present campaign, you have got to admit one important fact. Indian nationalism stands to-day much stronger, much more insurgent, much more restless, and much more impatient as a result of his activities. It is quite true that Mr. Gandhi's critics can point to large areas in India, in which his campaign has been but poorly supported. They can point to the fact that the Muslim community has, as a whole, withheld its support, and they can emphasise the undoubted existence of many other minorities who have stood aside from the present forms of Civil Disobedience but when all this is said, and when the whole movement is carefully weighed up, there can be no doubt but that the mandate for self-government stands stronger in India to-day than it has ever done. Even the advocates of Dominion Status in its mildest and most inoffensive form, have been immensely strengthened by the latest emergence of national feeling, and Mr. Gandhi, although he has undoubtedly not succeeded to the extent to which some of his followers would have as believe, has registered another distinct step of advance on the march to India's emancipation. It is not, in my opinion, sufficient merely to register such an increase in popular feeling. A popular leader, a statesman, or organiser of the masses must have in mind something more definite than the mere exciting of public opi-

nion. There must, at some stage, in the present campaign, occur a moment when it will be realised by the leaders of the popular movement that at some time or other negotiation and agreement is necessary. It is impossible for a country to go on perpetually suffering from a mental and political boiling point. Excitement is all very well, now and again, but unless excitement is followed by some periods of calm conscientious meditation, excitement will act like a drug, and those who may benefit from small doses, will become victims, who cannot escape from its continued and increased application. Although there is not yet any definite sign that Mr. Gandhi is considering the need for any definite gesture, which would lead the way to negotiation, I cannot resist the proposition that the Mahatma has never closed the door to such negotiation, and that if the Government were correctly to estimate the present situation, and adequately to read just their ideas Mr. Gandhi would be the first to respond.

Halting official declaration.

Now the truth is, however unpalatable it may be, that the present state of national feeling including the reaction of the present campaign upon those who have held themselves apart from it, is antagonistic to the Round-Table Conference offer, as it now stands. This offer has been woefully badly handled by the Government's spokesmen. There has been a spate of explanations and interpretations and,

although the position of the Labour Government has changed considerably since the date the offer was first made, there has been no further attempt to meet the interpretation, which was placed on the viceregal declaration by members of Congress and the Moderate leaders alike. The real truth about the round-Table Conference is that it was an attempt to rectify the blunder of the Simon Commission. In fact, it is not too much to say that the fact the Round Table Conference was offered, was a confession that the Simon Commission had failed. It might be said that kindly and sympathetic men realised the justice of India's claim and felt that the Simon-Commission, as it had been constituted by Lord Birkenhead, was utterly incapable in any way of satisfying this claim. To meet the demands of Indian nationalism, Mr. Benn and the Viceroy drew up their statements and because, at that time, the Labour Government was suffering from the inferiority complex which must necessarily be attached to the position of a minority government the statement was cautious and to a certain degree, noncommittal. The leaders of Indian political parties placed an interpretation of the functions of the Round-Table Conference, which, it is true, has never been denied, but at the same time it has never affirmed, and although it is possible from a legal point of view, to reconcile the grant of Dominion Status with safe-guards, with Lord Irwin's talk about the journey and the journey's end, this is an explanation which is much too indefinite for the Indian public. Certain sections of Indian public opinion have been willing to take the whole thing on trust, and have emphasised Mr. Benn's statements that India's

representatives will be free to put forward any form of self-government, they desire, but facts have moved more rapidly than theories, and Mr. Gandhi had conclusively proved that the mere hypothetical promise that the British Government would consider the recommendations of the Round Table Conference, side by side with other masses of evidence, is wholly inadequate and impracticable.

Government should make

A revised offer.

Mr. Gandhi's personal position is one that cannot be ignored by any party to the present dispute. By arresting his followers, by sending into jail local leaders, by inflicting curious and contradictory sentences, and by leaving Mr. Gandhi alone for nearly a month after the starting of the campaign, the Government had admitted the validity of the sanction behind his actions. But the mere fact that Mr. Gandhi had not been arrested for a month or so after he opened his campaign has worked the other way. This does not mean, either that Mr. Gandhi will go on from one excess to another or that the Government will stand idly by, while the movement for independence grows apace. Both Mr. Gandhi and the Government must sooner or later reconsider their respective positions and must be prepared, unless both of them want the country to be plunged into a prolonged period of chaos, to see if there is some way out of the present impasse. I am strongly of opinion that it is the Government's duty to take the first step. A Government which has such a deplorable record in misreading the signs of the times, which has only most grudgingly

and reluctantly given up even the trimmings of autocratic power, cannot afford to stand on any sense of false dignity or prestige. Again and again, it has been too late; again and again, it has allowed concessions to be extracted by threats and surely now, if it is possessed of the slightest remnant of statesmanship, it will take a lesson from the past. The Government has promised Dominion Status as the end of India's political evolution. As a political party, it is pledged to fulfil this promise as soon as possible, and the Prime Minister has expressed the hope that India will be a Dominion not in years but in months. Since the Viceregal declaration, and since Mr. Benn proclaimed the end of the Birkenhead spirit in Indian affairs, the Labour Government has come to a definite understanding with the Liberal Party and has apparently no need to worry about its parliamentary position for some time. India is entitled to know whether her future was discussed when this agreement was made. Have the Labour Party given up the attitude it adopted by the Blackpool resolution, and has the advice of Lord Reading prevailed? If the Labour party has given way to the Liberals, then it is obvious that India can expect very little from the present Government. If on the other hand the Liberals have given way to the Labour Party, then there is no reason why the Labour Party should not, as a Government, remain true to its pre-election pledges. What is to prevent the Government, then frankly and honestly stating that the function of the Round-Table Conference is to draw up a form of Dominion Status, suitable to India's immediate requirements. There is no one in India,

outside the extremists, with whom there can be no argument. Who does not admit that there are certain questions, which must be dealt with differently and placed in the category of a transitional arrangement, for some time at least. The question of defence and the question of foreign policy are the two most outstanding subjects, which must for a time be so handled, not according to the full Dominion Status method. The existence of these problems makes it necessary for both India and Great Britain to compromise as to the form of Dominion Status, which will be most suitable, but whatever the form is, it must be clearly and plainly understood that in Dominion Status, which will be granted, there is definitely implicit an independence similar to that which is at present implicit in the constitutions of the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia and the Union of South Africa. Mr. Gandhi again and again has said that if this independence is recognised or rather if this right to independence is recognised, he will be satisfied with Dominion Status, and I have found nothing in his more recent speeches, which would lead anyone, to suspect that he had gone back upon this statement. The real question then is, how far is it practical politics at the present moment, for the British Government, to make such a revised offer. By attempting to keep alive the Round Table Conference offer, the Government tacitly recognises the need for negotiation. The door is still open, even though it seems occasionally as if only the narrowest beam of light was shining through it. It is the bounden duty of every one, who sees the realities in the present situation, who has the

vision to look ahead and to recognise possible alarming dangers, to do everything humanly possible to open this door still wider. We are told that the Viceroy is about to make a statement of policy. Will he identify himself with the need for a revised offer, or will he merely stand on his

former declaration? If he does the latter, and if the Labour Government does not see the necessity for making an advance, the future of India will indeed be gloomy. The one dominant fact about the present situation is that things cannot be allowed to go on as they are.

THE HINDUSTAN REVIEW LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

(A) BOOKS OF TO-DAY.

THE TIMES BOOK OF INDIA*

Recent events have focused the attention of all thinking people on the future of India and her place in the British Commonwealth of Nations. *The Times Book of India* (reprinted from the Special Number of February 18) surveys the social and political conditions of the country and explains the many issues involved. It forms a really up-to-date reference work on India and many (though not all) things Indian, full of authentic first-hand information and interesting facts. Over fifty eminent writers cooperated with the staff of *The Times* in its production, and it contains a special message from the Viceroy. The contents of this fine quarto volume will interest a large circle of readers. Everyone who is interested in India will find this book of great value. Although the course of events which led up to the Simon Commission is explained, the main purpose of the India Number is historical and descriptive, rather than political, and it should be judged as such, and not as a political work. Every phase of life in India is covered in a series of authoritative articles on the present form of the Government of India; on finance, industry, and communications; education; the people of India, their social customs, languages, religions and caste system; on commerce and shipping; agriculture, irrigation and forests; and on the administrative, defensive and other public services.

There is no doubt about the authority of the contributors. Lord Zetland (better known as Lord Ronaldshay) writes on the British achievement in India. An article by the late Sir Valentine Chirol holds in impartial balance the rival claims of Hinduism and Islam; Sir William Marris contributes a

most interesting survey on the races of India and the caste system; Sir Herbert Baker describes the architectural design of the new Delhi; Indian Trade and British Shipping are discussed by Lord Inchcape, who has more than fifty years' experience of his subject; and Sir Philip Sassoon writes on the Air Route to India. The historic background of India is drawn with all its richness of atmosphere in a series of articles on the newest archaeological discoveries, and the ceremonial and everyday life of the great States with their traditions of feudal splendour. The life of the British community in India is faithfully depicted—at Simla, at lonely stations, and in the great commercial cities. Special articles deal with sport in India, including an article by the late Lieut.-Col. J. C. Faunthorpe on the big game of India, and there are contributions on polo, racing, cricket, and other games. The book contains a large number of illustrations, including a reproduction in full colour of George Romney's portrait of Warren Hastings from the India Office, and Darce's portrait of Lord Clive from the Powis collection, and a map.

To sum up, this book presents a complete picture of the varied life of India to-day, political, industrial, and social. It offers a rich store of information which is not easily available elsewhere, presented in a concise and interesting way.

The many and varied subjects which were described and discussed in the number are—in the reprint under notice—for greater convenience of reference, classified and grouped in 11 parts. In Part I, "The Past and the Future," is Lord Zetland's masterly sketch of British administration

* The Times Office. Printing House square, London. 1930.

during the last 150 years, together with chapters on the origin and task of the Statutory Commission and the work of the Indian States Committee, of which Sir Harcourt Butler was the chairman. Part II. deals with the structure of Government in India, and the complicated and important land revenue system; Part III. with the Indian Army, the Royal Indian Marine, and the Royal Air Force; and Part IV. with irrigation, agricultural research, forests, posts and telegraph, and other administrative services. Part V. is devoted to the peoples of India and includes articles on Hinduism and Islam by the late Sir Valentine Chirol, on the Caste System and the Untouchables by Sir William Marris, on the Women of India by Miss Cornelia Sorabji, and on the work of the Churches in India, Education, and Indian literature.

Part VI. contains an inset map of India and is geographical and descriptive of the Indian peninsula and its people. It includes

Sir Walter Lawrence's sketch of the Indian States and Sir Harcourt Butler's account at first hand of Burma and the Burmans. The monuments of India are described in Part VII., and the railways and roads in Part VIII. Lord Inchcape's review of the services rendered by British shipping to Indian trade and Sir Philip Sassoon's description of a journey to India by the air mail route form Part IX., and the trade and industry of India are analysed in Part X. Part XI., which is devoted to sport, includes the authoritative article on big and small game in India contributed to the Number by the late Lieutenant-Colonel Faunthorpe. Nearly 60 beautiful pictures have been specially selected to illustrate the text.

Apart from the widely recognized value of the survey of India by eminent authorities which the book contains, it will be a handsome and welcome addition to the book-shelf.

THE OLD SYSTEM OF BANKING IN INDIA*

By "O. S. K."

At a time when the Indian Banking structure is about to be thoroughly examined and overhauled it is only in fitness of things that Banking literature of the country should also show a tendency towards expansion. There is another reason for an increase of our Banking literature—the needs of the growing class of students in the country. Dr. Jain's book is an opportune and welcome publication. Commercial subjects such as Banking and Book-keeping etc., are now taught in schools and also in Universities, where they

form part of the curriculum for the degree examinations. Dr. Jain, himself a professor, has rightly felt the need for such a useful book. It is a laudable publication containing original and useful ideas which will of course help the Provincial Banking committees to frame their final report for submission to the Central Banking Committee.

Another important fact to be noted is that the people of India taken generally, have also nowadays begun to exhibit greater

* *Indigenous Banking in India*, By Dr. C. Jain M. A., LL.B., Ph.D. (Econ. London) (Macmillans, London).

inclination towards business enterprises than before. This has rendered useful the publication of books on banking and other allied art written by Indian authors and calculated to meet the requirements of Indian students. Dr. Jain's book will also be hailed with delight by the research scholars of Indian indigenous banking.

While going through the passages in his book we find that the author has mentioned that ignorance and uneconomic habits of the people lead them to have recourse to loans. Passages of this nature will naturally appear in books written by foreign authors who, without knowing the economic condition of the people, write out books merely from the catchwords. Dr. Jain himself is an Indian economist who knows well the economic conditions of the people of this country. He knows well that if Indians are given sufficient opportunities they will not only rise equal to the occasion but will prove formidable rival, to their opponents. If Indians are kept in ignorance why we should blame them? When Columbus discovered America it was only a barren land. There was not a single Rockefeller or a Henry Ford. America can now, with her large fortunes, purchase the remainder of the globe. If it was not for the opportunity that was placed in front of the Americans they would have been worse than us indeed. It is the opportunity we now want. Only 10% of the Indians can read and write. The staple industry of the country has become unremunerative. People have no means to improve it and they have no side occupa-

tion to supplement their income. The world-famed Decca Muslin which was a national industry of India has no place in the Indian industry just at present. Moreover, the yield from the land cannot give an Indian peasant two meals per day and he cannot keep himself free from starvation and hence he takes loans from the "Indian Shylocks."

The condition of Germany some 50 years back was similar to that of ours at present. The German government established a system of national commercial and industrial banking on a firm foundation. Germans controlled both exports and imports till their Industries became self-supporting. From today if our Government exercise greater control over imports and exports of the country and improve cottage and major industries, India will not only soon provide all her wants but she will be in a position to export her manufactured goods abroad. The days of prosperity will not be far off. The ignorant habits of the people are sure to vanish like mist before the rising sun.

Dr. Jain's book bears an introduction from Dr. Gilbert Slater which is itself a great tribute to an Indian author. The author has shown deep scholarship throughout his work. But this valuable book ought to have been priced low so that it may be within the reach of all. Let us hope that Dr. Jain will bring out more useful and original publications in due course of time so that the Indian students may derive much benefit from his scholarly publications.

SIRDAR KIBE ON "INDIAN SEA CUSTOM'S DUTIES".*

By Mr. C. V. HANUMANTHA RAO, M. A.

The book under review comprises of a series of papers published from time to time by Rao Rahadur H. V. Kibe

on the question of the sea customs duties in India. He examines the problem from the point of view of the Native States and

* Shrinath Press, Indore City.

brings out the disturbing repurcussions which the entire appropriation of the customs Revenue by the Government of India is having upon the financial position of the States. It is a long standing grievance which the Native States have a right to ventilate, this deprivation of the revenue from the customs duties and its result of a serious handicap to their financial resources; and sooner or later it has to be examined with a view to a satisfactory solution being found.

Mr. Kibe, and Sir Manubhai M. Mehta, who has contributed an illuminating introduction to the collection, both take their stand upon the indefeasibility of the right of the States to have a share of the sea customs Revenue and contest the view that their part of the contribution to that Revenue is a price paid to the British Indian Government for the protection the latter has been affording to them, in the shape of defending their borders and directing their foreign relations, such as they are. They state that this contention is false and untenable in view of the fact that "it entirely ignores the several direct contributions the Indian States have already made, and are making, either in the form of cessions of territory or cash subsidies for the expenses of the Indian army", and that, "if revenues indirectly collected from the subjects of Indian States in the form of customs and Excise duties and other financial burdens are to be regarded as appropriations for common services and general expenses, the direct payments by the States should all be brought into the account and given credit in the general re-adjustment of financial liabilities and distribution of taxation." The arguments of the two distinguished gentlemen about the "iniquity perpetrated by the Government of India", about the infringement of sovereign rights of the states" that it involves, about the "process of double taxation that the people of the States are subjected to" as a consequence thereof, and finally about the absence of any 'quid-pro-quo' for the sacrifices that the States have been forced to make, all deserve careful consideration.

Rao Bahadur Kibe examines the problem in its various aspects and in relation to the similar problem existing in the continental countries and suggests a number of methods whereby a solution can be arrived at. He refers to the special facilities afforded to the maritime states and to French and Portuguese possessors in the matter of exemption from the payment of the British customs duties and considers it essential that similar facilities should be provided to the inland states also by the removal of the existing invidious and differential treatment meted out to them.

While we ought to sympathise with the Native States for the loss which they have been made to sustain by the appropriation of the Customs Revenue by the Government of India and while we ought to be agreeable to change, in the present state of things, in the shape of giving them some relief by a rebate of a portion of the Revenue, we cannot accept the view that the Native States should be completely exempted from contributing to the Revenue of the Government of India for the maintenance of common services like the military, the Postal and Telegraph and other departments. Indeed Prof. Stanley Jevons, whom Sardar Kibe quotes with approval, has suggested this method of solving the problem when he said that "if the states are to receive a just share of the Sea Customs Revenue, they may fairly be asked to contribute their quota to the expenditure of the Indian Government from which they benefit."

The Native States it has to be stated in this connection should be ready to contribute their share for these common services, if they wish to take their proper place in the future constitution of the country as constituent parts of a federal commonwealth—a consummation to which we are heading and which has to be achieved sooner or later. What that share should be and on what basis that share ought to be determined, what reciprocal adjustment are necessary, all these are matters which have to be discussed and determined by an expert and impartial committee, and a re-

presentative committee of the Native States can as a preliminary, be appointed to discuss the problem with Mr. Layton, Financial Commissioner with the Simon Commission and arrive at tentative conclusions, as stated by Sir Manubhai M. Mehta.

In the meanwhile, Rao Bahadur Kibe deserves commendation for bringing the question prominently before the public of both the Native States and British India and the publishers of the collection also deserve to be congratulated on their timely and opportune publication of the papers

and other relevant documents connected with it. The collection contains beside Rao Bahadur Kibe's paper, the paper read by Prof. Stanley Jevons before the Allahabad Session of the Indian Economic Conference in December 1920 and an extract from the Minutes of Evidence before the Indian Fiscal Commission containing the memorandum of Sir Manubhai and other representatives of the Native States submitted to it—all of which render it valuable to any one who wants to study the question in its several bearings.

SOME RECENT BOOKS ON QUEEN ELIZABETH.*

By PROF. K. R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR,

Books about the elusive Queen Bess are legion. The great age in English History which goes by her name—so supreme in its grandeur, so original in its evolution, so detestable in its vices—is yet to be completely explored for any comprehensive point of view to develop. Its very distance from us precludes the possibility of any such attempt at a final or incontestable conclusion. Meanwhile, our modern authors, more noted for their brilliance than for their scholarship, give us fascinating studies of that singular epoch that whirled magnificently around the crucial centre of Elizabeth's inexplicable organism. Call these studies what you will—fiction, biography, psychological thesis—they are real contributions to literature, executed splendidly, with all the wealth of colour, rhetoric and indeed the finer concomitants of true art.

Especially during the past few years our knowledge of the Elizabethan age has been considerably amplified by certain in-

dubitable masterpieces. Of course Mr. Lytton Strachey's *Elizabeth and Essex* (1928) is the most enchanting of them all. Written with an artistic deliberation that finds no parallel in modern literature, it has an unqualified restraint, the glow of colour, the pomp of the vanished age, and is further cramped with the multifarious extravagances of an essentially contradictory temperament that found such amazing display in the person of Queen Elizabeth. Mr. Sidney Dark's *Queen Elizabeth* (1927) is also readable and at times severe in its provocation, but it is doubtful if it will ever be read in ten years. Quite recently, Messrs Sheed and Ward gave us *The Monstrous Regiment* by Christopher Hollis, described in its sub-title as 'A Book about Queen Elizabeth.' Partly because the price was very moderate but largely because the public enthusiasm for the Queen will never reach the point of satiety, it found a wide audience in England. As usual with books of challenging interest, it soon be-

* *Elizabeth and Essex*. By Lytton Strachey. *Queen Elizabeth*. By Sidney Dark. *The Monstrous Regiment*. By C. Hollis. *Queen Elizabeth* by Katherine Anthony.

came the battle field of book-reviewers who soon ranged themselves in two opposite camps and filled the daily press with personal prejudices and literary jargon. The 'Observer' found it "tough reading" while the 'Manchester Guardian' could not "imagine a reader who would find it dull". Well, it is neither the one nor exactly the other. It would be silly indeed to place it alongside of *Elizabeth Essex*; everytime one reads the scintillating pages of the latter, the conviction, dogmatic though it be, is borne upon his mind that each subsequent attempt to match its isolated perfection is foredoomed to failure. But "*The Monstrous Regiment*" is not dull; far from it. It is interesting even where it is not purely informative, even where the author is carried off his feet by barren speculation. Of course the hard-headed student of history (fortunately I am not one) is apt to find it dull; the poor fellow, he wants facts,—even rugged and ugly ones—not psychological and speculative perambulations. Barring these estimable exceptions, the generality will find the book amusing enough, and will not complain that they have not got their money's worth from it.

II

I now come to the recent Knopf publication on Queen Elizabeth by Katherine Anthony. It is American in every respect. The Literary Guild of America made this book its choice for October 1929. The publisher's claim for the book is worth quoting if only to give an indication of the unstinted effrontery of certain present-day publishers.

"A book as colorful as the brilliant Elizabethan period itself. Here for the first time is the *complete, magnificent*, life of the world's most renowned yet mysterious queen. . . . *A masterful work*. . . In its *original research, deep understanding, lucid exposition and brilliant style*, this biography is a book of *permanent importance*." (My italics).

I have read this book from cover to cover. It is well got up, neatly printed on feather weight paper, and priced at 12/6 which under modern conditions of produc-

tion is not too much. There are in it no less than sixteen fullpage plates of which as many as six try to interpret Elizabeth's own enigmatic personality. I am willing to confess, in addition, that the book was throughout interesting and written with few tricks of style and few poses. But I am not prepared, to go beyond that. It is neither 'complete' nor 'magnificent'; neither 'a masterful work' nor one distinguished by 'original research'; neither 'deep understanding' interpenetrates the characterisation nor 'lucid exposition' colours the descriptions and beautifies the assemblage of words: and without doubt it is not 'a book of permanent importance.' If you will, the publication of the book is but a commonplace affair.

When Mr. Lytton Strachey revolutionised the art of biography with his *Eminent Victorians* and *Queen Victoria* by "compressing into a few shining pages the manifold existences of men", people for a time were alternately puzzled and pleased by this bewildering literary innovation. As Mr. Robert Sencourt wrote in the course of a letter to the 'Times Literary Supplement' (Nov. 28, 1929): "Mr. Strachey's art of psychological reproduction is so wonderful and excellent that it has given us something new in Literature." But many lesser men (and women) thought it was all very easy, and incompetent biographies—mere rehashes of existing materials, unenlivened by sparkle, undiversified by a single readjusted point of view—followed one after the other to swell the literary market. Mr. Strachey's *Queen Victoria* was a most courageous venture and the great thing about it was that he was able to make a colossal success of it. But the thing should not be attempted again. This Mr. Strachey himself understood and in his latest book he confines his attention to only one decade or so of Elizabeth's enormous reign. But Katherine Anthony would write of Queen Elizabeth just as Mr. Strachey wrote of Queen Victoria. She would give us a small book of 250 pages just as Mr. Strachey also did. Apparently with these Katherine Anthony was satis-

fied. The many and varied adjectives exuberantly lavished by the publisher on *Queen Elizabeth* might be transferred with greater appositeness to Queen Victoria. But applied to Miss Anthony's work they sound ridiculously meaningless. No doubt there is the same arrangement of detail, the same disquisition into psychology, the same perorations in the sketching of portraits; but all without life, without vivacity, without beauty. Let one compare the Philip of Spain in *Elizabeth & Essex* (pp 135-131) with the shadowy other in *Queen Elizabeth* (pp 200-203) and decide for himself which of the portraits is the more artistic, the more powerful, the more imperiously palpitating in the true essence of its vigour. The former is the product of genius, the latter of mere industry.

III

As for psychology and writing from one's imagination, such tricks are fascinating tools in the hands of a master. But when without prudence and comparative relevance these are made to intrude upon the natural course of the narrative, it is either boring or clumsy or both. Mr. Strachey lets his expansive imagination roam unobstructed when he tries to fathom the workings of Elizabeth's mind as she condemned her lover to death; the sentences are of packed brilliance, (pp 255-259) the author of *Eminent Victorians* alone could have done that. Unfortunately Miss Katherine Anthony too tries a similar thing (pp 237-238) and as should be inevitably the case, fails miserably. In vain she uses Mr. Strachey's dubious tricks of interrogation and ellipsis: in vain she rummages about Elizabeth's parenthood and Henry Eighth's many wives. The result is a dismal failure.

One might compare too Mr. Strachey's guarded discussion of the exact nature of Elizabeth's virginhood and his own explanation of it (pp 19-25) with Miss Anthony's similar enquiries, (p 88) which, beyond being at times vulgar never take one anywhere. At certain Mr. Charles Smyth, in a malicious and wholly unwarrant-

ed attack on Mr. Strachey published in a recent number of 'The Criterion' laid emphasis on Strachey's "dreadfully sniggering vulgarity." Vulgar occasionally Mr. Strachey undoubtedly is, but Miss Anthony in her book out-Stracheys Strachey with a vengeance. (pp 88, 101, 119 etc.). The result is by no means encouraging.

However, let me not be misunderstood. Far be it from me to suggest by implication or otherwise that *Queen Elizabeth* is insignificant, even that it is imperfect. What I do mean is that it should not be judged by the far more exacting standards of literature proper. The competent authoress of, 'Katherine the Great', Miss Anthony, is well-informed in every particular. Thus it is that while her contribution will neither move the literary critic nor the student of history, it is likely to be read widely for a time by the middle-classes—the bourgeoisie population in modern society—with pleasure and possibly with profit as well. Perhaps, in spite of the publisher's vainglorious remarks, this was all Miss Anthony set herself to accomplish. If this were so indeed, she deserves our congratulations, our thanks—and the gratitude of thousands of readers to whom the book will open the gorgeous vistas of a bygone age. There let me leave it.

IV

Before closing this survey let me invite the attention of my readers to two more recent publications, also touching upon the Elizabethan Age. The first is the exquisitely finished work of art, Mrs Virginia Woolf's *Orlando*, a book which has already become a literary treasure to hundreds of Mrs Woolf's admirers. The other is less authentic as a contribution to pure literature though of far more historical importance: I refer to *An Elizabethan England* published by Messrs Constable Ltd. It is "a record of those things most talked of during the years 1591-1594, by G. B. Harrison." The book, illuminatingly written with scholarship and sparkle, extravagantly produced with a whole gallery

of plates and exorbitantly priced at one and a half guineas is half selection from Elizabethan records and letters, and half running commentary by the Editor. Here, there is an abundance of significant detail, a

whole heap of choice anecdotes : life in its infinite manifestations in the Elizabethan Age is laid threadbare. It is a unique book to learn from and to enjoy but alas, so costly to buy.

(B) BIRD'S EYE-VIEW CRITICAL NOTICES.

ON THE EDITOR'S TABLE : MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE.

The Cambridge Shorter Bible, arranged by Sir Quillar-Couch and his two colleagues (Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, London) is an attempt to present in an attractive form all but the least attractive parts of the Bible. It is not the whole Book, nor on the other hand a mere volume of selections; it is offered as a Bible reduced in compass, yet faithful to the whole. It ought to have a large circulation, especially amongst readers in India. The book is printed in single column, the meaningless chapter-and-verse-divisions have been discarded for paragraphs, and the passages of poetry are printed as poetry. All this facilitates better appreciation. The plan of the book is simple. Of the legislative books very little has been retained. Of the books given to narrative the editors have tried to keep everything suitable for general reading (omitting pedigrees and the like), but where there was overlapping they have been content with one version; the Gospels and Acts, however, are unabridged. In the third group, where the spiritual and reflective aspects of life predominate, the editors have tried to secure their end by omitting what is too obscure to be of much direct value, whilst retaining every passage that has a special appeal to the scholarly or devout student of the Bible or of English letters. It has been their constant endeavour to

keep every passage which for any school of Christian thought has particular associations along with the larger contexts that all would choose. The text is, in the main, that of the Authorised Version.

Sobs and Thrills: or Some Spiritual Side-lights, by Mr. A. K. Abdulla (Ramjoo). [Mohan Press, Ahmednagar] is better described, on one of the title pages, as "a real romance about the Meher-Ashram Institute, and the living miracles of Hazarat Qibla Meher Baba." The late Mr. Mazharul Haque says, in a foreword, that the Meher-Ashram, at Meherabad, near Arangaon (Ahmednagar District) has the unique distinction of being an institution where young boys are being "publicly educated as saintly children, and trained in the secret lore of mysticism, and in union with the Universal and Creative mind, the Divine..." "God-Love is the theme of this work, and one has to tune himself with the Infinite to behold the superb panorama of exquisite beauty and infinite love displayed in His creation. A message of God-Love is being given to the world by His Holiness Meher Baba, founder of the Ashram and master-preceptor of the boys. Tolerance is the keynote; difference of caste, creed, or colour, finds no room; Hindu, Muslim, and Parsi boys get equal treatment, and the Indian and Persian boys live like brothers; even European boys are not forgotten." Mr. Abdulla gives, with much

detail, something of the history of the Ashram. It began on 1st May, 1927, with 10 boys, and in November, 1928, had over a hundred of all denominations. Then it is an entirely free institution—secular and spiritual education, food, clothing, medical attendance—all is free. The spiritual influence of Sadguru Meher Baba, whose active ministry began in 1922, seems to be considerable and his disciples many. Altogether this book is highly interesting and also instructive, and should appeal to a large circle of readers in this country.

Messrs Watts have recently issued four new volumes of their Thinker's Library. By the courtesy of Mr. John Murray and the surviving members of the Darwin family, one of the additions comprises Part I and the concluding chapter of Part III of Charles Darwin's '*Descent of Man*.' To this re-issue Major Leonard Darwin contributes a specially written Introduction. The other volumes are A. W. Benn's '*History of Modern Philosophy*', revised and brought up to date; Mr. Joseph McCabe's '*Twelve years in a Monastery*', and Gibbon and Christianity being the famous fifteenth and sixteenth chapters of the great historian's '*Decline and fall of the Roman Empire*' with an introduction by the Rt. Hon. J. M. Robertson. Some of the volumes in the Thinker's Library extend to between 300 and 400 pages, bound in clothette—a remarkable shillingsworth. These excellent reprints of classics and standard works ought to enjoy a large circulation in India, alike by reason of their quality and cheapness.

Miss Bapsy Pavry M. A. (of Bombay) is a right regular blue-stocking and the first output of her studies is *The Heroines of Ancient Persia* (Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, London E. C. 4.). This account of the heroines as portrayed in the *Shahnama*, the great historical "Book of the Kings," is an introduction to an important literature. Miss Pavry has retold the stories wonderfully well. The importance of the parts played by women in early Persian history gives a peculiar charm to the quaint yet strangely modern characters

therein portrayed. The fourteen illustrations, reproduced in the book, are fine examples of Persian miniature paintings, and have been specially selected from Persian manuscripts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York. References to the original Persian text, and a comprehensive bibliography and index are included, which materially add to the utility of the work. Miss Bapsy's tales (as retold from the great Persian epic) are all highly interesting and the book is a conclusive proof of the woman's renaissance in the India of today.

Major P. C. Wren's four Indian stories have been brought out by Mr. John Murray (50 Albemarle Street, London W. I.) in his two shilling edition. Their titles are *Father Gregory*, *Dew and Mildew*, *The Snake and the Sword* and *Driftwood Spars*. They have the vigour and dramatic power for which this author is famous, and rank among the best adventure stories of our time. They should make a particularly wide appeal to readers of good fiction in this country.

Amongst the latest batch of student's text-books of history lying on our table, we may especially commend the *March of History* (McDougall's Educational Company, Ltd., 8 Farringdon Avenue, London, E. C. 4.), which is an excellent introduction by M. A. Birnie to the history of nineteenth century to the present day with retrospect from 1760 to 1832. There are also two text-books of Indian history—Prothero's *Short Primer* (Macmillan & Co., St. Martin's Street, London) and H. C.'s *Brief Survey* (Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd.) Each of these will satisfy the needs of the beginner in Indian history.

Mr. Richard Lee's *What every one should know about the War* (C. W. Daniel Company, 46 Bernard Street, London, W. C. 1) is an excellent compendium. It is the second edition of a book which gives an admirable account of the facts of the Great War, issued to meet an insistent demand. Lord Morley wrote to the author in regard to the first edition: "I am sincerely glad to have your book upon the War, and thank you for it for public and private reasons."

Reprinted ten years later, it is as useful now as when it first appeared in 1919.

Sir Lionel Cust's *The Cenci* (The Mandrake Press, 41 Museum Street, London W. C. 1) is a "study in murder." It is an abridgement of a big book (in Italian) on the subject. The Cenci story is of world-wide interest, and has been dramatized by Shelley. But a compact statement of facts and data as is now available in Sir Lionel Cust's book will be found of great interest by students of history and criminology.

Of recent collections and reprints of especial interest to readers in India, we may mention (from amongst those on our table) Mr. Harindranath Chattopadhyayas's *Five Plays*, (Fowler Wright, Ltd., 240 High Holborn, London), and the third editions of Mr. Douglas Dewar's *Birds of an Indian Village* and Mr. H. Wyatt's *Teaching of English in India*. The two latter are very well appreciated, and the first should interest all cultured Indians, as the dramas are worth study—one of them having been produced on the stage of a London theatre.

The latest additions to the famous "World's Classics" series (of the Oxford University Press, Bombay) are Tolstoy's *Essays on Art* (including *What is Art*) and *Childhood, Boyhood and Youth*, *Poems of Nicholas Nekrassov* and the first three volumes of a new comprehensive anthology called *English Verse*. These beautiful editions of standard works deserve wide popularity amongst students of literature.

In his *From a Paris Balcony* (Richards, 90 Newman Street, London W. 1), the talented author, Canon Dimnet, says in his preface, that the balcony (which lends its title to this book) was his for some twenty quietly active years, and it overlooked the world and invited observation. Just outside, four microcosms, the Quartier Montparnasse with its foreign artists, the Quartier Latin with its seriousness and its unseriousness, the Quartier St. Sulpice with its sanctity and its scholarship and the Faubourg St. Germain with its aristocratic associations,

joined their borders and displayed their wealth of human life, right beneath the balcony. The canon writes with a fine art of words, with gravity of purpose and with a wonderful insight into the poetry and substance of places, people and tendencies. He has produced a delightful volume, the very book for the man who knows and loves his France, his Paris. The author's pen has for many years been at the service of a better understanding between France and Britain and this book is one of the finest things he has done.

Mr. E. V. Pearson's *Judge Not* (Fowler Wright, Ltd., 240 High Holborn, London) is a work of fiction of rare merit. It is, indeed, a very fine novel, written in a beautifully pure and perspicuous style. Its plot traces, with profound psychological insight, the life of an orphan girl, with its pathos and humour and its strange and dramatic vicissitudes of fortune.

Except that of Joseph Conrad, there is yet perhaps no other instance of a foreigner having made a name for himself in the realm of English prose or poetry. Even Mrs. Naidu has so far figured in but one standard anthology. We, none-the-less welcome the various volumes of poems in English from the pen of Indian and Anglo-Indian poets.

These are *Poems* by Mr. H. W. B. More-o (2 Wellesly Square, Calcutta), *The Maid of the Hill* by Mr. Innocent Sousa (A. H. Stockwell, Ltd, 29 Ludgate Hill, London, E. C. 4), *The Silken Tassel* by Mr. A. F. Khabardar (Mount Road, Madras) and *Silhouettes* and *Moonbeams* by Mr. V. N. Bhushan. (Happy Home, Masulipatam). There is much good writing in these, a great deal of fluent and musical English, and excellent verse. We shall watch the careers of the young Indian poets with interest.

We welcome the *Chosen Poems of Thomas Hardy* in the Golden Treasury series of Messrs. Macmillans (St. Martin's Street, London). First printed in 1916 as *Selected Poems*, the old title is now replaced by the new. The collection offers the best in the poetical work of Thomas Hardy.

The Best Eighteenth Century Comedies, edited by Dr. John Uhler (Alfred A. Knopf Ltd., 37 Bedford Square, London W. C. 1.) is an excellent collection of all that is best in the English drama of that period, and as such it deserves welcome. The plays in this volume are *The Beaux Stratagem*, *The Beggar's Opera*, *She Stoops to Conquer*, *The Rivals*, and *The School for Scandal*. Except for the modernized spelling and punctuation, the text of the plays is exactly that of the early editions. A section on stage presentation with plans and sketches is included and there are comments on various aspects of the contemporary life and letters, and facsimile reproductions of the title pages from the original editions of the five comedies. There are also short biographies of the authors, critical notes on the plays themselves, and a bibliography. The annotations add to the usefulness of the book. To schools, colleges, and literary and dramatic societies the book will provide excellent material both for reading and for stage representation.

"Nash's Famous Modern Books" series (Eveleigh Nash and Grayson, 148 Strand, London) is planned to bring together copyright works (outside fiction), at one shilling, which have stood the test of time. It is obviously the most important step taken in publishing, to issue works of great present-day writers whose books have not yet passed into public domain. The series already includes such standard literature as Maeterlinck's *Life of the Bee*, Bishop Gore's *Belief in God*, Viscount Haldane's *Human Experience* and Sir Edwin Arnold's *Light of Asia*. The series deserves wide appreciation and large circulation.

"The Outline Library" (George Newnes, Ltd., 8-11 Southampton Street, Strand, London, W. C. 2) is an excellent collection of small but instructive books, mostly on modern science and modern thought. *Talks with the Professor* by "The Listener",—a series of delightful conversations on a variety of subjects—and *Present-Day Astronomy* by Mr. J. W. N. Sullivan—in which the position of this fascinating science is re-

viewed in the light of the latest discoveries—are examples of the former, and *The Bible in the Light of Today and Modernism* (both by "The Enquiring Layman") of the latter. There are also other books of interest in the series, which merit attention.

Mr. J. H. Linton's *A Legal Man and the Bible* (Marshall, Morgan and Scott, Ltd. 24, Paternoster Row, London E. C. 4.) is challenging and forceful. "A Legal Man," trained in the law of America has won for himself a place in his own country by this work, in which he has put forth the arguments of Biblical infallibility with legal precision. Through the columns of *The Life of Faith*, the articles which have been appearing serially have had a large circulation, and they have met with an enthusiastic reception among "the believers." With confidence that their appearance in this more permanent form will add to their usefulness, they have been gathered together in the volume under consideration, and the book should interest those who are students of biblical criticism.

Amongst the younger generation of Indians, few have reached that high position in the literary world which has been attained by Mr. K. S. Venkataramani (of Svetaranya Ashram, Mylapore, Madras). His first work *Paper Boats* (now in its third edition) saw the light in 1921 and was followed by *On the Sand Dunes*, which has appeared in a revised and enlarged edition. Both these are collections of delightful sketches of the lights and shadows of life in India. The third book from his pen was an excellent novel descriptive of Indian rural life, called *Murugan: the Tiller*. Those that have come since are *The Next Rung*—a constructive study of modern civilisation—*A Day with Sambhu* (being interesting talks to a child) and lastly *Renascent India*, which is a suggestive study of Indian problems and which has just appeared in a second augmented edition. All these books have received well-merited appreciation in the British and the Indian Press and prominent British men of letters have acknowledged the charm of his style and the nobility of his ideas. India expects a great

deal yet from this young author and we shall watch in future—as we have done so far—his brilliant literary career with a sympathetic interest.

Dr. R. A. Nicholson's *Literary History of the Arabs* appeared originally so far back as 1907 and was deservedly hailed at the time as the best sketch of the subject in English. It now comes before us, judiciously revised and overhauled, and is published by the Cambridge University Press (Fetter Lane, London E. C. 4). In this treatise the author's aim has been to prepare a work which should serve as a general introduction to the subject, and which should be neither too popular for students nor too scientific for ordinary readers, and it is pre-eminently successful in attaining this object. In this edition several mistakes have been corrected and the bibliography has been brought up to date. It is now issued as a companion volume to the late Professor Browne's *Literary History of Persia*, in four volumes. Though on a much less extensive scale than that work, the *Literary History of the Arabs* is an accurate, sound, interesting and comprehensive sketch of Arabic literature.

Mr. W. H. Wickwar's *Struggle for the Freedom of the Press* (George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 40 Museum Street, London W. C. I.) is a history of the efforts made by the Government—the Home Office, the political parties, the Churches, the judges, and the Crown—to suppress the trade in freethinking and radical publications; of the societies formed to encourage such persecution; and of the publishers, newsagents, and shop assistants who suffered (even to transportation) under the common law of blasphemous and seditious libel. Interesting sidelights are thrown on the persecution, in this connection, of some of the greater poets of the age, and on the struggle for the freedom of the Press in India and the United States. It is a very valuable record and deserves careful study by political reformers.

Mr. W. Teigamonth Shore's *Dinner Building* (B. T. Batsford Ltd, 94 High Holborn, London W. C. I.) is a book of

entertaining and practical instruction in the gentle and noble arts of cooking and eating. It deals with the whole range of the subject. It may safely be said of it that if one is fond of dainty food, dislikes muddy messes, wishes to make one's breakfasts, luncheons, dinners, suppers and picnics, more delightful, likes to develop an educated and refined palate, one cannot do better than study carefully Mr. Shore's *Dinner Building*.

Twenty years ago when the agitation on behalf of Indians in South Africa was at its height, Mr. H. S. L. Polak, a warm friend and admirer of Mr. Gandhi with whom he had worked for the Indian cause in South Africa wrote at the request of Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras, a sketch of Mr. Gandhi for the benefit of readers in India. The first edition was sold out within a short time and the Publishers have already issued as many as six editions, with additions as occasions demanded. In this edition, an attempt is made to bring the story of Mahatma Gandhi's life up-to-date. It is a clear and succinct narrative of his remarkable career in South Africa and India, including a sketch of the Non-Cooperation movement, his historic trial and imprisonment, his recent Civil Disobedience Campaign together with a full account of his Great March to the salt pans of Surat. This topical publication contains also appreciations of the Mahatma by such distinguished persons as the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Mr. and Mrs. Polak, Sir Rabindranath Tagore, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Dr. Gilbert Murray, Rev. Dr. J. H. Holmes, M. Romain Rollard, Mr. C. F. Andrews, and Bishop Whitehead. The book is priced Re. ore. (1s. 6d. Foreign.)

The Times (Printing House square, London) has republished its Printing Number in a handsome volume under the title of *Printing in the Twentieth Century*. It is a wide survey of every branch of the art, including the history of printing, book-making, the fascinating subject of typography, the recent developments of illustration in the form of photogravure, colour prin-

ting, and the art of the poster, besides all the mechanical side of printing, and there are also many coloured plates which were not in the original number. It should appeal to all who are interested in printing and typography.

LATEST BOOKS OF REFERENCE.

The New Zealand Official Year-Book for 1930. (Census and Statistics Office, Wellington, New Zealand), 1929.

The New Zealand Official Year-Book for 1930—which is in its thirty eighth issue—has been compiled by Mr. Malcolm Fraser, Government Statistician. This official annual publication is a remarkably useful work giving detailed information relating to New Zealand. Detailed chapters are devoted to the description, history, constitution and administration, statistical organisation, population, education, shipping, railways, public finance, banking, wealth and incomes, defence, etc., of New Zealand. Entirely new sections are added when necessary, to bring it abreast of the latest events and incidents. These add materially to the usefulness of a highly meritorious work of reference, which is comprehensive in its scope and accurate in its data. In fact, all subjects of importance, enriched with statistics brought up-to-date, find place in the *Year Book*, which is an authoritative volume of about one thousand pages, replete with valuable information on all matters—political, economic and administrative—relating to New Zealand. The current edition not only retains all the salient features of its predecessors, but also a substantial amount of new matter has been added to it. In its present form, this highly useful reference annual will continue to be indispensable to all interested in the affairs of New Zealand.

The Indian Year-Book, 1930. (Times of India Press, Bombay), 1930.

We welcome the seventeenth edition of *The Indian Year-Book*—edited by Sir Stanley Reed and Mr. S. T. Sheppard—which has

justly come to be regarded as an indispensable work of reference for all in any way connected with Indian public affairs, as it concentrates all the essential information and the statistics of the Indian Empire in one handy volume. In the current edition, all those characteristic features which have made it the standard reference annual on things Indian are retained and developed. *The Indian Year-Book* knows no politics, but it is something more than a dry-as-dust record of statistics; in every section there is an attempt not only to give facts, but to see the forces which are behind the facts. This makes it a valuable and useful adjunct to every Government, mercantile newspaper office in India, as also to clubs, libraries and institutes, to businessmen generally, and to every one who takes an interest in Indian affairs. It covers a very wide range of subjects and while comprehensive it is, on the whole, commendably accurate. The current edition contains all the very latest information, and has been developed and improved in the light of experience and progress. Therein lies the inestimable value of *The Indian Year-Book*.

Political Handbook of the World, 1930 (Council of Foreign Relations, 25 West 43rd Street, New York, U.S.A.) 1930.

In 1928 the Council of Foreign Relations, New York, issued the first edition of *A Political Handbook of the World*. The wide appreciation it received led, in 1929, to its being published in an enlarged and improved form, with the addition of a new section on the United States. The current edition is very welcome and we are glad the book will now appear annually. Put shortly, the *Political Handbook* is a thoroughly up-to-date and comprehensive survey of the parliaments, parties and the press of the world. The composition of governments, the character and aims of political parties and their leaders, and the affiliations and policy of political journals are its main topics. The information brought together, within its covers, is on the whole, accurate and sound and will be of very great value to publicists, journalists

and public men throughout the English-knowing world. The section devoted to India covers nearly four pages, and that space is rather short, but it gives within the limits assigned, a succinct sketch of the Central Government, the parties in the Assembly and the section of the press conducted in English. As the value of a work like this depends upon its accuracy and abreastness of events, incidents and the latest changes, we hope the editors will get some qualified Indian publicist to revise carefully the Indian section for each new edition, of this very valuable addition to the reference literature of current policies.

India in 1928-9. (Government of India Book Depot, Calcutta) 1930.

Under section 26 of the Government of India Act a statement on the moral and material progress of India has to be presented to Parliament each year. Till 1917, these compilations used to be dry-as-dust productions. But since the work of compiling was entrusted to Dr. Rushbrook Williams, they became more interesting, and the tradition has been fairly well maintained by Mr. J. Coatman. The latest number of this well-known annual, which is called *India in 1928-29*, will be indispensable to all who wish to keep abreast of current developments in India, as it is fully equal to its predecessors in point of general interest. It deals in brief yet clear fashion with the outstanding problems of the Indian situation, combining complicated tendencies and important events into a readable narrative. It contains a survey of the financial and economic conditions of the year, together with an account of important developments in every branch of Governmental activities. Considerable space is devoted to constitutional problems and to the course of political events. The book will appeal to members of the general public as much as to students and men of affairs, for the facts and data, which it presents, albeit, from the stand-point of Government. The utility of the text is enhanced by the inclusion of a map of India, coloured charts and descriptive diagrams.

Though Mr. Coatman's views are not likely to find favour with the Indian public, nevertheless, this annual official record has a distinct value of its own as a repertory of facts and figures.

Statistical Abstract for British India Seventh issue for 1927-28. (Government of India Central Publication Branch, Hastings Street, Calcutta). 1930.

For years past the Government of India used to issue (revised from time to time) a series of five volumes called *Statistics of British India*. The India Office in London also used to publish every year—based on the Government of India's publication mentioned above—a work of reference in one volume called *Statistical Abstract Relating to British India*. The last number issued of the latter—which was in 1922—was the fifty-fifth. The two publications were amalgamated in 1923 and replaced by the work called the *Statistical Abstract for British India*. It appeared in 1923 in India, the London publication being permanently suspended. The new series is practically a reproduction (in one large but compact volume) of the contents of the five separate parts of the *Statistics of British India*, and is, so far, an improvement on the old series for purposes of reference and carrying about. But it comprises statistics and statistics alone—one prodigious mass of figures grouped under various headings. As you open the book columns after columns of figures stare you in the face, with no saving grace or redeeming feature about them of any analytical statements bringing out their significance, such as you find so helpful in the *South African Year-Book* or the *Canada Year-Book*. Nevertheless the *Statistical Abstract for British India* is an indispensable reference book for the worker in Indian problems, though its value would be appreciably enhanced if it were modelled upon the official year-book issued by the Government of South Africa or of Canada. The seventh issue which has just appeared, is completely revised and judiciously overhauled, and it should find a place on the bookshelf of every publicist and businessman concerned with or interested in Indian affairs.

Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology for the Year 1928 (Kern Institute, Leyden, Holland) 1929.

The third issue of the *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology*, is, indeed, welcome. Its general arrangement is similar to that of the first and second volumes, which have been widely welcomed as supplying a long-felt need. The *Bibliography* proper contains full information regarding all books and articles, which have appeared in 1928, dealing with the archæology, epigraphy, numismatics, ancient history and geography of Greater India, and, indeed, of all countries which have undergone the influence of Aryan civilization. The Introduction gives a survey of the chief discoveries made in the field of antiquarian research during the year under review: Sir John Marshall's excavations at Taxila; recent explorations by the French Mission in Afghanistan, by M. J. Barthoux; Sir Aurel Stein's expeditions in Baluchistan; the wooden walls of Pataliputra; excavations at Nalanda; the brick temple of Paharpur; Buddhist antiquities discovered in Burma, Indonesia, Iran. It is illustrated by means of twelve first-class collotype plates and eleven text illustrations; and it is most valuable and highly useful to scholars and students of research in the history of India and Greater India.

RECENT LITERATURE OF TRAVEL.

Ibn Battuta's Travels in Asia and Africa.—By H. A. R. Gibb, (George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., Broadway House, Carter Lane, London) 1929.

Mr. H. A. R. Gibb's edition of *Ibn Battuta's Travels in Asia and Africa* deserves a cordial welcome. Ibn Battuta (otherwise Abu Abdallah) was born in Tangier in 1304, and died in Morocco about 1368. As a young man of twenty-one he set out on the pilgrimage to Mecca, and desiring to see more of the world, travelled in all the Moslem countries; and also in some 'infidel' lands. He visited Constantinople and China, and spent many years

in India, at the court of Delhi where he rose to high place, and as is the common fate of kings' favourites, fell from it; he even enjoyed the distinction of becoming a qadi in the Maldivé Islands. In later years he put together a valuable and entertaining book out of his experiences; a book of travels, a record of the way in which one cultured and thoughtful looked at the affairs of his time. His work was first brought to the notice of Europe in 1829, and there have been various editions since. It has charm and value; certainly no one interested in India's past should fail to make its acquaintance. Mr. Gibb's excellent edition will make it better known. Mr. Gibb has done his work admirably; he has translated the valuable and interesting portions with felicity and added a useful essay which provides a satisfactory back-ground to the study of Ibn Battuta's famous record of travels in Asia and Africa.

With Pen and Brush in Eastern Lands.—By (the late) Sir Valentine Chirol (Jonathan Cape, 30 Bedford square, London) 1930.

The late Sir Valentine Chirol was a gifted writer as evidenced by his well-known books on India, Egypt and other eastern countries. His last work was a notable contribution to the literature of travel, recording his impressions (in some eastern lands) as a young man, and illustrated with sketches drawn by himself. Hence the double interest of his book appropriately designated (in full) *With Pen and Brush in Eastern Lands when I was young*. The book is interesting for the many "thrills" the writer met with in the course of his travels. He was attacked by a host of wild bees in the Deccan; tossed about in a Persian Gulf squall, a thunderstorm in the Malabar back-waters and a Pacific typhoon; deserted by his guides in a Syrian desert and in a Cantonese market during a riot; awakened by sub-conscious sensations of an actual earthquake in Japan and a real cobra at Vijayanagar. His account of these and

other "thrills" makes the book highly interesting. There are also fine pen pictures of the Great Wall of China, of Nunga Parbat, of the grave of Hafiz and other places and objects of artistic or cultural associations and interest, while his excursions into politics, folklore, religion or race history are generally suggestive, if not always convincing. Altogether the book is an excellent record of travel in Asiatic countries as they were in the last quarter of the last century.

Veiled Mysteries of India.—By Mrs. Walter Tibbits. (Eveleigh Nash and Grayson, Ltd., 148, Strand London W. C. 2) 1930.

Flowers and Elephants.—By Constance Sitwell. (Jonathan Cape, 30 Bedford Square, London) 1930.

Mrs. Walter Tibbit's *Veiled Mysteries of India* is a notable addition to the literature of Indian travel. Mrs. Tibbits needs no introduction to readers in India as her travel books are already known to a wide public. The opening chapters of her latest work are devoted to fascinating and original thumbnail sketches of her journey from Marseilles to Bombay. After Bombay the reader accompanies the author through the tangle of tropical jungles, across the snowy Himalayas as far as unexplored Tibet, and is constantly meeting with unexpected and thrilling adventures, which are graphically described, and are a series of delightful word-pictures. Mrs. Tibbits' style and language are vivid and colourful, and in the course of her travels she meets many interesting and well-known people. Altogether this book provides excellent reading of a distinctly interesting nature and should not be overlooked by any person interested in the present conditions and romance of India. A book of a wholly different type, but of absorbing interest in its own way is the new edition the "Travellers' Library" of Mrs. Sitwells' two well-known books called *Flowers and Elephants* and *Lotus and Pyramid*, both of them similar in style and subject-matter. Mrs. Sitwell has known India well, and

has filled her pages with many vivid little pictures, and with sounds and scents. But it is the thread on which her impressions are strung that is so fascinating, a thread so delicate and rare that any clumsiness in definition would snap it. Mrs. Sitwells' book is an excellent addition to a notable series.

Romantic Ceylon.—By R. H. Bassett (Cecil Palmer, 49 Chandos Street, Covent Garden, London, W. C. 2.) 1930.

Burma.—By C. R. Purser. (Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 15 Tufton Street, Westminster, London, S. W. 1) 1930.

We are grateful to Mr. R. H. Bassett for his highly interesting book, justly called *Romantic Ceylon*. As the author points out, Ceylon is a veritable storehouse of folklore and legends and these Mr. Bassett has well utilized in producing his book. The work is thus not a compendium of facts and figures, data or statistics, but an excellent collection of legendary stories, myths and folktales which are all charming and fascinating. There is a useful glossary appended to the text. Though a missionary tract in a sense, Mr. C. R. Purser's *Burma* is an excellent little sketch of some aspects of Burman life and scenery which should appeal to the general reader.

Turkey and Syria Reborn.—By Harold Armstrong. (John Lane the Bodley Head, Ltd., Vigo Street, London W. 1.) 1930. Captain Harold Armstrong, played an intimate part in the events in Turkey from 1918-1923 which he has described in his book *Turkey in Travail*. In 1927 he returned to Syria and Turkey as a delegate of the Commission of Assessment of War Damage and the fruit of his travels and observations are gathered in this new volume, rightly called *Turkey and Syria Reborn*. This book is a dramatic narrative of many months of travel and a frank exposition of the present conditions of those countries, with vivid pictures of places and people. Embarking at Beyrouth, the author journeyed to Damascus, back through the

country of the Maronites and then from Tripoli to Lattakia and the mountains of the pagan Nusairi. By way of Antioch, Aleppo and Alexandretta he came to Turkey and spent much time in the Turkish villages of the Taurus and the Anatolian plateau before finally reaching Angora, the new capital. It would thus be seen that from his past knowledge of the country Captain Armstrong is a particularly shrewd observer and pertinent commentator on the new Turkey and Syria, and in his company, the reader not only gains a very graphic impression of the country and life of the people, but also a deep insight into the political workings of the new administrations. To those who desire to study the present conditions in Syria and Turkey, Captain Armstrong's book would be invaluable.

A Tour in the Near East. By James Hunter. (Marshall Morgan and Scott, Ltd, 1, 2, 11, 12 Paternoster Buildings, London E. C. 4.) 1930.

Letters from Italy. By Karel Capek. (Besant and Co. Ltd, 21 Orange Street, London, W. C. 2.) 1930.

The Risen Sun. By C. C. Martindale (Sheed and Ward, 31 Paternoster Row, London, E. C.) 1930.

In his *Tour in the Near East*, Mr. James Hunter describes quite simply what he saw and observed, Bible in hand, and he believes that readers will derive profit from these pages, written with a sense of the presence of Him Whom he followed "from place to place" through the Land towards which the eyes of all nations have turned down the long ages. His book is interesting.... Karel Capek's *Letters from Italy* are of absorbing interest, as they are a series of vivid delineations of the lights and shadows of the show-cities of Italy.... Mr. C. C. Martindale's *Risen sun* is a graphic and detailed description of the cities and sights of Australia and New Zealand.

CURRENT EDITIONS OF DIRECTORIES.

(A) : INDIAN.

Thacker's Indian Directory, 1930. (Thacker, Spink and Co., Esplanade, Calcutta), 1930.

The Times of India Directory, 1930. (Times of India Press, Bombay), 1930.

The Asylum Press Almanac and Directory, 1930. (Chakravarti and Co., Madras), 1930.

Government of India Directory 1930. Delhi and Simla editions. (Government of India Press, Delhi and Simla), 1930.

Of the many directories annually issued in India, the first three—the current year's editions of which are noted above—are best-known as standard works of reference amongst their class. *Thacker's Indian Directory*—which is now in its sixty-ninth annual edition—originally, and for many years afterwards, appeared as the "Bengal Directory." But it slowly covered the other provinces as well, and for years past the Lal Kitab ("the red book"), as it is familiarly known in offices, has been justly regarded as the one indispensable work of reference amongst Indian directories. *The Times of India Directory* is even an older publication than Thacker's, as its current edition is the seventy-eighth annual issue. Chief Justice, Sir Basil Scott of the Bombay High Court, described it in one of his judgments as "a standard work of reference in Bombay." The current edition has been materially improved and augmented. While Thacker's is more comprehensive in its scope covering, as it does, the whole Indian Empire, both it and the Bombay publication have much in common. *The Asylum Press Almanac and Directory* is a still older publication, the current edition being one hundred and twenty-ninth. It does for the Madras Presidency, or rather for Southern India, what *The Times of India Directory* does for Western India. It gives the fullest information about almost

all matters of public interest, relating to Southern India. These three works are carefully revised, from year to year, and although no work of reference—least of all, a directory—can ever be thoroughly up-to-date, nevertheless these three hardy annuals are as much abreast of the latest changes as it is possible for books of their class to be. They usefully supplement one another and a sensible businessman should keep all of them on his book-shelf.

The Government of India Directory stands in a class by itself. For some years past the Central Government used to issue from Delhi in December and from Simla in May the *Government of India List*, containing the names and addresses of their officers, including also of those of heads of Local Governments and Administrations and also of members of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly. The last of the lists was issued from Simla in May, 1924. The issue from Delhi in December, 1924, appeared in better form under the more convenient name of *Government of India Directory*. The first Simla edition appeared in May, 1925. We welcome this useful publication to the list of reference works dealing with the higher officialdom in India and it ought to have a wide circulation in circles connected with the Central Government at Delhi and Simla, as the personnel of the Central and the Provincial Governments changes with almost kaleidoscopic rapidity.

Thacker's Directory of the Chief Industries of India, Burma and Ceylon, 1930. (Thacker, Spink and Co., Esplanade, Calcutta.) 1930.

Thacker's Directory of the Indian industries is now in its thirty-ninth year of publication and is a well-established work of reference. Its scope is comprehensive containing as it does full particulars of tea, coffee, rubber, indigo, tobacco and other companies, with their estates and gardens; coal, copper, gold, lead, manganese, ruby, salt and tin mines; cotton, jute, flour, oil, paper, rice, silk, sugar, woollen and other mills and factories, with illustrations of fac-

tory marks when such are available. In addition there is an alphabetical list of residents connected with the chief industries of India, Burma and Ceylon, and an index to every factory, company and garden mentioned in the body of the *Directory*, which is compiled with the greatest care, and the information in which is most reliable.

Ferguson's Ceylon Directory, 1930. (The Ceylon Observer Press, Colombo.) 1930.

We welcome the current edition of *Ferguson's Ceylon Directory*. It is quite an institution in the Crown Colony of Ceylon, as one of the oldest publications of its class and kind and justly enjoys a pre-eminently high position amongst annual works of reference. It deals comprehensively with almost every phase of civic, political and industrial activity in Ceylon and contains a mine of useful information relating to plantations and estates, railways, steamers, motor routes and traffic regulations. The *Directory* is thoroughly abreast of the latest events and incidents. Replete with information on almost all Ceylon matters it will be highly useful to all who have anything to do with that island. The latest edition has been completely revised and fully brought up-to-date. *Ferguson's Directory* is the one indispensable reference annual dealing with Ceylon on a most comprehensive scale and it is to Ceylon what *Thacker's Directory* is to India.

(B) BRITISH.

The Newspaper Press Directory, 1930. (C. Mitchell & Co., Ltd., 1-2, Snow Hill Holborn Viaduct, London, E. C. 1), 1930.

Having seen the light in 1845, the current edition of Messrs. Mitchell's *Newspaper Press Directory* is the eighty-fifth annual issue of this indispensable work of reference to British periodical literature. Its range of information is generally wide and accurate and it supplies the fullest details about the press of the British Commonwealth in particular and that of the other countries in general, with the

result that it is of the highest utility to pressmen, advertisers and tradesmen. *The Newspaper Press Directory* has established for itself a reputation for presenting concisely much valuable information and statistics in respect of inter-Imperial Trade. The current edition has been judiciously revised and carefully overhauled and we have lighted upon few mis-statements of fact. But the section dealing with the press of India requires to be carefully revised by some one in intimate touch with the present conditions of the fourth estate in this country. Making allowance for it *The Newspaper Press Directory* is, on the whole, a very creditably accurate and comprehensive work of reference.

Willing's Press Guide, 1930. (James Willing, Ltd., 30 King Street, Covent Garden, London, W. C. 2), 1930.

Willing's Press Guide, 1930, which is now in its fifty-seventh annual edition, is an excellent compendious record of the press of the British Isles. It also gives lists of telegraphic news and reporting agencies, of the principal colonial and foreign journals and a variety of useful and instructive information about the fourth estate of the realm. It thus forms a concise and comprehensive index to the press of Great Britain and Ireland in particular and that of the British Commonwealth in general. Altogether, it is a useful work of reference for the journalist and the advertiser. The current edition is thoroughly up-to-date and is abreast of the latest changes in the world of journalism.

BIOGRAPHICAL AND AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL LITERATURE.

Recollections of My youth. By E. Renan. (G. Routledge and Sons, Ltd, Broadway House, Carter Lane, London, E. C. 4) 1929.

Ernest Renan was a distinguished French scholar and rationalist and is best known to us by his world-famous work—*Life of*

Jesus (Vie de Jesus). His *Recollections of My youth* is a notable addition to autobiographical literature of the world. At the same time as Newman left the Anglican for the Roman communion, Renan walked out of the Seminary at St. Sulpice with a very different resolve fixed for ever in his mind. His upbringing had been that of a Catholic priest; in a sense, he never ceased to regret his lost Catholicism; but, fundamentally, Renan died as irreconcilable as he shows himself in the last words of the present book. Renan's autobiography, like that of Newman, has seldom been surpassed or equalled for interest. The author of the *Vie de Jesus* was not only a leader of thought in his generation, but also a master of style; his autobiography will probably be read when the enormous mass of his other work is forgotten. For in it, Renan takes the reader into his confidence and unfolds his ripest self. His whole life is dramatized with conscious art, and the book will justly take rank with the well-known classics in autobiography.

Jesus of Nazareth. By Joseph Klausner (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd, 40 Museum Street, London, W. C.) 1929.

Dr. Joseph Klausner is a Russian Jew whose *Jesus of Nazareth* is a truly remarkable work. It was written in modern Hebrew for Jews and not Christians. It derives its chief importance from this fact and also because of the author's high reputation as a great figure in the Zionist movement. Though Jesus was a Jew, His followers are not Jews. This "great contradiction" constitutes the difficult and complicated problem in every attempt to portray the life of Jesus. The present book is an attempt to solve this problem. It first presents a rather full account of the times of Jesus and of His Jewish environments, and then seeks to discover what there was in Him of earlier and contemporary Judaism and likewise what there was in Him which was opposed to the Judaism of His own time as well as to that of the past and the future generations of Israel. Herein lies its chief merit.

Mussolini and the New Italy.—By A. Robertson, (H. R. Allendon Ltd., 7 Racquet Court, 114 Fleet Street, London, E. C.) 1930.

With Michael Collins.—By Batt O'Connor (Peter Davies, Ltd., 30 Henrietta Street, London W. C. 2.) 1929.

Dr. Alexander Robertson's *Mussolini and the New Italy* is a graphic portraiture of one of the most interesting men alive at present. The author tells us all about the Italian dictator, illustrating his narrative with apt anecdotes. As the result of his long experience and rich knowledge of Italy, he contrasts the past with the present, and lets what Mussolini has achieved justify the way he has done it. For the large reading public who desire to gain a knowledge of the leader of the new Italy, Dr. Robertson's book will be especially valuable. Written in a charming style, concise and compact, the book will appeal especially to the busy reader as a sympathetic and stimulating study of a great administrator Mr. Batt O'Connor's *With Michael Collins in the Fight for Irish Independence*—to give the book its full title—is a frank personal record of an active participant in the Irish Revolution. Mr. O'Connor, now a member of the Dail, is recognized as having been one of Michael Collins' closest associates, and his narrative covers the whole history of the movement from its earliest inception, till the death (by assassination) of the hero. It is a book which should make a wide appeal by reason of its being a highly sympathetic study of a most engaging personality.

Twelve Great Ladies.—By Sidney Dark, (Hodder & Stoughton Ltd., Warwick Square London, E. C. 4.) 1929.

Mr. Sidney Dark has followed up his well-known *Twelve Bad Men*, by *Twelve Great Ladies*, which is an interesting collection of studies of a dozen women in various spheres of activities. These are Catherine de Medici, Queen Mary (of England), Mary (Queen of Scots), Henrietta Maria, Louise de la Valliere, Queen

Christina (of Sweden), Sophia (Electress of Hanover), Maria Theresa, Catherine the Great, Mary Antoinette, Josephine (Empress of France) and Caroline of Brunswick. Not only is thus the canvas chosen very wide, but the portraits drawn are highly sympathetic, stimulating and skilful. The book deserves a wide appreciation.

Life of Robert Burns.—By Rev. J.C. Higgins (Standard Press, Kilmarnock, Scotland) 1929.

Earl of Roseberry.—By E. H. Thurston The Tavistock Press, 48 Russell Square, London, W. C. 1) 1929.

Viscount Haldane: The Man and his Work.—(Oxford University Press, Bombay) 1929.

Here are lives and portraits of three great Scotsmen. Of them Burns was the greatest—as he is the greatest literary figure of Scotland, next only perhaps to Walter Scott. The Rev. Mr. Higgin's *Life of Robert Burns* is an excellent sketch—sound, sober, and appreciative; the value of the letter-press being enhanced by means of illustrations, notes, appendices, itineraries and map—a capital addition to the biographical literature relating to the great poet. . . . Mr. E. H. Thurston's *Earl of Roseberry: Statesman and Sportsman* is an exceedingly good—biographical and critical—account of the late Earl, who was so distinguished alike in the world of Statesmanship and the turf—the last of the great Liberal Statesmen Viscount Grey and other friends and admirers of the late Viscount Haldane pay well-deserved tributes to his memory in the collection called *Viscount Haldane: The Man and His Work*.

LEGAL WORKS OF TO-DAY.

Dramas of French Crimes. By R. Cassellari. (Hutchinson and Co. Ltd., 34-6 Paternoster Row, E. C. 4.) 1930.

Dramas of French Crime is a notable contribution to the literature of Criminology.

For twenty years its author—M. Rere Cassellari—was one of the leading detective officers of the Surete Generale in Paris. The diversified experiences he underwent in that time covered all manner of astounding things. M. Cassellari was the officer entrusted with finding Leonardo da Vinci's celebrated painting "Mona Lisa", and he has set down in graphic detail the adventures that befell him while so engaged. He tells some amazing stories of the criminals who haunt the Riviera, of traitors, swell crooks like the Marquis de la Houpliere, the notorious blackmailers of Marseilles, as well as the part he played in hunting down the Bonnot gang of motor bandits. Cassellari has a strong sense of the dramatic. He has written a book that will appeal to every lover of good stories, but while of interest to the general reader, it is specially so to the student of Criminology.

The Trial of Count Konigsmarck. Edited by the Hon : Eveline Godley (Peter Davis Ltd., 30 Henrietta Street London W. C. 2) 1930.

There have been few more sensational trials than that of Count Konigsmarck, the famous Swedish adventurer, and his hired confederates, for the murder of Thomas Thynne his rival, for the hand of an heiress, in the Haymarket, London, on the night of 12th February, 1682. Very full contemporary reports of the proceedings are extant and, apart from the considerable legal interest of the case, the evidence of the various witnesses reveals an exceedingly vivid and curious picture of the habits of the criminal underworld of London in the seventeenth century. An edition of it was badly wanted. The trial is here reprinted practically in full, with a valuable critical and biographical commentary by the editor. It should make a wide appeal.

A Guide to the Administration of Criminal Justice in British India.—By D. C. Singh (Allahabad Law Journal Press, Allahabad) 1930.

Mr. Durga Charan Singh—author of *A Guide to the Administration of Criminal*

Justice in British India.—is one of the leading Advocates practising, on the criminal side, at Allahabad and he thus possesses considerable knowledge and experience of the working of the criminal law and the administration of criminal justice. These he has systematized skilfully in his book under consideration for the benefit of young Magistrates, Junior practitioners and new police officers. But though it will be of special advantage to them, even experienced Magistrates, senior lawyers and trained police officers, will do well to keep the book handy, for it is compact, systematic and comprehensive and offers a complete conspectus of the procedure and practice in the administration of criminal justice.

The Indian Constitution.—By D. N. Banerjee, Second edition (Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., 6 Old Court House Street, Calcutta) 1930.

Professor Deberdra Nath Banerjee's, *The Indian Constitution and its Actual Working* first appeared in 1925, introduced by Sir Evan Cotton and was appreciatively noticed by the *Hindustan Review*. We readily welcome its second (revised and enlarged) edition, which has been judiciously overhauled. It is in its present form perhaps the best of all the text-books on the subject—fully up-to-date, sound, accurate, comprehensive and systematic. It richly merits a large circulation.

A Hand-book of the Indian Police Acts and other Cognate Acts.—By Rai Bahadur G. K. Roy (The Eastern Law House, 15 College Square, Calcutta) 1930.

Rai Bahadur G. K. Roy—retired Superintendent of the Home department of the Central Indian Government—is a careful compiler and annotator and is best known by his edition of the Arms Act. His latest work—*A hand-book of the Police and Cognate Acts*—is well put together. It is handy and compact and the notes are elucidative and helpful.

The Code of Civil Procedure. Ninth edition, 1930. **The Indian Stamp Act.** Second edition, 1930. **The Indian Contract and Specific Relief Acts.** Sixth edition,

1930. *The Indian Registration Act, 1930. Principles of Hindu Law. Sixth edition, 1929. Principles of Muhammadan Law. Ninth edition, 1929. The Key to Indian Practice. Third edition 1929. Jurisdiction of Courts in Matters of Caste, 1930.* By Sir Dinshah Fardunji Mulla (Eastern Law House, 15 College Square, Calcutta).

Amongst commentators on Indian law, Sir Dinshah Fardunji Mulla deservedly occupies a very prominent position. As an advocate, judge (of the Bombay High Court) and Law Member (of the Government of India), he has had considerable experience of the working alike of our codes and codeless laws, and it is not surprising that his text-books and commentaries are all regarded as standard and authoritative works, in our courts. Of his commentaries, the best known is that on the Code of Civil Procedure, which has just appeared thoroughly revised, judiciously enlarged and fully brought upto-date. It is out-and-out the best annotated edition of that code. His commentaries on other branches of Anglo-Indian law are equally elucidative and illuminating and almost all of them have passed through many editions, a conclusive proof of their popularity and usefulness. The same is the case with his text-books on Anglo-Hindu and Anglo-Muslim laws. These are sound, accurate and compact and are almost ideal introductions for students to the subjects they deal with. Sir Dinshah thus deserves well of the legal public in this country.

NEWEST GUIDE-BOOKS AND TOURISTS' MANUALS.

The United Provinces Road Book.—Compiled by H. J. Amore, I. S. E. (The Superintendent Government Press, Allahabad), 1930. Price Rs. 8.

The expansion and development of motor travel and traffic in this country has naturally led to a corresponding demand for tourists' hand-books, and one of the latest to appear, in response to it, is Mr.

H. J. Amore's *United Provinces Road Book*, to which we accord a cordial welcome. The book, which is handy and compact offers in clear and convenient form a great mass of useful information, to all road travellers by motors in these provinces. The information regarding routes and roads is detailed. There are in it excellent maps showing the approaches to the cities and towns, apart from a large motorist's map for the whole province, which is excellent. The scope of the work is comprehensive, and it furnishes *inter alia*, lists of boat and pontoon bridges, and ferries, banks, hotels, clubs, dak and inspection bungalows, motor repair and petrol supply shops. In fact, no information, of use to the traveller, is omitted. The motor rules and regulations in the United Provinces are reproduced and particulars are given regarding customs duty and railway freights for cars besides a list of railway stations at which ramps are to be found for loading and unloading vehicles. The book is thus highly informative, fairly exhaustive and bound to be of the greatest utility to all road travellers by motors in the provinces of Agra and Oudh. We shall be glad to see the appearance of similar road-books for the other Indian Provinces and a general one for the whole country.

Baedeker's London and its Environs.—Nineteenth edition. (Karl Baedeker, Publisher, Leipzig, Germany) 1930.

We noticed in terms of appreciation the eighteenth, but the first post-war, edition of Baedeker's *Hand-book for London and its Environs* on its appearance in 1923. The nineteenth and the second post-war edition is now before us, and we extend to it a hearty welcome: Readers of the *Hindustan Review* must be aware by now that attempting to praise Baedekers would be like trying to gild refined gold and paint the lily, for they represent almost ideal excellence in the making of tourists' manuals. The new guide to London is not only carefully revised but judiciously augmented and thoroughly overhauled—with the result that it is absolutely upto-date and abreast of the latest changes, with that systematic, compre-

hensive and informative, and no traveller to London can do without this encyclopædic hand-book to the metropolis of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Cook's Travellers' Hand-book to Switzerland.—(Thomas Cook & Son, Ltd., Barkeley Street, Piccadilly, London) 1930.

Mr. Roy Elston's *Hand-book to Switzerland* first appeared (in Messrs. Thomas Cook's excellent series of guides) in 1925, and is now before us in a second edition. The experienced editor—who has long since made his mark as a successful compiler of many of Cook's hand-books has not only revised the text and brought it fully abreast of the latest events and incidents, but also appreciably increased its usefulness by adding to it a brief account of the Italian lakeland and providing an appendix, dealing generally with the Swiss winter resorts. By reason thus of its up-to-date-ness, compactness and informativeness, *Cook's Hand-book to Switzerland* is likely to hold its own amongst the many other guide-books to the play-ground of Europe.

How to be Happy in Berlin.—By J. Chancellor (J. W. Arrowsmith Ltd., 6 Upper Bedford Place, Russell Square, London, W. C. 1) 1930.

Mr. John Chancellor has followed up his *How to be Happy in Paris* with *How to be Happy in Berlin*, in Messrs. Arrowsmith's excellent series. This guide to Berlin follows exactly the same lines as the Paris guide: but there will be a difference in the way in which readers will approach it. Paris is "the gay city." The names of its chief show-places are well known. But what of Berlin? Could one find there the attractions which delight the eye in Paris? Are there in Berlin any thrills like those which the tourist finds in Montmartre, for instance. The answer is "Yes," given by Mr. Chancellor. Where those thrills are to be found and exactly what they will be, this unconventional guide book—*How to be Happy in Berlin* graphically describes.

Stonehenge: To-day and Yesterday.—By Frank Stevens. (H. M. Stationary

Office, Adastral House, Kingsway, London) 1929.

Mr. F. Steven's *Stonehenge* is a revised edition of the booklet, issued in 1924, and then commended by us as out-and-out the most useful guide to the oldest archeological monument in Britain. It should find favour with visitors to this earliest relic of British antiquity.

The Setu and Rameshwaram.—By N. Vanamamalai Pillai (V. Narayanan & Brother, Rameshwaram) 1930.

Mr. N. Vanamamalai has done well to compile an authoritative guide-book called *The Setu and Rameshwaram*. The author possesses an intimate knowledge of the scenes and sights he depicts and his book—which is well illustrated—offers useful information about the places described, and interesting sidelights on temple ritual in Southern India.

THE NEW "EVERYMAN" VOLUMES.

The fourteen new spring additions to Everyman's Library (J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd. Aldine House, Bedford Street, London W. C. 2) are of unusual interest, and bring the number of volumes so far issued up to 850—well within sight of the original project of one thousand. But perhaps the most remarkable achievement of this season's list is the issue, unabridged and in readily accessible form, of J. M. Rigg's translation of Boccaccio's masterpiece, *The Decameron*, and Eden and Cedar Paul's translation of Karl Marx's *Capital*, books which hitherto have been only within reach of the comparatively well-to-do reader. The present editions have introductions by authorities on their respective subjects; that to *The Decameron* by Edward Hutton, and that to *Capital* by G. D. H. Cole.

The other ten volumes include seven of fiction: Defoe's *Moll Flanders*, Smollett's *Peregrine Pickle* (two volumes), Richard Jefferies's *Bevis*, Mickiewicz's *Pan Tadeusz*, a collection of nineteenth-century American

Short Stories, and Volume II of the *Shorter Novels* Series with tales by Jacobean and Restoration authors. Of *Moll Flanders* and *Peregrine Pickle* it is unnecessary to speak, for they need no recommendation; and Mickiewicz's great epic of Poland is a source of inspiration. Jefferies in his *Bevis* presents the story of an ideal boyhood sent in the woods and fields of Wiltshire. The *American Short Stories* include names no less familiar in India than in their own country. *Shorter Novels II* is an invaluable compilation for the student of seventeenth-century literature. Here will be found all scarce stories and usually hard to come by, now available in one volume.

The remaining three new volumes are: an edition of the *Minor Poets of the Eighteenth Century*, Lessing's *Laocoon and Other Writings*, including *Minna von Barnhelm* and *Nathan the Wise*; and Snorre Sturlason's *Heimskringla: The Norse King Sagas*. Of Lessing, who in the eighteenth century, prepared the way for all Germany's subsequent poetic and intellectual achievements, we have here his three most representative works. It was his essay *Laocoon*, that created an epoch in European appreciation of Greek literature. The new Everyman volumes are thus very welcome.

THE PRESS ORDINANCE AND ITS HAVOC.

AT a time when the country is being governed by viceregal ordinances, it would have been surprising if none had been promulgated dealing with the press, and so the press ordinance was one of the first batch of these "lawless laws" to have been issued. We print in this number of the *Hindustan Review* a symposium on the subject, from a perusal of which our readers will be able to form their own conclusions about the severity and effect of that measure. They will, no doubt, note that the Anglo-Indian journals had supported if not applauded, it. This is not at all surprising, considering the old traditions of that section of the press in lending their support to anti-Indian and repressive measures of Government. With the solitary exception, however, of the *Bengalee*—alas! for the shades of Surendranath Banerjee!—the entire Indian-edited press had condemned the press ordinance. This is by no means difficult to understand. The old press Act of 1910—repealed in 1922—was bad enough in all conscience, but the new measure is indubitably more repressive than its predecessor. A glance at the ordinance will satisfy one that it is no mere revival of the repealed Press Act. The following new sub-clauses in the ordinance will bear out our contention:—“(d) to put any person in fear or to cause annoyance to him and thereby induce him to deliver to any person any property or valuable security or to do any act which he is not legally bound to do or to omit to do any act which he is

legally entitled to do or (e) to encourage or incite any person to interfere with the administration of the law or with the maintenance of law and order or to commit any offence or to refuse or defer payment of any land revenue, tax, rate, cess or other due or amount payable to Government, or to any local authority, or any rent of agricultural land or anything recoverable as arrears of or along with such rate or (f) to induce a public servant or a servant of local authority to do any act, or to forbear or delay to do any act, connected with the exercise of his public functions, or to resign office or (g) to promote feelings of enmity or hatred between different classes of His Majesty's subject.” Surely, human ingenuity, bent on suppressing the press in this country, could go no further.

II.

The repealed Act had been judicially condemned in scathing language so far as judicial propriety and decorum permitted—by eminent judges like Sir Lawrence Jenkins and Sir Abdur Rahim. In the famous case of the forfeiture of Mr. Mahomed Ali's pamphlet, which the Advocate-General, of the Calcutta High Court, had admitted was not seditious, and did not offend against any provision of the criminal law of the land, the very weighty observations of Sir Lawrence Jenkins deserve to be quoted in this connection. He said:—“But he (the Advocate-General) has contended, and rightly in my opinion, that the

provisions of the Press Act extend far beyond the criminal law; and he has argued that the burden of proof is cast on the applicant, so that however meritorious the pamphlet may be, still if the applicant cannot establish the negative the Act requires, his application must fail. And what is this negative? It is not enough for an applicant to show that the words of the pamphlet are not likely to bring into hatred or contempt any class or section of his Majesty's subjects in British India, or that they have not a tendency in fact to bring about that result. But he must go further, and show that it is impossible for them to have that tendency either directly, or indirectly, and whether by way of inference, suggestion, allusion, metaphor or implication. Nor is that all, for we find the Legislature has added to this the all-embracing phrase or 'otherwise'. It is difficult to see to what length the operation of this section (sec.4) might not be plausibly extended by an ingenious mind. They would certainly extend to writings that may even command approval." Similarly Sir Abdur Rahim, as Acting Chief Justice of the Madras High Court declared (in the *New India* security case) that the provisions of the Act of 1910 were "so sweeping, so comprehensive and dangerous as to make the profession of printing and newspaper enterprise a most hazardous and risky occupation". Sir Lawrence Jenkins, on this particular question also, declared that the terms of sec.4 "vest the local Government with a discretion so large and unfettered that the keeping of printing presses and the publication of newspapers is becoming an extremely hazardous undertaking in this country". Surely, after these emphatic judicial declarations

in condemnation of the Act of 1910—a milder measure than the latest press ordinance—it would be waste of time and energy to attempt any condemnation of the viceregal fiat. It were more useful, however, to judge of the likelihood of the success of the present measure, in the light of the past experience gained of the working of the repealed Press Act.

III.

After the Press Act had been in operation for seven years and had wrought incalculable havoc, an influential deputation of newspaper proprietors and editors—of which the present writer was also a member—waited on Lord Chelmsford, at Delhi, on the 5th March, 1917. A few passages from the address then presented may be profitably quoted here to elucidate the matter.

Said the deputation:—"We are here to urge upon your Excellency the injustice and inexpediency of retaining on the statute book a measure which is harsh and unjust, as we trust we have been able to show, and which has been condemned by judicial authority. And we do not believe that it is necessary, or that there is any justification, in any case, for going outside the stringent provisions of the criminal codes for the suppression of any form of seditious crime which may arise. To entrust executive authority with such wide powers, which can be exercised without the previous sanction of any judicial authority, is to place in its hands a weapon which is almost bound on occasions—we do not say dishonestly—to be abused. It would be impossible, indeed, to burden this address with all the evils, the harassments, the petty annoyances,

and the hardships of one kind and another which the existence of this remarkable piece of legislation has brought upon the journalistic and literary professions and printing trade. But the many instances that have come to our notice, and the complaints made to us from all parts of the country, assure us of the wide use that is being made of the powerful influence it can be brought to exercise in restraining not the writers of sedition, of incitement to murder and outrage and other forms of crime, but the legitimate freedom of public discussion and the healthy expansion of literary activities. Such we repeat was not, in any way, the intention of the framers of the Act and is utterly opposed to the assurances given on behalf of the Government, when it was under discussion in the Legislative Council. Even the bravest of them (Indian journals) pursue their way with the constant dread that the sword of Damocles may fall upon their necks at any moment, regardless of the staunch loyalty, irreproachable general policy, sincerity and *bona fides* of intention to which the Chief Justice of Madras referred as being useless to protect the journal, which accidentally slips into any sort of honest expression, which may be brought within the completely comprehensive purview of section 4". These extracts judiciously sum up the charges against the old Press Act.

IV.

Lord Chelmsford, being Lord Chelmsford, pooh-poohed in his reply the contention of the deputation and sent them back unceremoniously. But on the introduction of the Reforms, in 1921, the matter came up before the Assembly, and the Sapru Com-

mittee—as it was called in common parlance—was appointed to go into the whole question. This it did carefully and effectively, with the result that the Act was repealed, in 1922, in accordance with its recommendation to that effect. The many serious objections to the Press Act were elaborately summed up in their Report by the Press Law Committee (over which Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, then the Law member, presided), in the following clear and cogent terms:—
 "We find that while many local Governments advocate its retention in the interests of the administration, on the other hand the Act is regarded with bitter hostility by nearly all shades of Indian opinion. Most of the witnesses examined before us believe it to be indefensible in principle and unjust in its application. It has been said that the terms of section 4 of the Act are so comprehensive that legitimate criticism of Government might well be brought within its scope; that the Act is very uncertain in its operation; that it has been applied with varying degrees of rigour at different times and by different local Governments, and in particular that it has not been applied with equal severity to English-owned and Indian-owned papers. A general feeling was also apparent among the witnesses that the Act is irritating and humiliating to Indian journalism and that the resentment caused by the measure is the more bitter because of the great services rendered to Government by the press in the war. Many witnesses, indeed, are of opinion that the Act is fatal to the growth of a healthy spirit of responsibility in the press and that it deters persons of ability and independent character from joining the profession of journalism. Finally, it

is maintained that the Act places in the hands of the executive government arbitrary powers, not subject to adequate control by any independent tribunal, which may be used to suppress legitimate criticism of Government, and that such a law is entirely inconsistent with the spirit of the reforms scheme and the gradual evolution of responsible Government." We have quoted this long passage to show that all these objections to the old Act are applicable to the new ordinance in even a much larger measure. Having enumerated the objections to the principles and the working of the Press Act, the next question that the Sapru Committee examined was whether the Act had been sufficiently effective "in preventing the evil against which it was directed". The Committee came to the conclusion that "direct incitements to murder and violent crime" had become rare in the press, but they ascribed this more to the new orientation in politics than to the efficacy of the Press Act. The Committee should also have mentioned that for incitement to murders and violence, the Newspaper Incitement to Offences Act had been enacted in 1908 and, therefore, the primary object of the Press Act was to check a different sort of propaganda. But the Committee admitted that "so far as the law was directed to prevent the more insidious dissemination of sedition, of general misrepresentation of the action of Government, of exaggerations of comparatively minor incidents, of insinuations of injustice and of articles intended to exacerbate racial feeling, the act has been of little practical value, for we find that a section of the press is at present just as hostile to Government as ever it was, and that it preaches doctrines

calculated to bring the Government and also occasionally particular classes or sections of the community into hatred and contempt as freely now as before the Act was passed". An additional reason that the Committee gave for concluding that the Act had not been "wholly effective in serving the object which it was enacted to achieve", was that "the more direct and violent forms of sedition are now disseminated more from the platform and through the agency of itinerary propagandists than by the press, and no press law can be effective for the repression of such activities". It is thus clear that the Press Act had failed in its object, and had only succeeded in crushing the press, deepening discontent and driving it underground.

V.

That being so, the question is whether the present ordinance—in spite of its addition I rely—is likely to be at all effective? We believe not. On the contrary, it will be productive of much legitimate discontent, which will aggravate the situation. For our part, there was no justification for promulgating it, as the powers vested in the executive under the subsisting laws, governing the press, are more than ample for the preservation of law and order in the country. Experience of their working shows that the successful prosecution of an offending paper is no difficult matter for Government. It is much easier and simpler since the new section 124-A was substituted in the Penal Code, after Mr. Tilak's first trial for sedition, in 1898, (for the earlier and less unsatisfactory provision drawn up by Sir James Stephen) and see. 108 of the Criminal Procedure Code was added to reduce and simplify the formalities

of such trials. Sedition cases, under the law as it has been since 1898, need not be committed to courts of session, but may be disposed of by magistrates—unencumbered with jurors or assessors—who are withal not trained lawyers but executive officers, who as the heads of the police as well, are responsible for the peace of the district, or smaller areas in their charge, and are all subordinate to the Executive. Again, editors, printers and publishers may, under sec. 108 of the Criminal Procedure Code, be asked to furnish security for good behaviour, as if they were so many *goondas* or *badmashes*. Not only was all this provision made in 1898, but there was also another section (153-A) placed on the statute book at the same time, with the object of limiting the activities of the press. Then, in 1908, they passed the Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act—which we have referred to above. It would thus be seen that Government have equipped themselves more than adequately to deal effectively with the press, and they have not been at all handicapped since the repeal of the Press Act. Since they have thus had the criminal law—both substantive and adjective—at their disposal, of which they have made no sparing use; they have freely instituted prosecutions, with only too frequent success. The Government are, therefore, not likely to succeed in effecting any appreciable improvement in the situation by having taken power to act arbitrarily under the new ordinance. On the contrary, much bitterness and acerbity, which has been generated by its promulgation, could have been avoided, if it had not been issued. But the days of the great Gladstone are gone; and have been succeeded by those of Lloyd George and Rufus Isaacs. Speaking

in condemnation of Lord Lytton's Press Act, that great Liberal leader, observed in the House of Commons:—"The most unfortunate feature which the measure presents is the removal of press prosecutions from the judicial establishments of the country, in order that they may be dealt with as matters of executive discretion. I may say that anything more trivial, more impotent, than this peculiar proceeding, I cannot conceive". That is the proceeding which it has now been revived by the latest ordinance. At that time there was also one head of a provincial Government, in India, who took the same sane view. He was the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, Governor of Madras, who wrote that by a "fidgety attempt to bolster up power by a law of an arbitrary character, the Government of India were not gaining strength but were bringing upon themselves weakness." The Duke further elaborated his view as follows:—"If any serious spirit of disaffection or hostility is increasing among the people, indications will float to the surface among the vernacular papers as surely as the dross is thrown to the surface of molten metal. Systematic attempts to excite hostility or sedition, I would prosecute; but for this the present law provides in the Penal Code, and to my mind sufficiently, and should any such emergency arise there is the same power in the State to restrain the man who writes treason as the man who speaks it". And so the Duke opposed the passing of the Lytton Act. But in these days of petty and petty-minded men, dressed in little brief authority, who cares for the words of wisdom of a Gladstone or a Duke of Buckingham, for verily judgement has fled to brutish beasts and men (in authority) act as if they

had lost their reason. What wonder then if the country is seething with discontent and surging with revolutionary upheavals—albiet, at present, generally of a non-violent character.

VI.

A resolution of the Congress Working Committee, passed at Allahabad, on the question of the continued publication or otherwise of Indian newspapers, in view of the promulgation of the press ordinance by the Governor-General, has created quite a piquant situation, which is truly Gilbertian. This body, which probably included in its ranks some amateur journalists, declared as their fiat just what the Governor-General desired to achieve by means of the ordinance issued by him—namely, a suppression (if possible) of the nationalist press of the country; for they decreed that no Indian paper of the nationalist hue was to appear till the press ordinance had been revoked or had expired! In pursuance of this decision, picketting of some of the leading nationalist papers in the county, in places as far apart as Calcutta and Lahore, had been undertaken by young Congress enthusiasts, which had naturally evoked considerable feelings on both sides. Anticipating some such wise decision on the part of the Congress Working Committee, Mr. A. Rangaswami Aiyanger—editor of one of the leading nationalist dailies (the *Hindu of Madras*)—condemned it, in the course of his inaugural address as the President of the Journalist's Conference, held at Bombay, to denounce the press ordinance and to discuss the situation brought about by its promulgation. From amongst his lengthy remarks on the subject, we may cull the following weighty observations. He said:—

“The question whether the cessation and non-performance of the national duty of publishing and propagating news and of mirroring public opinion, under whatever difficulties and all over the country, should remain undischarged for an indefinite period, to the great detriment of national interests, admits of but one answer. We should not allow ourselves to be over-powered or dominated, either by official or by unofficial pressure. Except in the case of newspapers which are avowed propagandists of particular causes or party organisations, the duty of newspapers, especially at this juncture in India, is not merely to resist the encroachment of official authority on their liberties, but also not to surrender their freedom of judgment and their right of fair and just criticism in the interest of the public, of all public causes, measures and actions, including even those which it is their editorial policy to support”. Nothing can be truer than this pronouncement of one who by reason of his distinguished career as a publicist, and also his profound knowledge of the stern realities of journalism in this country, was pre-eminently qualified to direct the work of the Journalist's Conference on sound and wholesome lines, and we are glad to find that the said gathering adopted a resolution on this subject in accordance with the suggestion of its President. It is a pity, however, that in spite of the clear lead given by that veteran and experienced journalist, and followed by the Journalists' Conference, the Congress Working Committee perpetrated the resolution it did, without caring to know the views of those whom the ordinance affected most. The result of such an attitude has naturally been

that its resolution had been openly jeered at and flouted, by not only many of the nationalist papers, but by even some of the propagandist Congress organs like Mr. Gandhi's *Young India* and *Nava Jivan*, and also by the *Swarajya* of Madras and the *Bombay Chronicle*—two of the leading dailies which generally follow the mandate of the Congress and its executive. As regards the other organs of nationalist opinion, many of them of position and distinction—as, for instance the *Amrit Bazar Patrika*, the *Basumati* and the *Modern Review* (of Calcutta), and the *Tribune* and the *Hindu Herald* (of Lahore)—had unequivocally condemned the resolution and traduced its authors, in terms scathing and severe. More than that they had all continued to appear in defiance of the resolution. We think all these journals have acted in the best interests of the country and their courage in defying the resolution, and the consequential picketting, deserves warm acknowledgment and appreciation; and while credit is due to all of them, the one which (in our opinion) deserves it most is the *Patrika*, which had strenuously led the opposition to the tyrannical mandate of the Congress executive. As the above facts speak for themselves, to comment upon them would be an act of supererogation. So far, to the best of our knowledge, only one Indo-English journal, (*The People*, a weekly, issued from Lahore) had circularized that it would cease to appear as the result of the Congress mandate. The other Congress organs, that are in a state of suspended animation, are in that condition as the result of demand for securities, which they have been called upon to furnish by the various local Governments concerned. It would

thus appear that the resolution of the Congress Working Committee, which had not been unjustly condemned, in scathing terms by some of the leading Indo-English dailies in the country, had fallen, after all, like a damp squib, and failed to command the assent of the newspaper world. It is not surprising, therefore, to learn that at a subsequent meeting the Congress Committee, in the light of the experience they had gained of the impracticability of their resolution, ate humble pie and practically abrogated their ill-considered decision, which the *Hindu Herald* had justly characterised as a "senseless and suicidal mandate", and which has been severely condemned by the leading organs of public opinion, we have mentioned above—condemned not only in words, but also in action by their continuing to appear in spite of the fiat, to the contrary, of the Congress Working Committee. We hope it will be a lesson to the Congress Executive.

VII.

While the greater part of the Indian press is in a state of suspended animation, if not suppression, by reason of the operation of the press ordinance, an Imperial Press Conference has been held in London, the fourth of its kind, at which India is also believed to have been represented. The first Imperial Press Conference was held in London, in 1909, and India was represented at it, amongst others, by that veteran publicist, the late Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee, the editor of the *Bengalee*, then an influential Calcutta daily. The second and third sessions were held in Canada and Australia, at which India was probably unrepresented, owing to

the very great distance. Now that the Conference was to be held in London again, this year, expectation ran high that India would be represented at it by more than one prominent Indian journalist. But this was dashed to the ground by the announcement, made some weeks back, of the names of the persons constituting the "Indian" representation, comprising of one lady and seven gentlemen, only one of whom (a gentleman) is by birth and nationality an Indian, and he—God bless him—is neither the proprietor, nor the editor of even an *annual*, to say nothing of his being not connected with any publication, issued at shorter intervals than one year! Let us now record the names of "our" representatives. First there is that well-known woman journalist, Mrs. G. H. Bell, who is to represent Government's subsidised newspaper in the vernacular, called the *Fauji Akhbar*. One would have thought that this paper would not have been included among ordinary journals, as it is nothing more or less than a pure propagandist sheet. But it has been decided otherwise, by those responsible for inviting "India's", deputies! Then Mr. T. Sellar Bowman represents the *Englishman* (now reduced from a daily to a weekly!), Mr. Nicholson, the *Madras Mail*, Sir Stanley Reed, the *Times of India*, Mr. S. Williams, the *Rangoon Times*, Mr. W. C. Wordsworth, the *Statesmen*, and one Anglo-Indian journalist carrying the triple burden of the *Pioneer*, the *Civil and Military Gazette* and the (now defunct) *Daily Chronicle*, while Mr. K. C. Roy represents the Associated Press. And thus there is not a single journalist who is even remotely connected with any Indian journal! We should like to ask a few questions about this

impressive delegation. It has been said that the selection had been made by the editor of the *Statesman*. There has been, so far as we are aware, no committee and, therefore, no committee meeting. Mr. Watson, it has been asserted, wrote round to the editors of the various English-owned newspapers, and asked them if they would like to go, but we have been credibly informed that not a single editor of an Indian newspaper received Mr. Watson's august command. An attempt has probably been made to give an Indian touch to the gathering by introducing the *Fauji Akhbar*, but this delegation is about as representative of India as the *Fauji Akhbar* can be said to be of the Indian press. The delegation has been thus constituted, with all due respect to Mr. Roy, obviously on the strictest application of the principle of racial discrimination. We wonder if Major Astor, who gushingly welcomed the delegates on the opening day of the Conference, knows these facts and we wonder what the Secretary of State thought when he found Indian journalism represented solely by Mr. K. C. Roy. Perhaps Mr. Watson ruled all Indian newspapers out because of their political views, but he surely could not rule out papers which do not go beyond a demand for Dominion Status, for the object of the Conference was to bring together the proprietors, editors and directors of newspapers and periodicals published throughout the British Commonwealth of Nations to which India clearly belongs—to discuss the common interests of the Press as a public institution. If political considerations, relating to Indian nationalism, are to prevail in such matters as invitations to be issued to the Imperial Press Conference, what about

some of the Canadian papers invited, some of whom may be advocating secession from the British Empire? A host of technical matters were to be discussed, which are of just as much importance to an Indian newspaper as to the Anglo-Indian. One has, therefore, no hesitation in characterizing the selection of this delegation as a hole-and-corner affair, as totally unrepresentative of India, and as calculated, by its inherent deficiencies, to draw an unwelcome line of racial demarcation between the Anglo-Indian and the Indian press in this country. This important matter has been strenuously agitated by Mr. F. W. Wilson (in the *Indian Daily Mail* of Bombay, which he now edits) and the thanks of the Indian press are due to him for so earnestly ventilating this grievance. The Indian papers had not taken it up for obvious reasons, but we hope the attention of Mr. Wedgewood Benn would have been drawn to it, through the medium of Mr. Wilson's comments.

VIII.

Lastly, as to the births and deaths of Indian journals, it is difficult at present to make a correct estimate of the latter, as the happy result of the very beneficent activities of the press ordinance. The journals that have had to suspend their publication owing to securities having been demanded of them—of which the important ones are the four propagandist Congress organs (*Liberty* and *Advance* of Calcutta, the *Hindustan Times* of Delhi and the *Searchlight* of Patna)—are likely to reappear in due course and we cannot, therefore, class them in the category of journals that had ceased to exist. Of those that had been born in this period of trouble and turmoil, but one deserves

mention here—the *Chronicle*, an illustrated weekly issued from Lahore, which has replaced the *Daily Chronicle* of Delhi. This new hebdomadal merits a cordial welcome. It provides Upper India with all the latest news on the day on which no other important newspaper is issued, and constitutes for the English-reading public a high-class and profusely illustrated journal of week-end news service, pictures of events in India and abroad, the latest sporting news, and articles dealing with all matters of general interest. In short, the aim of the new venture is to provide a journal in which the letter-press and the illustrations are blended to advantage, and we commend the *Chronicle* as the best week-end journal in Upper India.

The only other journal which merits an appreciative mention here is the new quarterly called *Indian Affairs*, issued from London, and edited by Sir Albion Banerjee, well-known as an experienced Indian administrator, as the Dewan of more than one important Indian State. The first number, which only is so far available, is, on the whole, a creditable and meritorious production, as it contains several articles from the pen of writers fully qualified to handle current Indian problems. Its object is to focus the present-day movements in India independently of race, religion or creed and of existing political parties, and the presentation is to be dominantly Indian with "the intention of enlightening public opinion outside India and creating and sustaining an intelligent interest in her affairs". The venture has already secured the support of many prominent Indian publicists. It is thus designed to provide "a medium through which

current organized activities in the political, social, civic and economical sphere, and Indian culture generally, could be brought to notice, specially of England and also of America and the Continent, so that there might be a correct opinion in the countries concerned of the present-day life of

India and the real nature of the problems by which her people are confronted." This object is perfectly laudable and it is, to a large extent, achieved, in the first issue. We shall watch the career of *Indian Affairs* with a sympathetic interest, and we wish it the success it so richly merits.

MEN IN THE PUBLIC EYE.

Mr. V. J. PATEL—Mr. K. S. VENKATARAMANI.

IN the issue of the *Hindustan Review* for July last, in the course of the survey of the political progress of the country, during the thirty years of the existence of this periodical, we expressed our warm appreciation of the splendid work done by the President of the Assembly, Mr. Vithalbhai Jhaveribhai Patel. It is a great pity that he lately resigned his exalted office by reason of considerations, of which we cannot bring ourselves to approve. But it is only fair that we should present to our readers a record of his patriotic services, first, in his division of Gujarat, later, in his province, Bombay, and, later still, in the country at large. Having been called to the Bar—after practising for some years as a Vakil—he settled down in the profession in Gujarat. Early in life he entered public life and by dint of steady service rose to eminence in the country, so much so that perhaps no two persons are more honoured in Gujarat to-day than the brothers Patel, Vallabhbhai

and Vithalbhai. Vithalbhai was among the prominent members of the National Congress even in its pre-non-cooperation days. He was the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the special session of the Congress held in Bombay, in 1918, to consider the Reforms Report. About that time, also, he became an elected member of the Imperial Legislative Council to represent Bombay. Earlier he had been a member of the Bombay Legislative Council for six consecutive years, in which capacity he had rendered meritorious services to his constituency and province. In view of the services rendered by him to the Congress and as a token of his abilities, Mr. Patel was elected General Secretary of the National Congress for 1918, in which capacity he led the Congress delegation to the Joint Select Committee of Parliament on the Government of India Bill, on which the other two Congress representatives were Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao and the late Mr. Tilak. Subsequently, Mr. Patel became a member and afterwards

the President of the Bombay Corporation, in which capacity he was responsible for some striking reforms.

II.

Under the reformed constitution he was elected member of the Legislative Assembly and was one of the most active members of the Swaraj Party—a regular nightmare to the official group, so much so that when Sir Malcolm Hailey was promoted as Governor of the Punjab, he is said to have jocosely mentioned that the transfer pleased him, if for no other reason at least for this that he was going to a place where "Patels" would cease to worry. Of Mr. Vithalbhai's election to the Presidential chair, and his conduct as the occupant thereof, it is needless to say much here, since we published in September last an elaborate record on the subject. That he upheld the dignity and the privileges of the House against subtle and repeated attacks on them by the bureaucracy, is a fact which cannot be questioned by the bitterest of his enemies—the *Times of India*—which has felt compelled to say that "we freely acknowledge the services rendered to non-official members of the Assembly, by Mr. Patel's sturdy championship of that body's rights and privileges." That he was also a worthy vigilant custodian of the rights of the Chair, goes without saying. In vindicating these rights, he had to come into conflict not only with the meddlesome "underlings" of the bureaucracy, but with some of the highest officials. The members of the Anglo-Indian press (such as the Simla correspondents of the *Times*, the *Times of India* and the *Statesman*, have had likewise to submit to his stern measures of discipline in the

Assembly. In every big controversy in which he was involved, he won in the long run. He fought against Sir Lancelot Graham, the Legislative Secretary and his supporters, regarding the Chair's right of control over the Assembly office and to have the latter separated from the Legislative department and carried the day, with the happiest results. His ruling on the Reserve Bank Bill wrecked it, and upset the calculations of the Finance Member, Sir Basil Blackett, to a degree. He thereby vindicated the rights of the House and defeated an audacious attempt on the part of the bureaucracy to abuse its rules of procedure. President Patel saved the reputation of the Assembly in another crisis by refusing to allow the Public Safety Bill to be hurried through the Assembly. It may be recalled that the latest instance in which he safeguarded the rights of the House was in regard to the Assembly watch and ward control, in which also he prevailed and carried his point. In fact, judged by any reasonable standard, it may safely be asserted without any fear of contradiction, that Mr. Patel had made a most successful President—capable, strict but tactful, jealous of the rights and privileges of the Assembly and of the dignity of the Chair, and above all thoroughly impartial and independent.

2.

In the midst of the political storm and stress the country is passing through, it is not surprising that a great function recently held, at Madras, has not attracted the attention it deserved. It is not usual with lawyers to go out their way to recognise the merit of one of their

Mr. K. S.

Vanka'aramani.

fraternity, in some other sphere of activity. The Madras Advocates' Association must, therefore, be reckoned among the honourable exceptions in view of its presenting a silver plate (with the figure of Saraswati, the goddess of learning, embossed in gold in the centre) to Mr. K. S. Venkataramani, in recognition of his literary achievements. The setting of the function was in the proper style. The acting Chief Justice presided and, among others, the Advocate-General spoke of the occasion in praise of Mr. Venkataramani's literary work. The reputed author of *Paper Boats* and *Murugan the Tiller*, readily needs no heralding at this stage of his literary career to our readers, as his various works had been noticed in terms of appreciation in the *Hindustan Review*, from time to time, and are familiar to them. He is easily claimed by some of the best writers and thinkers in Britain as one of the finest specimens of Indo-British culture and one of the ablest interpreters of the East to the West. Mr. Venkataramani has a retiring disposition. He never courts publicity: he even dreads it. That such a person should have been prevailed upon to accept a token in appreciation of his literary work, is a sure indication of the growth of good traditions in our country. Spurred by such public recognition, Mr. Venkataramani may be safely expected to enrich Indo-

Anglian literature with even greater productions in years to come. He has yet before him a long career of usefulness and literary activities. Born in 1891, Mr. Venkataramani is still in the prime of life. He took his degree, with honours, in the Madras University, in 1914, and joined the Bar, in 1918. As a Senator of the University (for 1923 to 1926) he placed good work to his credit. His literary career began with his contributions to the *Hindustan Review* in 1910; which may thus claim the credit of having "discovered" this brilliant, young, literary artist. He entered the ranks of authors with his *Paper Boats* in 1921, has been followed by *On the Sand Dune*, *Murugan the Tiller*, *The Next Rung*, *A day with Sambhu* and *Renasant India*. All these had been justly acclaimed by the British and the Indian press, as also by highly qualified critics in Britain and India, as works of exceptional literary merit. The talents Mr. Venkataramani has already displayed in the literary sphere, encourages us to hope that he will, in the fulness of time, enrich Indo-Anglian literature with productions which will materially contribute to the better understanding and appreciation of Indian civilization and genius by the western nations. In this great task—for which he is pre-eminently qualified—we wish him success. We shall watch his literary career with a sympathetic interest.

THE NECROLOGY OF THE QUARTER.

Raja Sir Harnam Singh—Mr. Rakhal Das Banerjee—Mr. Maheshwar Prasad—
Mr. E. K. Govindaswami—and Mr. Justice Chari.

THERE will be widespread regret at the death, at Simla, of Raja Sir Harnam Singh. He was within a few months of eighty, having been born on 15th November, 1857, and was a son of the Maharajah of Kapurthala, and an heir to the *gaddi*. Sir Harnam at the age of 24 took, what was in view of these circumstances, one of the most critical steps of his career, by marrying a Bengali lady of gentle birth who was a Christian—the daughter of a Christian missionary. Sir Harnam threw himself with zeal into the service of his country, partly under Kapurthala and partly under the Government of India. For eighteen years he managed the large Kapurthala Zamin-dari in the province of Oudh. He became Honorary Life Secretary to the British Indian Association of Lucknow. In 1893 he accepted membership of the Hemp and Drugs Commission appointed by the Government. He was a fellow of the Punjab University. He sat from 1900 to 1902 in the Punjab Legislative Council. He was later in the Imperial Legislative Council, and the Council of State from its inauguration onwards knew him as a member. He was for many years a member of the Central Committee of the Lady Dufferin Fund. Sir Harnam Singh had the courage of his convictions; and in spite of his family associations and aristocratic bringing up, he was singularly free from the vices and foibles which un-

fortunately go with such heredity and such education. He was essentially a man of democratic ideas. The late Raja took a prominent part in the social and economic regeneration of the Indian Christian Community, and was one of its greatest benefactors. For many years he was an active member of the *Tribune* Trust and also of the Dayal Singh College Trust. His house at Simla was the rendezvous of all Indian residents in and visitors to the summer capital. His public spirit expressed itself not only in an active life, but in the training with which he provided his family. He and Lady Harnam were blessed with six sons and one daughter. All are still living, except one, a gallant officer in the Indian Medical Service, who gave his life in the Great war. Of the five surviving sons one Kunwar Dalip Singh is a Judge of the Lahore High Court; another, Kunwar Maharaj Singh is Commissioner of Allahabad; another is in the Indian Civil Service in the Punjab, a fourth, a member of the Provincial Civil Service in the United Provinces is Manager of Balrampur State, and another is in the Indian Medical Service. His daughter—Bibi Amrit Kunwar—is a highly accomplished lady. Though a devout Christian, Sir Harnam was by no means Anglicised. He never adopted European costume, custom and manners, though he had visited Europe more than once. He lived a simple and patriotic life and has left a rich legacy

to the Indian Christian community of which he was so distinguished a member. His death is a great loss to India, as a whole.

II.

Mr. Rakhal Das Banerjee, the eminent archaeologist and historian, has died at the rather comparatively young age of 46, and his death has entailed a serious loss to the cultural progress of India. Mr. Banerji began life, while a youth, as a clerk at the Calcutta Museum. While he had given little promise of his future genius during his college career, he had shown much of it in the Museum office. After six years' service, he rose to the position of Assistant Superintendent of the Archaeological section of the Museum. It was Lord Curzon who 'discovered' his genius. By this time he had passed the M. A. examination in History at the age of 25. He then went to Poona as the Superintendent Archaeological Department of the western Circle, where he showed exceptional abilities and great archaeological acumen, which established his reputation in the archaeological world. His excavation work is well known. The first of the excavations with which his name is connected is at Shanwara Wada Fort at Poona. But the most famous of his discoveries was at Mohenjo-daro, in Sindh, in the year 1923. There was a controversy about the authorship of that discovery, but it was settled soon in favour of Mr. Banerjee. Sir Arthur Kith claimed its credit for Sir John Marshall, the then Director-General of Archaeology. But Sir John, in his very first article on the subject, gave the credit to Mr. Banerjee for his splendid work. In 1924—25

he made the historic Paharpur excavations, which have opened a new chapter in Bengal's past history. Since 1928, Mr. Banerjee had been serving as Nandy Professor of History at the University of Benares. Besides his purely literary work including many novels, he wrote some valuable books, in Bengalee. But his chief claim to distinction and remembrance lies in his work as an archaeologist, especially as the explorer of the great mounds at Mohenjodaro, the discoveries made by the excavation of which have opened up a new vista not only in the history of India, but in that of the world. This was truly a great achievement and will redound to the credit of Indian scholarship and spirit of research, and the name of the discoverer and explorer will be justly cherished in esteem and regard by future generations as that of a great Indian scholar, historian and archaeologist.

III.

Mr. Maheshwar Parsad, Registrar of the Patna University, died at Chhapra, his native town, in Bihar. The province has lost in him, a well-informed journalist and an able administrator, whose literary attainment was equalled only by his vast organizing capacity. To the Patna University he gave the best that was in him, and he almost literally killed himself in giving to the minutest details of its affairs his closest personal attention. This has, however, raised public confidence in the University very high, ever since he was placed at its helm. He had an encyclopaedic knowledge of University affairs and he always surprised the Fellows and Syndics with facts and figures that were

always at his finger's end. He did a distinct service to the province by developing the infant University into full and healthy adolescence. But we cannot forget his services in other important directions. After taking his degree, he was appointed a lecturer in the Kayastha Pathshala, and later in the Muir Central College, a Government post promising reasonable comfort and prospects ; which he, however, gave up in 1912 to take up the rather onerous and risky office of the editor of the (now defunct) *Beharee*, an Indo-English daily started at Patna, in that year, when Bihar and Orissa were constituted a separate province. He carried on as the editor of the paper, a systematic campaign against the planter Raj in north Behar, and this brought him into a serious conflict with the then head of the provincial Government, Sir Charles Bayley, who, it is an open secret, got an Anglo-Indian nominee of his into the editorial chair of the *Beharee*, which Mr. Maheshwar Prasad had to vacate. But the agitation bore rich fruit and brought Mr. Gandhi to the field of action, with the result that the Government of Sir Edward Gait—the successor of Sir Charles Bayley—appointed what was known as Champaran Agrarian Committee, with Mr. Gandhi as the central figure in it, and as the outcome of the labours of which the Behar Government itself carried on large reforms by means of legislation. But Mr. Maheshwar Prasad was side-tracked to waste his rich talent as a circle officer of the Banaili Raja—which large estate was practically the sole owner of the *Beharee*. Still the lure of journalism was as strong in him as ever before, and when the *Searchlight* was founded at Patna, in 1918,

he was once more for some time the editor of that paper, prior to his appointment as the Assistant Registrar of the Patna University, where his high abilities raised him to the office of Registrar, in due course. Truly, the Patna University has lost in him a devoted officer who has left the permanent impress of his personality on every branch of its administration. In noticing his death, our esteemed contemporary, the *Leader* writes as follows:—"Mr. Maheshwar Prasad was well known at Allahabad, where for years he was a professor. He was also closely associated with Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha in the conduct of the *Kayastha Samachar* and the *Hindustan Review* and the management of the *Indian People*. Mr. Maheshwar Prasad was an amiable man in private life, and one endowed with more than ordinary ability. He was 55 years old." The reference to the association of the deceased with the *Hindustan Review* enables us now to mention—what he did not permit us to do before—the great services rendered by him to this periodical, to the successful conducting of which he contributed, to an appreciable extent, during the many years he stayed at Allahabad, before he removed to Patna.

IV.

One of the most pathetic incidents in connection with the present political agitation in Madras, is the death by a gun-shot wound of Mr. E. K. Govindaswami, a Vakil of the High Court. The police fired at a crowd which had become dangerous (according to the police account). Mr. Govindaswami descended from a bus not knowing that the police had begun firing. A bullet struck him in

the abdomen. As a member of the St. John's Ambulance Corps, of which he was the Secretary, he knew the seriousness of his wound, for he was bleeding profusely. He walked a little distance, and then got into a rickshaw, and went to his father-in-law's house. From there he was taken to the General Hospital; knowing seriousness of his case, he instructed his relatives to telephone to the principal surgeons. An operation was immediately performed, and the bullet was extracted but, unfortunately, pneumonia set in rapidly, and he passed away. The poignancy of the tragedy lies in the fact that Mr. Govindaswami was only thirty-five years old, and was already well-known in Madras in connection with several branches of social service work. He had received a certificate of honor for ambulance work; he was Assistant District Scout Commissioner and Secretary of the District Council; he was also Secretary of the Madras School Athletic Association. Whenever there was social service to be rendered, Mr. Govindaswami was a ready and willing helper. The full pathos of his passing could not be better put than in his own words when he knew he had no chance to live. Speaking to his brother, he said, that he was harmless and innocent. He also added that he had done signal service to the Government and now he had to die a most cruel death at a premature age. Such is the tragedy of human life. As public meetings are prohibited in Madras, a public meeting of the Advocates, though convened, was cancelled; however, a private meeting of them, permitted by the Chief Justice, took place in the High Court building, but hundreds would have gladly attended a public meeting, had such

been permitted, in honour of the memory of so selfless a public worker.

V.

Mr. Justice P. N. Chari of the Burma High Court, was the brother of the late Sir P. Rajagopala Chari. He received his higher education at the Madras Christian College and, soon after graduating as a Bachelor of Arts, proceeded to Europe, where he spent nearly four years studying in England, France, Germany and Italy. From Europe, he went to the United States and joined the great Indian Sanyasin, the late swami Vivekananda, who was at the time on a visit to the United States, having been sent by the Indian public to preach the gospel of Hinduism, in which he was achieving signal success. Mr. P. N. Chari attended with Swami Vivekananda a great Parliament of Religions, held at Chicago, in 1893, and sent to the Indian press, from time to time, accounts of the Swami's magnificent speeches at that gathering, championing the cause of Hinduism, which had evoked great interest all over the world. In 1897, he returned to India and qualified as an Advocate. He practised in Madras for a time as a lawyer, and then transferred himself to Rangoon. From the very outset he had a prosperous career at the Rangoon Bar, and about five years ago he was raised to the Bench, being the first Indian to be a Judge of the High Court of Burma. Learned in law, versatile to a degree, Mr. Justice Chari was a most lovable man, and he had large circle of friends in India and Burma. His premature death will be widely deplored, in the Indian Empire, not only in legal circles, but wherever learning and culture are appreciated.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S PRESS ORDINANCE : A SYMPOSIUM.

THE promulgation of the Press Ordinance by the Governor-General has evoked a chorus of protests from the entire Indian Press with the exception of the *Bengalee* (Calcutta) and the *Indian Daily Mail* (Bombay)—the latter edited by Mr. F. W. Wilson, formerly of the *Pioneer*. It is pointed out that the Ordinance is not merely uncalled-for, "but its provisions are far more Draconian and comprehensive in their character than those of the old Press Act of 1910 and constitute a halter round the neck of the press." (*Liberty* of Calcutta). The same paper views it as "a natural corollary to the reign of terror that has been established in India at present," and declares that "it only shows that Lord Irwin has come to the end of his statesmanship." The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Calcutta) is certain that in seeking to penalize the press for the national distemper, the Viceroy "has adopted a measure which is entirely wrong". It remarks: "Where disloyalty exists, loyalty will not be generated. The press is rather a safety valve." "The whole nation," it says, "is seditious", and if it "is physically impossible to put the whole nation in gaol, why should the poor nationalist press be made to pay the penalty for the crime of the whole nation?" The *Mahratta* (Poona) writes of the "omnivorous" nature of the Ordinance under which there can be no criticism of the Government, which cannot be held objectionable. The "Press Act of 1910

was not effective for the purpose which it was intended to serve, and it is certain that the Government will not accomplish more by the resurrection of the ghost of that Act, though now endowed with additional powers of mischief." The *Searchlight* (Patna) admires the "thoroughness with which every conceivable item in the programme of direct action has been brought under the purview of a criminal offence," and has no doubt that the attempt of the Government is "nothing more and nothing less than to suppress ruthlessly all propaganda for freedom, except perhaps appeals for reforms put forward with bated breath and in whispering humbleness." So much to indicate the opinion of the advanced section of the nationalist press.

Not less severe are the non-Congress or the moderate papers in their criticism of the Ordinance. Its promulgation only means in the view of the *Indian Social Reformer* (Bombay) that the bureaucracy has succeeded in wearing down Lord Irwin's resistance to repressive measures. It critically examines the Viceroy's arguments in his statement about the Ordinance, and takes him to task for bringing in the Chittagong outrage, which was clearly an attempt to discredit the non-violent movement, as an excuse for promulgating the Ordinance. It considers Lord Irwin's action as derogatory to the press, and concludes that the promulgation of the Ordinance is "purely

an act of authority without any justification in the circumstances of the times." The *Hitavada* (Nagpur) fears that the Ordinance will be used as "an engine of oppression against newspapers which dare to expose administrative misdeeds," and enters an emphatic protest against it, remarking that "to revive the Draconian press law, which had played veritable havoc among the Indian press, is not calculated to promote loyalty and affection to the present system of Government." Referring to the appeal made by Lord Irwin to the sober elements, the paper points out that, if their co-operation is wanted, their advice and warnings should be heeded. The *Sindh Observer* (Karachi) sees in the promulgation of the Ordinance the "Viceroy's contempt for constitutional procedure," because he "refused to call an emergent meeting of the Central Legislature to pass the repressive laws desired by his Government."

II.

"We are evidently approaching the time when the country will be ruled largely, if not principally, by Regulations and Ordinances, and not by laws, even such laws as we have in India to-day," is the view of the *Tribune* (Lahore). It points out that if any action on the part of the Government could antagonize the newspaper press of the country, that action is the Ordinance. Referring to the action already taken in Delhi, soon after the promulgation of the Ordinance, it gives the grave warning: "It is bad enough to have issued the Ordinance; it would be immeasurably worse to use it in a manner so as to make it impossible for an independent and self-respecting press to exist. The

only proper use which the local Governments can make of this Act is to take it as a dead letter." Lord Irwin, it believes, could not have perpetrated a worse blunder than by making himself a party to this obnoxious measure. "A grave blunder," is the characterization by the *Leader* (Allahabad) of the revival of the Press Act by the Viceroy by means of an ordinance. It points out further that when the Bill to repeal the Press Act of 1910 was introduced in 1921, the subversive non-co-operation movement was in full swing. It continues: "The considered view is that the situation could have been met without the revival of the Press Act, which is likely to prove worse than futile." The *Indian Daily Mail* (Bombay) which first supported the action of the Government in issuing the Ordinance as "the least that the Government could do to assert its legal authority and existence," is alarmed to notice that the "Ordinance in action frequently shows a departure from its original intention." It deplores the unnecessary haste displayed by the authorities at Delhi in asking for securities on the morrow of the promulgation of the Ordinance, and observes; "After all, the Ordinance is an extraordinary measure, dictated by the necessities of an abnormal situation. It cannot be made the means of unnecessary and ill-advised repression."

III.

The Anglo-Indian press is frankly enthusiastic on the promulgation of the Ordinance. "There is more than sufficient justification for the action taken by the Viceroy," is the view of the *Statesman*, which considers that "the revived law is not harsh and that no responsible journal will be incon-

venieniced by its operation. Abuse of privilege to an unheard-of degree is responsible for this measure." The *Pioneer* (Allahabad) is certain that no reasonable man can demur to the Ordinance, and remarks that "the trouble for the authorities, as well as for the press, can most successfully be saved by newspapers keeping clear of illegal propaganda and seditious writings. The *Times of India* (Bombay) feels that it "cannot welcome with any great enthusiasm" the revival of the

Press Act, though there can be "no two opinions about the necessity for the step." It realizes that the scope of the measure is very wide, but "in a time of emergency there can be no cavilling at its terms; it is frankly an emergency measure." It does not find in the measure any affront to independent journalism, because it "seeks to stop only incitements to revolution and praise of lawlessness." These extracts are typical of the comments of the Anglo-Indian press.

ELEGY ON AN INDIAN CHILD.

By Mr. W. H. B. MORENO.

Through the city's crowded streets I wended on my way,
Casting eyes on all around, though listless was my tread,
When a sight soon fixed my gaze—I looked upon the dead :
With eyes downcast a father held a piece of mouldering clay.

Nought said he in his poignant grief, with stiffened lip and stride
He held within a spotless sheet, knotted above, below,
The remanants of his tender son,—no tear his eye did show,
But with a look of ghastly woe, hied to the river's side.

There to place upon the pyre, the son he full did prize,
The little one who cheered his home, his joy, his hope, his pride.
What of immortal part remained where would it now abide ?
A moment here, a moment there, and then—who can surmise ?

Is this the end which all come, by brief or lengthening day ?
These be the glories man obtains, at last in earth to rest ?
How fleet the pomp that mortals boast ! The noblest and the best
Alike with meanest wretches meet, the mud with miry clay.

The soul from circling glories comes, from that eternal shore,
Here but to move for one brief hour, then back to realms unknown,
As bird chirps upon the bough, then straight away is flown,—
We wonder whence it comes and goes unseen for ever more.

The gew-gaws man awhile may daze, with wealth and honours rife,
The sceptre like the crook shall break, as every tinsel must,
Alike we reach the gaping grave, unto the trampled dust,
When the brief span of toil is o'er and ended is the strife.

What is immortal cannot cease ; from off the shining main,
Through many cyclic changes wheeled, it passes on before.
Doing what is ordained to do, nor less nor even more,
Whirling unto the gates of death, a joy restored to gain.

Place on the pan the greatest gifts world can still afford,
In Power or pelf, the mighty things which mortals do attain,
Higher than all the earthly goods, ampler than worldly gain,
Worthier than all that men achieve by pen or by the sword ;

Greater than all the suns above,—a dazzling maze on high,—
Redoubled with the worlds unseen, makes not a living soul,
No scale can measure full the worth, no rood can gauge the whole,
Beyond all earthly covet, what rich treasures cannot buy.

Yet feeble as this child we came, when first it oped its eyes,
To grow while Hope the scene displays, now great, now greater still,
Till ruthless struck, we sink in sleep, when Death proclaims his will,
Snapping the cord that life has spun, the soul with ardour flies.

Good for good's sake in all our lives,—no higher, choice reward,
Seeking not gain nor hope beyond, by good unceasing done,
Not for the laureled brow to strive, nor for the victory won,
As unto us we do expect, so others do toward.

This is the golden key to find, for all the suffering earth,
That opens to the path beyond, immeasurably high,
Leading unto eternal realms above the earth and sky,
Where lies the abode of endless bliss,—the single way of worth.

"'Tis but a child that goes before"—we judge as fellow men,
"What is the good on earth achieved, what gloried, honoured name?"—
We cannot judge, we cannot tell, for we are but the same,
Another marks the golden deed's done every now and then.

Remembered by what we have done, dull sorrow's load to bear,
Lifting the burdens the others bore, upon our shoulders wide,
Helping upon life's dusty road those limping in their stride,
These shall a guerdon to us bring, a boon both high and rare.

Somehow, somewhere, we know not when, or how, or even why,
We pass beyond life's portals, through our many earthly needs,
But in life's garden we have sown our weeds or precious seeds,
The Reaper knows what last will sprout, the thorns or blades of rye.

Thus musing on my wandering way, my soul found ready cheer,
For the sad scene had left a scent of memory sweet to me,
A message clear did clasp my heart, it set my spirit free,
My soul its bondage clove in twain, freed from all doubt and fear.

MAHATMA GANDHI :
LOVE'S UNSHEATHED SWORD,
By MARY SIEGRIST.

Who is it walks across the world today ?
A Christ or Buddha on the common way—
This man of peace through whom all India draws
Breathlessly near to the eternal will ?
Hush, what if on our earth is born again—
A leader who shall conquer by the sign
Of one who went strange ways in Nazareth ?
Who is it sits within his prison cell
The while his spirit goes astride the world ?
This age fulfilling one through whom speak out
The Vedas and Upanishadas—who went
Naked and hungry forth to find the places
Where human woe is deepest and to feel
The bitterest grief of India's tragic land.
Whose is this peace that challenges a world.
That calls divine resistance to a will
No man upholds ? Whose is this voice
Through whom the Orient comes articulate ?
Whose love is this that is an unsheathed sword
To pierce the body of hypocrisy ?
Whose silence this that calls across the world ?
In the strange leader are all races met ;
In his heart East and West are one immortally,
Through him love sounds his clarion endlessly
To millions prostrate who have lain age-long
Beneath the oppressor's heel—unwearied saint
Who gives them back the ancient memory
Of a great dawn, a lost inheritance
In his prison there in India
Somehow abreast with sun and sky he waits,
What if a Christ is crucified
By some reluctant Pilate— if again
The blind enact their old Gothsemane ?
Tread softly world, perhaps a Christ leads on
Today in India.

MAHARAJA CANOPI:

LOVE, FROM THE CANOPI

AND THE CANOPI

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The Hindustan Review deserves attention from British readers as showing the trend of thought—philosophical, literary and political—among the educated classes of India.—“*Truth*” London.

The Hindustan Review is of especial value as lifting the brain cap of India and letting us see the thoughts that are moving in her educated mind.—The late Mr. W. T. Stead in the “*Review of Reviews*,” London.

The Hindustan Review is representative of the higher intellectual life of India and enables us to learn the thoughts that are agitating her cultivated circles. Its articles are of especial value from a political and philosophical point of view and it occupies among Indian periodicals a position analogous to that of the “*Nineteenth Century*” or the “*Fortnightly Review*.”—“*United Empire*” (Monthly Organ of the Royal Empire Society, London.)

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THE ADVENT OF THE ‘COMING RENAISSANCE.’

By SRIYUT Dr. BHAGAVAN DAS, M. A. D. LITT.

I.

The Great New Movements of the Oversoul.

Great waves of thought, of emotion, of action, especially of thought, have been surging for the last fifty years, in the Oversoul of Humanity. The yare of a somewhat new kind, such as are scarcely to be met with in the past, as recorded in what is recognised as “history” by the modern mind. In Sanskrit they call that Oversoul by the name of Sutratma, literally the “Thread-soul.” Mass-mind, Mahat-Buddhi, Collective-Intelligence, Samashti-Buddhi, or even plain public-opinion, Loka-mata, are other recognised aspects and well-known names, Sanskrit and English, of that same Thing. It is that “*Esprit de corps*,” that “public Spirit,” which “threads” individuals together and makes it possible for them to

speak in terms of the unitive and inclusive “we” instead of the separatist and exclusive “I”. It is the principle of fellow-feeling, of sympathy; the principle which makes fellow-feeling and sympathy possible; for God is Love, in a very practical psychological sense. It has a curious knack of, and a unique faculty for, contracting into the narrowest familism and expanding into the widest humanitarianism “smaller than the smallest, greater than the greatest,” as the *Upanishats* say. It ranges from just above sheer pure egoism (if such a thing is possible, which it is not) to the most extensive altruism, passing through many kinds and degrees of clan, tribe, group, horde, sect, creed, class, caste, profession, sub-race, nation, race, sex, etc. In current symbols of ideas, Socialism stands

for the we-feeling, Individualism for the I-feeling. There is radical and perpetual antagonism between the two. Yet, also, both are necessary, inevitable, always inseparable. Abolish one wholly; the other will also disappear at once, automatically. Sleep, *pralaya* will be the result, wherein alone there is absolute equality, homogeneity, indeed identity, absence of all difference. The two are as the connected and continuous halves of a see-saw. Lower one end, the other is raised. Cut away one, the other falls down too. The universe is made up of such "pairs of opposites" in every department, in all aspects.

Synthesis of Inseparable Opposites.

The problem before us is: Shall the individualistic-I-spirit be allowed to continue to prevail, in and by blind, frantic, wasteful competition, or shall a fair preponderance be given to the socialistic-we-spirit and co-operation reign throughout mankind as in a joint family? Which side of the ethico-spiritual human see-saw shall be kept higher and which lower?

Conscious Intellect and Individualism.

The newness of the psycho-physical waves, above referred to, consists in this that they are attacking this problem more and more consciously, purposefully, deliberately, as perhaps was never before done in history; and that they are tending to raise the socialistic end of the see-saw higher. As is said in "theosophical" literature, in the very long evolution of the Human Race, developing faculty after faculty, stage by stage it is the special work of the "fifth Sub-Race," *i. e.*, the European, broadly speaking, of the "fifth Race", *i. e.*, the Aryan, to develop self-conscious Intellect, the

egoistic individualistic "fifth principle." The "modern" mind is therefore putting into terms of wakeful deliberate intellect, what was formerly experienced by the race with lesser conscious clearness, in the shape of emotion-instinct-intuition, with the intelligence half awake and half asleep, so to say, *feeling* rather than *perceiving*. We find the process recapitulated today, more or less definitely, in each individual life, growing through childhood and adolescence into maturity. Thus it comes about that the modern mind is discussing economical, political, social and even psychological and religious problems (to say nothing of those of physical science) with a wealth of minute detail of facts and figures, statistics and arguments, and almost overwhelmingly vast collections of information about almost all the countries of the earth, as was never done, or, at any rate, as is not to be found, in any previous historical period. And, be it noted, the strengthening of "individuality", *i. e.*, of the psychical sense of separate personality (as distinguished from the earlier tribal "group"-feeling), and the intensification of "individualism", *i. e.*, of individualistic competition, of egoistic self-ish struggle, are the natural consequences and concomitants of this phase of human evolution, *viz.*, the development of self-conscious intellect; also that, after sufficient experience of this phase, the tendency is natural, too, to a reaction, and a reversion to the "group" feeling, on a higher level, with richer contents of conscious intelligence, in the shape of Socialism.

The Reign of Individualism.

Now, whatever may have happened in pre-historic, legendary, "ancient"

puranic times, such history as the modern mind believes in, seems—but the present writer's reading therein is very limited, it must be confessed—to present continuously the picture of the thought, feeling, and activity of the Individualistic spirit predominant.

In Religion, human beings have, so long, mostly preferred to believe in an extra-cosmical, personal, individual, almighty Creator, sitting in heaven and doing with his creatures what he wills; and in his vicegerent, sitting on the earth, the chief 'priest' 'wizard' 'magician', 'medicineman' 'wise man' of the tribe or nation or race, as the case may be, the super-Brahmana, Jagad-Guru, Lama, Pope, Khalifa, etc., the theocrat, in brief. In politics, the great conquerer and wholesale butcher, the emperor, the *Shahan-shah*, the *samrat* and *chakravarti* and *sarva-bhauma*, the super-Kshattriya, the autocrat (of whom the aristocrat and bureaucrat may be regarded as sub-varieties), has been given praise and glory and homage by mankind generally and historians specially. In Economics, the billionaire, the railway-king, the cotton-king, the wheat-king, the oil-king, and now the automobile-emperor, the super-vaishya, the plutocrat, has been the subject of well-nigh universal admiration and envy. Mention must not be omitted here, of the "party-boss", master of "tammany" and "graft" and "boodle" who is reported to create and demolish presidents of republics and prime ministers of constitutional monarchies, by strokes of his pen on the leaves of his cheque-book; who can bring about wars between nations or stop them, at will, by giving or withdrawing financial help, just as may suit the

business interests of Capital; who can reduce military valour and scientific knowledge (*Kshattriya* and *Brahmana*), both, to the condition of purchased slaves, to further the purposes of that Capital, and prostitute what should be the holy defenders and promoters of human happiness, for the ruin of millions of homes in all countries—and thereby firmly bind together "politics" and "economics", and newly justify the earlier appellation of the "new" science, *vis.*, "political economy." In war, until very recently, in East and West alike, the personal prowess of the commander of the army has been the main deciding factor, and a stray shaft or shot striking him down, has often sufficed to convert a victory into defeat. If an arrow had not found the eye of Harold at Senlac, the Norman would not have trampled down the Saxon in England. Eastern and western history is full of such great *if's*.

The side of the Good also, in human affairs, is similarly represented by great individual reformers of religion, like Vyasa and Buddha, Zoroaster and Moses, Christ and Muhammad, or beneficent monarchs like Ashoka the Priya-darshi (the "loving-eyed"), Marcus Aurelius the Stoic-Saint, and Nausherwan the Just, or great merchant-benefactors of their peoples, the builders of great temples and "pious works" and endowers of long-lasting charities, Tirumala Raya and Trilochana and Bimal Sah and Bhama Sah, Johns Hopkins and Leland Stanford and Carnegie and Rockefeller, etc.

In short, the individual "I" has been predominant. But only predominant; not all, not everything. The "We", the collection, the "together-bind-

ing," of individuals, has obviously never been altogether absent; otherwise the "I" would have disappeared too; but it has been greatly sub-dominant, sub-ordinante.

The Turn of Socialism.

The Thread-Soul, the Over-soul, seems latterly to have become somewhat surfeited with this experience. It seem to want a change, it has perhaps had enough taste of the pungent sweets and corrosive acids of excessive individualism, in the persons of the individuals who constitute the cells and tissues of its vast earth-wide and ecnian body. It perhaps now wishes to taste the milder sweets and salts, the more moderate and wholesome astringents and appetising bitters, of Socialism, in and through the masses of its constituent members.

On the wide expanse of the plains of thought, the plains of Philosophy, Science, Art, Religion, the idea of an Anima Mundi, a *Vishv-atma*, a *Ruh-i-kul*, a principle of Universal Consciousness, of a Common All-pervading life, of Unconscious Infinite and Eternal Ideation or Supra-conscious Will-and-Imagination, of an Oversoul of which all individual souls and bodies whatsoever are as the cells of single organism, and which Oversoul is, in its highest form, ultimately, none else than the eternally self-evident Self, *Atma*, in and of all living beings, the self-proven proof of all proofs; the idea of the Organic Unity and Continuity of Nature as the raiment of the one Supreme Spirit or Self; the idea of the consequent Brotherhood of Man; the idea of Physical Science and Art extending on all sides of their present limits into super-physical regions, explorable by means of subtler senses latent and evolvable in the human

being—these ideas are dawning more and more brightly on the horizon of those plains (—though the advertisements, in the Western papers, especially those of the land of the Almighty Dollar, show that this growing harvest of "spirituality" is also being turned into cash diligently!)

In Politics, monarchism is being replaced by republicanism, autocracy by democracy (—though democracy, in the far as well as the middle West, continues to be hood-winked and wire-pulled almost worse than ever before by the vested interests of plutocracy *cum* aristocracy *cum* theocracy, and, if released from this control, threatens to become "mobocracy"). National clawings and fangings are being attempted to be abated by an International League of Nations (—though that League does not include, does indeed deliberately exclude, in the spirit of the hypocrite and the bully combined, representatives of the bulk of mankind composed of the weaker exploitable and "mandate"-able peoples, and even European observers have written of "the rapacious spirit.....of the mandates"). It is much that the last vast surge of action, the Great War, has been interpreted as "a War to end War" (even though the snarlings and spittings continue as bad as ever almost). Thanks to the loss of flesh and blood, literal and metaphorical, there is at least wide-spread talk of a general disarmament, of shedding the fangs and claws (even though, instead of the remnants of these being shed, the broken ones are being, or, rather, have already been, repaired and renewed and the lost ones replaced, and, moreover, are being supplemented with stronger and fiercer beak and

talon of aeroplane and shark's teeth of submarine). Even generals who took "distinguished" part in the Great Butchery are lecturing to the public on the *futility* of tooth-and-claw methods. And peace-movements and youth-movements are growing in many countries.

Russia has initiated, though in a setting of much violence, a tremendous experiment in a new form of political government expressly subservient to Economic Socialism, Karl Marx's *Das Capital* being reported to be the Soviet's Bible. But it seems to be already modifying the governing ideas thereof, as regards abolition of private property, considerably, so far as even Russians themselves are concerned, besides granting very long leases to foreign concessionaires and capitalist-profiters, for developing the natural resources of the country, with entire exemption from the laws, as to limitation of property, which govern the Russians. And it is not at all possible yet to say how far the experiment will succeed. China is also engaged in a vast struggle with another experiment. Other countries, in the near West, Turkey, Afghanistan, Arabia, Egypt, are all heaving with new ideas of Government.

More important to Indians than all these, and of greater promise for the well-being of humanity, is the bringing into the field of politics, by Mahatma Gandhi, for the helping of the exploited weaker peoples, and amongst them too of the vast poorer masses especially, as their best weapon, of the method of passive resistance to, civil disobedience of, "non-violent non-co-operation" with, evil generally and all evil Government specially. This new application of the principle and

policy of the ancient *hartal* of India (expressive of public disapproval and dissent generally, on all sorts of occasions, but mostly with reference to unpopular administrative measures of the ruler of the day), and of the modern Western economic "general strike", to the sphere of politics, is a true inspiration given to Mahatma Gandhi by the Oversoul of Humanity for reducing the horrors of war, and will, bye and bye, let us fervently hope, justify the anciently recognised fact, *Ex Oriente Lux*, in Politics as in Religion and Philosophy. It is a noble endeavour to demonstrate *practically* and on an immense scale in politics, the philosophical and ethical truth that hatred can be conquered more successfully by (intelligently and passively resistant, and not merely submissive and acquiescent) love than hatred.

Such are the signs of the new activity of the Oversoul, in Politics.

In the domain of Economics also, the idea of co-operation is growing into greater and greater prominence and importance, co-operation between producers, between them and capitalists, between both and consumers; the idea that co-operation, "mutual alliance", is more necessary for the progress, the life, the very existence of the race than competition and struggle (as excellently expounded in Prince Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid*, almost the first scientific counter-blast to and corrective of the extreme elements in the Darwinian "mutual struggle").

That Socialism can run into as great extremes (wherein lies error, invariably) as Individualism, is indicated, in the department of War, by the completeness with which so many nations were organised (in the way of compulsive autocratic despotic state-

socialism) for the Great War, as they have never yet been organised for peace; and, in the department of Domesticity, by the practical promiscuity which is reported to be under experiment in Russia, on the avowed ground (as explained, *e. g.*, by Mme. Kollontoi, a Russian official) that "the communist society has no use for the old form of the family."... "the bourgeois monogamy"... which is "destructively individualistic in its influence", and clashes with "socialist ideals;" that, in short, the narrowing, selfish, clannish emotions of the family-life" should be expanded to communal dimensions.

Different Aspects of Individualism and Socialism.

We thus see that in all departments of human life, new ideas, new feelings, new enterprises, which are the reverse of those that have so far held sway, are slowly, with many backslidings, many a slip, 'twixt the cup and the lip, slowly forcing themselves into prominence in human affairs.

In terms of Psychology, the mass-mind rather than the single particular mind; of History, the people rather than the king and the hero; of Ethics, altruism rather than egoism; of Science, Unconscious or Supra-conscious Spiritualism rather than materialism; of Religion, Spiritual rationalism and Universal Brotherhood rather than unquestioning faith, blind *credo*, sectarianism and shibboleths; in Politics, internationalism or humanism rather than nationalism, and democracy rather than autocracy; in Economic society rather than the individual. All these pairs of opposites are inseparably allied aspects of the same ultimate, or rather, penultimate meta-

physical pair, the One Spirit and the Many Matter; and, therefore the sufficient prevailing of any member of any pair over its opposite will be sooner or later followed by the prevailing of all its corresponding members in all the pairs over their respective opposites.

The Most Important Aspect.

For our present purposes, the pair of socialism and Individualism is the most important. The advent of "The Coming Renaissance," hoped for by large numbers of human beings in all countries today, depends upon the achievement of successful domination, by a *just* and *rational* (and not extremist) Socialism (we will not say "spiritual" socialism lest some worthy readers be repelled) over the now unrestrained Individualism.

That all fundamental human problems have to be threshed out today primarily in the economic terms of Individualism and Socialism, is evidenced by the fact of the overgrowing literature upon the subject of the antagonism between these two; by the many varieties into which Socialism has become sub-divided, each advocated by an important and influential school of thinkers; by the frequency with which the terms meet the eye in ephemeral but influential journalism as well as somewhat more lasting but less wide-reaching books, even when other subjects are being directly dealt with; by the fact that all the newer text-books, professedly and expressly of "political science", make sure to give large and prominent place to a discussion of this pair; by such a violently striking fact as that above referred to, of the *political* revolution of Russia being based on the *economic* ideas of Socialism; and, more than

all else, by the simple, unmistakable, unquestionable fact that political institutions have no other just and rational aim than to subserve the *economic* needs of the people, in the larger sense of the word, from the Greek *oikos*, and the Sanskrit *okas*, meaning the house, the home. States originate, and are developed, governments exist, and are maintained by the people, in order that "homes" may be happy, though the securing and assuring (*yoga* and *kshema*) to the people, by the State and the Government, of all the requirements of the happy home; they have no other *raison d'être*.

The Close-knit Web of Human Life.

Now "homes" cannot be happy without an "equitable distribution," to all families, of the *physical* as well as the *psychical* means of happiness, *artha* in Sanskrit (or, in a broader view, the four *purusharthas*, aims or ends of human life); for "men do not live by bread alone"; they want *panem et circenses*; and the *circenses* take different forms for different temperaments. Such equitable distribution is not possible without a fairly complete, comprehensively thought out, balanced "social organisation", in Sanskrit, *samaja-vyavastha*; opportunist, haphazard, temporising patchwork might possibly palliate for a while, but will, like most quack remedies ultimate aggravate the disease when it is so serious as to have affected all the organs; nothing less than a complete overhauling, and constitutional treatment by alteratives will do. Social organisation means "division of labour", *karma-vibhaga*.

Successful and efficient division of labour is possible only when there

is a scientifically correct "classification of psycho-physical temperaments" (idiosyncracies, inclinations, dispositions, special abilities, vocational aptitudes, etc.) and the grouping of individuals into a few main "orders" corresponding with the main temperaments (the man of knowledge, the man of action, the man of acquisitive desires, all differentiating and specialising, by "spontaneous variation", out of the unskilled workman as the general plasm); *varna-vyavastha* or *chatur-varnya*. Such classification is possible only when the "educational system" is properly organised, and the aptitude ascertained, by appropriate methods, during the "school-and-college" days, of each individual pupil; the *Gurukula* system. The grouping of the people into vocational orders, and the division of the social labour between these orders, fulfil their purpose only when appropriate functions or vocations with appurtenant appropriate rights and duties, are assigned to persons of corresponding psycho-physical temperaments; *dharma-karma-vibhaga*. In order that the persons to whom the functions are assigned may discharge them adequately, means of subsistence must be assured to them; for this there must be a corresponding division of "means of livelihood", leading, as a consequence, to an equitable division of "the necessities of life", and securing a minimum-comfort living to all, *vritti-vibhaga* or *jivika-vibhaga*. Such division of the means of livelihood between the several orders or classes, the insistence that each order or class shall gain its living by pursuit of only such bread-winning or money-making avocations as are fixed for it, will regulate and restrain the play of the individualistic instinct, and

will prevent the blind and frantic competition wherein each and every individual is permitted by the *laissez faire* policy, to grab at all kinds of "livelihood", i.e., money-making methods, at one and the same time. "Necessaries of life", it may be noted here, ordinarily mean the objects of the "physical" appetites, food and clothing, spouse, dwelling-place, and subsidiaries. "Efficient and whole-hearted performance of appropriate function" by each individual is possible, further, only when a corresponding division is made of the "luxuries of life" also (the rewards and prizes of life) for, as said before, men do not live by bread alone, and they need other things for their *psychical* satisfaction, which things, incidentally, act as "individualistic" *incentives* to them to put forth the best that is in them, in their respective vocations. The "luxuries of life" *toshana-s*, *radhasa-s*, *aradhana-s*, are the objects of the "psychical" appetites or ambitions, *eshanas*. These are, mainly, *honor*, *power*, *wealth*, and *amusement*, corresponding to the four main temperaments. In order that all this may be done, all these divisions and partitions made and worked, it is necessary that there should be, firstly, wise, "legislation", providing for them, and, secondly, firm "execution," giving actual effect to the provisions of the law. Finally, in order that there may be such legislation and execution, the people, whose "homes" are to be made happy, must "select and elect" from among themselves, their *best* and *wisest*, their *most philanthropic* and *most capable*, the "*higher self*" of the community, in short, to be the legislators and directors of the executive. So is the "virtuous circle" completed; so are

all departments of human life, educational, political, economic, domestic, all "organs" of the social organism, closely and inseparably connected together, educative-legislative head executive-regulative arm, sustentative-distributive trunk, all-supporting-industrial legs—all vitalised by the heart, *viz.*, the "home."

Psychical Causes.

The genuinely "communistic" organisations of the communities of early Christian monks, dwelling in very large numbers in the monasteries of the Egyptian Thebaid, with every circumstance favourable for success, yet split on this rock, *viz.*, the lack of such impetus to work, the incentives, the spurs to activity, of the *toshana-s*, the objects of various, ambitions, above mentioned. As Gibbon says, in describing their attempts and their failure (in ch. XXVII of his great work on *The Roman Empire*): "The industry must be faint and languid which is not excited by the sense of *personal interest*." The practical experiments of Robert Owen and others, who have tried, in America, to establish socialist colonies, have split on the same rock. Many plans, regarding the abolition of all private property, of the Russian Bolshevik Soviet Government, are reported to have been upset by the same difficulty. Example of another kind of trouble, also psychical, is the case of experiments also tried in the West, especially the U.S.A., on the lines of a suggestion of J.S. Mill's, *viz.*, workmen's unions buying up and managing factories; the managing officers, who have had to be appointed unavoidably, have, before long, developed the bureaucratic and autocratic spirit. But why need we go to these distant examples?

Why not go to the very familiar and close at hand archetype itself of all socialism and communism, the joint family of India? There, if anywhere, should the socialist maxim work, and does work to whatever extent it does so at all, the maxim, viz., "From each according to his capacity and to each according to his needs." The maxim governs the joint family only so long as a common ancestor remains alive. He or she is the human embodiment of the maxim, and also of a benevolent and righteous "state-force" which *un-selfishly, lovingly, impartially, and therefore unresistedly*, compels all the members of the family to observe it in their conduct. As soon as that strong thread-breaks, the beads scatter apart; for selfishness, laziness, jealousies, in short evil motives, gain the upper hand, which formerly had been kept under by the good motives felt and spread and imposed by the common ancestor. The socialist maxim suffers, in the hands of most workers, whether with brain or with muscle, "a great change, into something very strange" yet very familiar, viz., "The least that I must do and the most that I can take," and, in the hands of the "mighty", undergoes the Roman variation: "From all the provinces according to their utmost capacity, and to Rome according to the needs of its wildest and most luxurious caprice and avarice" which is also the guiding maxim of the governments seated in the huge capital-towns of the advanced nations of the West, today, especially those "owning" "dependencies" (whose inhabitants cannot become emperors, as Roman provincials could)—the capital towns "which waste in each night's bouts the wealth of kings." The "central-

authority", the "managing director", the now somewhat conventional, as distinguished from the deceased natural, head of the family, not inspired by the same love of all the youngers, and not inspiring the same confidence and respect, consciously or unconsciously begins to absorb the bulk of the property, the earnings, the advantages. Or the junior members shirk but want to share and share alike. Or each mother tries to secure extra comforts for her children. Bickerings begin. The joint family breaks up into a number of separate families. The process is repeated generation after generation.

Socialist-politicians have this patent psychological fact before their eyes, obtrusively. Yet the many schemes and books put forth by the various schools of socialism do not touch it, much less grapple with it, in its *psychical aspect*, with perhaps a very rare exception here and there; e. g., the "conscientious objector" of the war-days, brilliant mathematician, sociologist, and philosopher, Mr. Bertrand Russell recognises (in his book, *Roads to Freedom*) that the causes of human troubles are *psychological*; and he seems to have caught up the old Indian idea of duly utilising, and regulating, honor, power, and wealth as incentives, but has touched the subject very cursorily. Some writers of systematic text-books on Political Science also recognise that "Socialists are inclined to be too optimistic in underrating the psychological obstacles to their plan." The brilliant Mr. G. B. Shaw, in his *Guide to Socialism* (pub. 1928), while exceedingly lucid in most of his chapters, is equally unsatisfactory and completely unconvincing in his

treatment of the "Incentives" to work and of "the will to equality" which he recognises to be the main desideratum, but for the creation of which, in any given nation or society, not to speak of mankind at large, he can suggest no means.

The difficulty is indeed a psychical one, and psychical remedies, working by internal stimulation, automatically and perpetually from within each individual concerned,—and all individuals are concerned—are needed, devices, more or less mechanical, operating from outside, by external compulsion alone, are bound to fail. Compulsion from outside must be supplemented and helped by impulsion from within. If reports be true, in Bolshevik Russia peasants began to avoid producing more than was "necessary of life" for themselves, more than they were allowed by the Soviet State to keep. Why should they produce more, for the State to tax away, for alleged purposes which did not come home to them at all, in their daily life? They saw no fun in doing so. They had not the necessary "patriotism." Even "patriotism" requires aliment. That nourishment is psychical—honor, power, wealth, amusement. Let it be noted here that, while the joys of honor and power are obviously psychical, wealth too does not mean mere collections of securities, notes, coins or other physical objects as such, but the *joy* of artistic possessions and of helping (or in the case of the evil-minded, hindering) others. Manu, the oldest law-giver of the oldest living civilisation of the earth (except perhaps the Chinese) and his compatriot philosophers, have left behind the needed guidance on this point.....as to how the natural psychical appetites, the *ashanas*, the ambi-

tions, of the different types of temperament, and their respective objects, *toshanas*, honor, etc., should be utilised as incentives to effort, as competitive, *individualistic*, motives to excel in *socialistic public spirit* and *public service*, for the organisation of the Society of the Human Race, and the due performance of the social labour. It is only when the sovereign-body, the central authority, the selected and elected (honorary, un-salaried) Legislature (and Director and Supervisor of the Executive) in a State, approximates, *ethically* as well as intellectually, in largeness of heart as well as ripeness of experienced wisdom, to the living patriarch of the joint family, that the longed-for reconciliation between Individualism and Socialism will be approximated to in that state. And this is not impossible, if high ethical and intellectual qualifications are prescribed for "electees" and if electors are systematically educated to choose wisely persons possessing those qualifications and so approximating to the Higher self of the "nation", or better, the "people", of the State. As a recent American writer (Ford, *Representative Government*, pub. 1925) says: "How to reconcile representative institutions' *i. e.*, self-government, "with good government has become the great problem of the day". This problem will be solved only when it is widely recognised that self-government means government by the *higher*, and not the lower, Self of the people, by representatives who are *ethically* as well as intellectually worthy, who are disinterested and philanthropic as well as possessed of mature experience, special knowledge, sound judgment. And such wide recognition is not impossible to achieve, if systematic teaching and

preaching is carried on through press and platform, by even a few convinced and resolute persons, to expound the fairly obvious fact that legislators must be good and wise if laws are to be good and wise, and to explain what are "the outward symbols of the inward grace", the marks whereby the worthiness of the persons to be elected may be recognised, and

the means by which they may be persuaded to shoulder the burden of the legislator's duty (instead of hustling and struggling and bribing and flattering and begging shamelessly to secure votes) Then (as Mr. G. B. Shaw also recognises, at last, near the end of his large book) will self-government be justified of its name, and Individualism and Socialism be reconciled, and the Renaissance come.

DOMINION STATUS FOR INDIA : NOW OR NEVER.

By Mr. C. VIJARAGHAVACHARIAR.

I THINK the time is now ripe for a settlement. Unless statesmanship rises to the occasion, India will be lost to the Empire. Opinion in India is unanimous that Dominion Status should be immediately established. No postponement of that will ever be acceptable to the people. It is no good urging difficulties. There is no political problem in the world which is free from difficulties.

Hindu-Muslim Question.

The question of minorities is not peculiar to India. The Muslim minority is not the only minority in the world which has sought to take unreasonable advantage of troubled times. But they will all be reasonable the moment they know that they have to co-exist with the other great communities of the country, depending for their peace and progress upon the good-will of their neighbours, and not on the ministrations of a foreign, exploiting Power. The leaders among

the Hindus and Muhammadans should make a fresh attempt to reduce their differences to a practicable and just compromise. If they are not able to agree, the only other method of settlement would be to place the whole matter for the adjudication of the League of Nations, which is the fairest tribunal we can think of. The League is also competent to decide the question by reason of its great experience of the minorities' problems during the last decade.

The Position of the States.

The next difficulty is the one connected with the Indian States. The problem is complex, but the solution is not above the reach of statesmanship. It is inevitable that, within a very short time, the States will have to come into a scheme of India Irredenta. An organic political and constitutional relation between British India and the Indian States has to be provided for, so that the

entire Nation may benefit by the change. If the Ruling Princes think that they could impede the progress of British India towards full freedom by pleading absurd difficulties, they are endangering their very existence. Some imagination is necessary to visualize the future when a self-conscious and determined people is up to break its ridiculous chains. The Rulers have to come to some understanding with the leaders of British India. Even here, the friendly assistance of experts of the League of Nations may be availed of to frame suitable provisions for determining the relations of British India and the Indian States in a manner that would secure the rights and fix the obligations of each towards the other.

British Interests.

Whatever might be our difficulties, there is no argument by which Britain could hold the real power in the country. All that she is entitled to ask for is that her interests in the country be respected. The leaders of India should give a guarantee immediately that, in accordance with equity and justice, they will respect the interests that British and other foreigners have secured for themselves in the country. Here also they should be prepared to accept the arbitration of the League of Nations in case they are unable to agree and in so far as these issues are justiciable.

Dominion Status by King's Proclamation.

The proper province of the Round Table Conference is to discuss these issues. The Round Table Conference is not required to establish a Dominion Constitution for the country. The essence of Dominion Status is that the Government of the country

should be responsible, not to the people of Great Britain and Northern Ireland through Parliament, but to the people of the country for which it is constituted, subject only to the suzerainty of the Crown of England. As regards the internal mechanism of the Constitution, it is for our people to frame it. For the purpose of establishing Dominion Status, all that is required is that Parliament should withdraw its control over the Government of India. The control will automatically pass to the people of India. Through what agencies the great Indian people will exercise that control is a matter for their own decision. The decision cannot be made in a day, nor without consultation among the various sections among themselves. There is a mechanism now in India, which with easy adjustments is capable of functioning as Responsible Government. The Indian people demand that Parliamentary control be immediately transferred to the Central Legislature in India and that the Viceroy become a constitutional head of Government. This is political Swaraj, in essence. It is my humble view that this change can be effected by proclamation of His Majesty in Council without immediate recourse to Parliament. I include the full set of rights possessed by the Dominions as against the Imperial Parliament among those which should be immediately transferred to the Indian Legislature. Safeguards and reservations are capable of defeating Responsible Government, and we must not give a chance to reactionaries to taunt us later with a vulgar "I told you so!"

Conference should Meet in India.

In this view, I think that the Round Table Conference should meet

in India. Its duty will be to examine the Minorities question, the Indian States question and the problem of the mechanism of Indian Government. There is no need for our people to go to England to settle these questions, as there is no need for a Round Table Conference to establish Dominion Status for India. We have nothing to discuss with our English friends on that issue. The matter is well beyond the stage of discussion. We invite their help and co-operation to discuss and determine our National problems in some of which they are also deeply interested. As soon as

the provisional Dominion Status Constitution is established on the lines I have endeavored to indicate, this Conference should meet, and should also, if necessary, avail itself of the assistance of the League of Nations for its various problems. This is the only the way of preserving for the Crown of England its brightest gem.

I am a believer in the value and goodness of the British connection. It is as a humble friend that I counsel her statesmen to rise equal to the supreme and historic situation. A friendly India would be England's chief asset.

THE PAN-ASIATIC MOVEMENT : A STUDY.

By Mr. VASUDEO B. METTA.

TREATIES of friendship between Turkey and Ibn Saud and between Ibn Saud and Persia have recently been signed. The Asiatic nations are drawing closer together than ever before in history.

Asia, formerly, was never conscious of her unity like Europe. The Asiatic nations lived their own lives, and were proud of their national cultures, but they knew very little of each other. Between the seventh and the fifteenth century of the Christian era, however, they overleaped the walls of their own individuality, so to say, and began to feel a sort of group unity. The religion of Mohammed created the pan-Islamic sentiment : so that Ibn Batuta, the

famous Moorish traveller, felt himself as much at home in the Caucasus, Persia, or India as in his native Morocco. During the same period a sort of feeling of unity took shape among the Hindu-Buddhist nations. The Japanese called the three leading nations of this group—Japanese, Chinese, and Indians—San Goku.

There was, also, no sense of continental rivalry among Asiatics as there was among Europeans. The Greeks thought that their victory over the Trojans was the victory of Europe over Asia. Alexander the Great went explicitly to conquer the East. But neither Darius nor Xerxes thought that they were attacking Europe when they attacked Greece. The

Persians defeated the Romans again and again on the field of battle, but it never once occurred to them, while they were doing so, that they were Asiatics defeating the Romans, a European people. Nor did it occur to the Arabs or Turks, when they defeated the Spaniards and Eastern European nations, that they were the Asiatic conquerors of Europe. For them the world was divided not into East and West but into Moslem and non-Moslem. It was, therefore, the same to them whether they defeated the Hungarians or Hindus, Persians or Greeks, since they were all non-Moslem people.

It was the impact of the West on the East after the Renaissance which made the Eastern nations conscious of themselves as Asiatics. Except the Portuguese, the Western conquerors of the East did not think in terms of religion: they thought, especially from the nineteenth century, in terms of colour and civilization. Anyone who was not white and whose mind had not been moulded by European civilization was an inferior being in their eyes and was treated as such by them. But they felt it individually, and evinced no particular sympathy for the other Asiatic nations, who were treated in like manner by the Europeans. Western writers always wrote of Asia as an entity, but the first Asiatic to write of Asia as an entity was, so far as I know, Kakuzo Okakura, the distinguished Japanese writer and artist. His ideals of the East which was published at the beginning of this century, opens with the following passage:—

"Asia is one. The Himalayas divide only to accentuate two mighty civilizations—the Chinese with its communism of Confucius, and the

Indian with its individualism of the Vedas. But not even the snowy barriers can interrupt for one moment that broad expanse of love for the Ultimate and Universal which is the common thought-heritage of every Asiatic race, enabling them to produce all the great religions of the world and distinguishing them from those maritime peoples of the Mediterranean and the Baltic, who love to dwell on the particular and search out the means, and not the end of life. For, if Asia be one, it is also true that the Asiatic races form a single, mighty web—Arab chivalry, Persian poetry, Chinese ethics, and Indian thought all speak of a single ancient Asiatic peace in which there grew up a common life, bearing in different regions different characteristic blossoms, but nowhere capable of a hard and fast dividing line."

This passage has now become famous all over the East: and has helped not a little in nourishing the growth of the pan-Asiatic sentiment.

Some three years after the publication of Mr. Okakura's book the Russo Japanese war broke out. All Asiatic nations rejoiced over the victories of Japan over Russia in that war: they regarded them as the victories of the East over the East. Thus pan-Asianism was born. When the war was over, Asiatic nations felt the necessity of modernizing themselves like Japan if they wanted to be treated with respect by Western nations. The result was revolutions in Persia, Turkey, and China for the introduction of constitutional forms of government.

Japan now saw herself as the leader of Asia. She started a linguis-

tic society to bring the various mongolian peoples together. The Indo-Japanese Association was brought into being by her to create friendly feelings between herself and India, and the Pan-Asiatic Association was formed to create a sense of kinship between all Asiatic nations. She sent out teachers and journalists to various Asiatic countries to preach the gospel of Asia for the Asiatics. Her universities taught the same ideal to Chinese, Indian, Siamese, and other Oriental students who were studying in Japan. This was the first stage of the pan-Asiatic movement.

This first stage may be said to have ended with the outbreak of the great European war. The Asiatic nations seemed to have forgotten all about their kinship with each other during the war, as is evident from the fact that the Arabs and Indians fought side by side with the British against the Turks. But immediately the war was over the second stage of the pan-Asiatic movement started. The Japanese brought forward a resolution for race equality at the Peace Conference at Versailles, but it was not passed. Some three years later they learnt that Great Britain and the United States were planning to build naval docks at Singapore and Pearl Harbour (Honolulu), which rightly or wrongly frightened them: and this was followed by the passing of the Immigration Act in America. Despairing of finding true friends in the West, they turned their faces East-wards. During those same years Turkey took up the sword to preserve her independence which had been threatened by the Greeks, and all Asiatic nations sympathized with her in her heroic struggle. The independence

which Afghanistan received by the Anglo-Afghan treaty of 1921 caused rejoicings in all countries east of Suez, and so, too, did the coming of a strong man like Riza Khan at the head of affairs in Persia. The struggles of Egypt and of Abdel Krim in Morocco to become independent, the non-cooperation movement in India, and the fight put up by the Indians in South Africa for race equality were also watched with sympathy and admiration by all Eastern peoples.

Alliances between different Oriental nations now began to be formed. In 1921 a Turco-Afghan treaty was signed, in which the two contracting parties agreed to work for the emancipation of Asiatic nations. Later, treaties between Turkey and Persia, Turkey and the Imam Yahia of the Yemen, between Persia and Afghanistan, between Afghanistan and China, between Afghanistan and Egypt, and between China and Persia were signed. In 1926, the Turkish Foreign Minister, the Afghan Ambassador, the Persian Foreign Minister, and the Chinese Consul at Washington met at Angora to discuss the formation of an Eastern League of Nations.** Japan and Turkey exchanged ambassadors for the first time. Japan opened diplomatic relations with Egypt and Persia. In 1926 the Japanese Government opened a commercial exhibition at Constantinople, and conducted negotiation with the Turkish Government for the Japanese colonization of Anatolia. Soon after the Japanese Government had agreed to evacuate Shantung, a bill was passed in the Japanese Parliament to establish technical schools in China with the proceeds of the Japanese share of the boxer indemnity, and a system of exchange professor-

* There are reasons for believing that Soviet Russia was instrumental in bringing them together.

ships was created between the Japanese and Chinese universities. Japan sent a mission to Siam and a commercial treaty between the two countries was signed.

A League of Asiatic Nations has been formed at Peking. It has convened two pan-Asiatic Congresses, the first at Nagasaki in 1926 and the second at Shanghai in the following year. At these congresses delegates from Islamic countries, Buddhist countries, and India had been sent. A Pan-Islamic and pan-Buddhist conferences have also been held. A pan-Asiatic labour Conference is likely to meet soon. The classes, masses, and the religions of the East are thus drawing together.

The pan-Asiatic movement is not inspired by merely political and economic ideals, but by cultural ideals as well. In the nineteenth century Western civilization so dazzled the Orientals by its efficiency and splendour that they began to despise their own civilizations from almost every point of view. They adopted western science and industrial methods as well as western ideals of character and conduct, of art, literature and philosophy. To-day, however, there are many distinguished Orientals like Sir Rabindranath Tagore, Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Ku Hung Ming and others who criticize western civilization and point out the best aspects of their own civilizations. They think (with the exception of Mr. Gandhi) that parts of western civilization such as science and industrial methods which would enable Eastern nations to defend themselves against the encroachments of the West should

be adopted by Eastern nations, but not the ideals of character, conduct, art, literature, or philosophy.

The religious barriers between Oriental peoples which to a certain extent prevented them from uniting with each other in the past, are now breaking down. Turkey, by abolishing the Civil Caliphate and the office of shick-ul-Islam, and substituting the Code for the office of Koranic Law, has shown to the Mohammedan world that the outward forms and symbols of religion are of no significance. All Oriental religions are broadening their bases. Twenty years ago it would have been impossible for Mohammedans to enter Hindu temples, but during the last ten years they have been often invited by the Hindus to enter them. In Egypt, the Copts and Mohammedans have united for nationalist purposes. In Persia, the Christians, Jews, Zoroastrians, and Bahais are treated with greater toleration than before.*

The chief ideals which the pan-Asianists have got before them at present may be summarized as follows :—

(1) To found a pan-Asiatic university at Shanghai ; (2) to create an Asiatic news agency for dissemination of Asiatic news ; (3) to construct a trans-Asiatic railway ; (4) to form a financial corporation for inter-Asiatic credits and an industrial corporation for financing Asiatic enterprises ; (5) to form an Asiatic Esperanto.

Two influences which have helped in the growth of the pan-Asiatic movement may also be mentioned. They are : Bolsheviki Russia and Sir Rabindranath Tagore.

* The quarrels between the Hindus and Mohammedans in India and between the Arabs and Jews in Palestine are economic and not religious in origin.

The leaders of Bolshevik Russia think that Russia is essentially an Asiatic country and so it was a great mistake on the part of Peter the Great to force European civilization upon her. Lenin, the most constructive and far-sighted statesman that the Bolsheviks have yet produced, established in 1919 at Moscow an oriental section of the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs. In the same year a conference under the auspices of the Khubis or Turkish communists was called at Tashkend for the pan-Islamic development of Central Asia. In the following year another conference with the same object was held at Samarcand, where delegates from all parts of the Islamic world came. This conference started "The Union of the Liberation of the East" an organization which has since then been active in supporting all anti-European movements in the East. In the same year was held at Baku the famous pan-Asiatic conference, where 2,000 delegates representing 37 nationalities were present. As a result of this conference a Soviet of action and propaganda was started. The propaganda department of this Soviet publishes a newspaper called the People of the East, in which pan-Asianism and anti-Europeanism are preached. In 1923 a military high school, and in the following year the Central Asiatic University were opened at Tashkend, where lectures to develop pan-Asianism are given by Russian professors in Asiatic languages. A new capital called Novosibirsk, near Omsk in Siberia, is being built to suit Russia's new rule in the East.

In spite of little quarrels now and then between them, it must be

acknowledged that Asiatic nations like Bolshevik Russia. It is not for her Bolshevik ideals, however, that they like her but because she treats them as equals and helps them in their struggles to be free or modernize themselves. She helped Turkey with money and munitions in her war against Greece. She has given up extraterritoriality in China and Persia and concluded treaties of friendship and commerce with China, Japan, Afghanistan, and Persia. Russians are employed as technical experts in many countries in the Near and Far East. Sun Yat Sen wanted to see a triple alliance between China, Japan, and Russia.

Sir Rabindranath Tagore is regarded by Orientals as a poet not merely of India but of the whole of Asia: and so the Japanese, Chinese, and Siamese Governments have invited him to their countries as a state guest. His university Vishva-bharati, at Balepur, has become the meeting-ground of scholars from all over the East. The Nizam of Hyderabad has given it a donation for the foundation of a chair of Islamic studies, while King Fuad of Egypt has presented it with a splendid library.

Asiatic nations study more of each other's cultures now than they did before. Thirty years ago it would have been difficult to find a Turk who knew anything of Chinese art or literature, an Indian who had read Confucius, or a Japanese who was familiar with Arabic or Persian poetry. But to-day there are many such people to be found in Eastern countries. Researches are being made to trace the influence of different Asiatic

civilizations upon each other, of Chinese civilization upon that of persia and India, of Indian civilization upon that of the Arabs and Japanese, and of Arabian civilization upon that of the Chinese.

CENTRAL ASIA UNDER THE SOVIETS.

By Mr. ABDUL QUADER KHAN.

SINCE the Bolshevik usurpation of Russian rule the importance of the problems of Central Asia has revived. One of the most extraordinary experiments ever known in political history is being worked out in those mysterious lands of Turkistan, that of a strongly Imperialistic policy towards subject peoples pursued by a Communist Government.

The circumstances in which I had good opportunity to see the transformation taking place in the most ancient regions of the East were set forth in a series of articles I contributed to the *Times* last month, and I need not repeat them here. I will only say that in 1920 I travelled via the Kyber Pass and, after a short stay in Kabul, made my way towards the Russian border, passing through the picturesque snow-covered valleys of Afghanistan, and crossing the mighty passes of the Hindu Kush I entered Russian territory at Takhta-bazar.

The journey from Kabul was made on horseback in 18 days; it is now accomplished by the Soviet Air Service in less than a day. This air service has been in operation for two or three years now, running fortnightly from Termez to Kabul. It is connected

with the Junker line in Persia and with the various air lines now operating in Central Asia and brings Kabul within two or three days of Moscow and the West.

By the last decade of the 19th century Imperial Russia had annexed most of Central Asia and Tashkent became the capital of Russian Turkistan. Not far from the old Turki city a modern town was built, with new roads, parks and boulevards, while no expense was spared in linking the frontier with up-to-date transport and stations of efficient military forces. While the Imperial Government controlled external affairs and the defence of the country, local customs and the Moslem law remained to a great extent unchanged. The Russian Governor-General never interfered with the Moslem Emirates and Khanates in the conduct of internal affairs.

Holy Bokhara.

Holy Bokhara, as it was called, was the capital of the Emirate of Bokhara. It was a prosperous commercial centre, and its hundreds of mosques and medreses, with their learned professors attracted students of all over Central Asia. There was considerable trade between Bokhara and India via the highway of

Afghanistan. Through the markets of Peshawar the caravans turned northwards, loaded with Manchester cloth and other articles in exchange for the carpets, silks, and furs, they had brought to India. The entire loss of this trade under Bolshevik rule is one factor in the attrition of Lancashire piece goods trade via Karachi.

When Moscow became the Mecca of the Communists, the gospel of Marx and Lenin was propagated all over Russian Turkistan by the drastic methods of the Soviet Dictatorship. After military *coup-d'état* in Bokhara and elsewhere, the Red troops established their authority, and all over Central Asia there was a terrible massacre of mullahs, merchants, landowners and all those who were considered obstacles to the spread of Communism.

Land and other property were confiscated. There was a ruthless campaign to do away with all that belonged to the so-called reactionary past. A new East was to be brought to life, and Central Asia was to serve as the first example.

The War on Religion.

Religion, for reasons obvious to students of the writings of Marx, was next attacked. Holy Bokhara and other cities now became the centre of atheist teachings. The mosques and medrisses were transformed into clubhouses for boys and girls, while the priests were persecuted and martyred as the most dangerous enemies of the State. Women, who for centuries had followed the traditions of being veiled, were to become the free citizens of the Soviet, and the veil was proscribed. Those Moslems who revolted against this tyrannical interference

with private life were shot everywhere as "counter-revolutionaries."

The virile tribes did not give way as easily as the new invaders had imagined when they first assumed power. A "Holy War" against the Bolsheviks was declared, which to the world is known as the "Basmachi Revolt." The movement was defeated finally by the mighty forces of the Red Army when in 1923 the Kremlin ordered Kaminoff, the war commissar, to direct in person the attack against the rebels in the mountain of Farghana. Enver Pasha after he was disillusioned by the treachery of the Bolsheviks, (having seen the unwelcome truth for himself in the Baku Conference in 1922) joined the Basmachis as their Commander-in-Chief. Even he could not make the revolt a success, and was killed fighting.

Political "Freedom".

Desirous of not incurring Moslem resentment in other parts of Asia where they wish to penetrate in the guise of friend, the central power in Moscow decided to make a show of the political freedom that "once oppressed" people in Asia enjoy in Soviet paradise. Consequently Central Asia was divided into small Soviet Republics as Uzbeckistan, Turkmanistan and Tajikistan with delegates of each republic represented in the Central Executive Committee in Moscow. This was the beginning of a 'Constructive Socialism in Central Asia. Theoretically the Soviet Republic stand for the will of the people, as there are members from towns and villages. In practice owing to the key position being held by the Communists they are under the dictatorship of the Central Executive which rules from Moscow.

This Soviet experiment in the art of self-government has been for from a success amongst a people who have no previous experience or training in administration. Only those citizens can vote or be elected who are not of priestly origin and do not hold land other than what has been given by the State. The illiterate elected members have no sense of responsibility and can do very little to promote the interests of their voters. They abuse power for their petty personal ends, or to gain favour with the bureaucracy. They resort to most cruel methods of avenging old feuds or grudges on former employers or cousins who were affluent in the old days. In spite of all propaganda the Communist of Central Asia have shown very little regard for the principles of Lenin and their only ambition is to get the best share out of the spoil whenever they have opportunity to plunder as local rulers in the provincial or village soviets.

Soviet Propaganda.

It must be admitted that wonderful efficiency has been shown by the Soviet authorities in establishing new institutions for education where the youth of Asia is being trained in the Science of Bolshevism. In the Universities of Taskkent, Bokhara, and Samarkhand, thousands of young people are taking special courses in constructive Communism. The education is in the vernacular in each region, but Russian is also taught. In the villages where illiteracy is predominant new methods of instruction and propaganda have been devised by radio and cinema, which reaches even into the remote mountains of the Pamirs. Nowhere in the world, more than in Central Asia is there

great wonder that modern miracles have taken the place of ancient magic. Through these instruments the wonders of the Soviet rule are brought home to millions of Uzluks Turkamans and Kujhis, most of them living in the solitude of the mountains, to whom all this is like a black magic. What a contrast this to the neglect of broadcasting in India.

Moslem opposition.

The Bolsheviks have not as yet, however, realised their dreams, of changing the Eastern mind. Those devoted Moslems who have escaped from the terror of the Soviet in the cities are fighting the new regime, though isolated and scattered in the different parts of the country. Tearing the veil away from the women has been responsible for great loss of life, as self-respecting Moslems would not allow their wives to come out in the street shamelessly, and were punished ruthlessly.

After strengthening their power by arms and propaganda the Soviet rulers in Central Asia have decided to exploit the resources and riches of the soil. The confiscated lands are now being worked up by tenants under State organisations of constructive farming. For centuries these regions have been fertile owing to the fact that certain chemicals in river-drawn mineral beds in the mountains keep the earth sweet indefinitely. The rich fields of Ferghana are famous for cotton growing. The Bolsheviks have realised how useful the exploitation of those fields can be to the Treasury of Moscow. Cotton is therefore the basis of Soviet economic plans for Central Asia. The control of cotton and of all economic life under Moscow cuts

across the political boundaries of the separate new republics. Though Samarkand, Doshamba, and Ashkâbad, are the political capitals of these republics, Taskkent still remains the centre of economic rule.

In the Towns.

In the towns silk and cotton factories are under construction where collective manufacture will take place. The factory-hands are to be organised in trade unions to lay down sound and safe foundation of the "Eastern Proletariat". It is of importance to note that the "Central Economic Council in Moscow controls the productive forces of Central Asia with the ultimate object in view to link the economic ties under the big "Moscow Trust." The result of this new Imperialism of the Soviet in Central Asia is that the fate of the poor peasants and industrial workers in the communist state is as that of the serfs and slaves.

During my stay in Taskkent, and later while travelling on my way back through the Pamirs; I noticed that while energies of the present rulers are devoted to the creation of a Communist order in Central Asia, as a model to be followed by other eastern countries they do not neglect the preparation of youth for the

possibility of immediate war against their enemies. While up-to-date methods of warfare are utilised in all sections of the army, whether artillery, cavalry or infantry, the country of camel transport now has a network of air routes and air services playing a great role for communication and transport.

Class War.

Every effort is made to dramatise the struggles between the wicked rich and the virtuous poor in other countries. The young men know that military forces are organised to defend the Soviets in Asia and when necessary to extend help to any other country struggling for the victory of the "World Revolution." It is amazing how these ideas are inspired by the state controlled institutions spreading Bolshevik teaching all over Turkistan and presenting the doctrines of Lenin as the modern salvation of mankind. This is the religion which is to supersede all others. Nowhere is youth given so much authority as in the land of the Soviets. The future belongs to the rising generation who have been brought up in the revolutionary institutions and in a fanatical enthusiasm for Communism. To fight for the new faith is the sacred duty of each of them.

An address at the Central Asian Society.

THE LEAGUE OF NATION'S FIRST DECADE.

By Mr. K. R. R. SASTRY.

THE British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Henderson declared on August 31st, 1929, that the Great War had really only just ended "thanks to the recent decision to remove the foreign troops from German territory." The bold Prime Minister of Great Britain had almost come to a workable understanding with General Dawes representing U. S. A., with reference to Naval disarmament. Great Britain, whose "tactics," even according to the "Times" failed to meet American opinion at Geneva last year, went to the tenth assembly after ratifying 33 out of 43 League Contentions, whereas only 22 had been ratified by all parties concerned. It was under such most favourable circumstances that the tenth Assembly met at Geneva.

Routine Business.

In sharp contrast to last year's lack of interest in the general debate on the Secretary-General's Annual Report, there was a rush of speakers this year. 53 out of 54 States had sent delegates, Argentine being alone the absentee. Senor Querero (Salvador) was elected President nem con, M. Hymans (Belgium) withdrawing. According to the principle of election by rotation, Poland was re-elected a non-permanent member of the Council; Yugo-slavia and Peru were elected in place of the out-going Roumania and Chile.

The Optional Clause.

The event which marks off the tenth Assembly is the wide signing of

the Optional clause of the Hague Statute. The aim of this clause is to bring the signatories to submit to arbitration legal disputes concerning the interpretation of treaties and questions of international law among others. Very early, the British Premier announced the signature of Great Britain with the prospective following of the Dominions. France, Czechoslovakia, Peru, India, Italy, Irish Free State, South Africa, and New Zealand signed the optional clause subject to certain specified reservations.

Naval Disarmament.

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald announced in the Assembly that three out of twenty points were alone outstanding in the negotiations between G. B. and U. S. A. He outlined his scheme by which an Anglo-American naval agreement was only the first preliminary to a successful international agreement. This would pave the way for a five powers' conference to be convened early enough, which alone in its turn could make the Preparatory Disarmament Commission a success. To like effect was the hope of that veteran M. Briand who pronounced that "if the Anglo-American agreement were possible, the Preparatory Commission would be able to Convene the Disarmament Conference at an early date." All eyes are on the British Premier who goes to U. S. A. and it is hoped that the Macdonald-Hoover conversations would minimise, if not obliterate, the three outstanding points of difference.

The Problem of the Cruisers.

The cue to a successful solution was taken by a fresh start in the Anglo-American discussions. Britain did not object to American desire for parity and an earnest desire to reduce expenditure has characterized both the countries. The legitimate feeling that an Armament agreement without a *political agreement* would torpedo the negotiations was met by a start from the famous Kellogg Pact. The Washington conference had already solved the question of battleships; agreement may be reached on destroyers through equality of displacement tonnage. Great Britain holds very strongly that submarines should be eliminated from warfare. Strong Japanese opposition to the abolition or drastic reduction of submarines is expected. The disagreement on the Cruisers has been reduced to a "very narrow margin of 3 eight-inch cruisers, or in terms of tonnage, to 15000 tons. As the London "Times" put it (Aug. 29th) the "Mathematics of proportionate reduction will become more tractable as the moral factors prove to be worth more than the material factors in security."

Land Disarmament.

Not such smooth sailing has marked Viscount Cecil's resolution on Land Disarmament. Cecil's proposals are based on the following principles:—

- (a) Same principles should be applied with reference to the reduction and limitation of personnel and material in land, sea, and air forces.
- (b) The strength of forces should be limited either by limiting

the numbers or period of training or both.

- (c) War material should be limited directly or indirectly.
- (d) There should be a competent international authority to watch and report on the execution of the Treaty.

In fact there was reason for Viscount Cecil's regret that the situation as regards land disarmament had retrograded since 1927. France, Italy, and Japan opposed Cecil's resolution and Germany alone was willing to accept it. France derided Cecil's Scheme as "pursuing extreme and idealistic aims which could not advance the cause of disarmament."

Kellogg Pact and the Covenant.

Early enough Mr. Arthur Henderson pointed out the anomaly that under the covenant, Governments had not renounced completely the right to "private War" while the Kellogg Pact had stepped in, to fill in the gap. He therefore submitted the Draft resolution that it was desirable to re-examine Articles XII and XV of the covenant with a view to bring the covenant in line with the wider outlawry of War. Dr. Streseman agreed with Britain in the desirability of modifying Art. XII and XV. It might interest Indian lawyers that this much-needed amendment had been pointed out by the eminent lawyer Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar in the leading article in "*New Era*" (Madras) months prior to the meeting of the tenth Assembly. The first committee dealing with Legal Questions thus proposed to appoint a committee of eleven members in 1930 and report on the proposed amendments to the League covenant to bring

it into line with the Kellogg Pact. The "legalism" in U. S. A. which fears Art. X and XI will, it is hoped, not act any more in the way of U. S. A. taking her due share in the world's problems.

Financial assistance to victims.

Mr. Arthur Henderson hoped that the proposed Treaty refinancial assistance to states that were victims of aggression might be converted into a general convention for signature before the end of the Xth Assembly. He also announced that Britain was ready to sign the proposal for financial help. The leader of the Indian Delegation rightly pointed out that India was not so much interested and that it would depend upon the ultimate acceptance of such a commitment by the Indian Legislature. The third committee did well in postponing to the next year further consideration of the Draft Convention for financial assistance to victimized states.

India led by an Indian.

The stigma of being led by a Non-Indian was set aright and for the first time Sir. M. Habibulla led the Indian Deputation. That well-informed writer, Mr. Wilson Harris, expressed his relief that justice had been rendered to India at last. It is now a hardy annual in the League that year after year, India should protest in vain against her disproportionate Contribution. It is well that readers remember that even after the slight reduction of 1926, dependent India is paying 56 units, while Italy and Japan Contribute 60 units each. The maximum Expenditure of the League has to be delimited and more effective steps should be taken by India to reduce her Contribution.

Besides signing the Optional clause with three reservations, Sir. M. Habibulla welcomed the visit of the League's malaria Commission and offered assistance to the League's studies in *rural hygiene* and *Causes of child-mortality* if they were to be extended to India. He also suggested a stronger Indian representation in the League's administration. Sir M. Habibulla was elected chairman of the Agenda Committee.

Work of other Committees

The second Committee on economic and financial matters adopted a resolution that states should agree not to increase the present protective tariffs for two or three years.

The League Assembly adopted the two French resolution (a) urging the Convocation of an international economic Conference and (b) requesting the league council to convene a meeting with a view to an international agreement to prevent fluctuations in the prices of coal and sugar. With reference to the first resolution, it is pertinent to remember the outspoken statement of the Australian Delegate that the League consisted of 27 non-European states and that their economic problems were different from European ones.

The Assembly also adopted the Draft Protocol re. adherence of U. S. A. to the statute of the Permanent court of International Justice. The adoption of this protocol, satisfying as it should the five reservations of the American Senate, is a landmark in the on-ward march of the League.

The fifth Committee adopted the report on slavery with a resolution postponing further consideration of the British proposal to revive a tem-

porary commission on slavery and urgently requesting states which have not yet ratified the slavery Convention of 1926 to do so."

The League Narcotics Committee adopted the British proposal in favour of convening a Conference of manufacturing countries with the addition of a corresponding number of consuming countries. The Indian Delegate's proposal in favour of the work of the opium commission being continued was also adopted.

League's new prestige

Great Britain's unmistakeable championing of the League foreshadowed by her new policy towards Egypt and Iraq, the increasing participation of indifferent U. S. A. in the organization of the League, and the growing confidence of the South American Republics in the bonafides of the League—these have given a

new life to the "erstwhile Big Few's rattle." The President, Senor Querrero declared with profound consequences that the "tenth Assembly had finally consecrated the idea of the League of Nations by the fresh progress it had achieved, and its extraordinary spirit of initiative." The prolonged conversations regarding resumption of Anglo-Russian relations may bring Russia within the League and the epoch-making attempts of the British premier can remove the mists of the Atlantic and enable "Uncle Sam" to walk back again to the world-centre and take his legitimate place. If the idealistic Wilson founded the League in the overcharged atmosphere of Versailles, it has been left to Britain's first labour Premier to remove the last vindictive result of the Great War and provide the *essential peace atmosphere* amidst which alone the League can thrive and become a truly world-organisation.

THE SIMON REPORT AND THE MINORITIES.

By Dr. RADHA KUMUD MUKHERJEE, M.A., Ph. D.

THE Simon Report is open to a preliminary objection which has not occurred to most of its critics nor to its authors. That objection renders the Report not merely out of date but also out of order. Sir John Simon has ignored the legal position affecting his task. He was not to report in the air and spin an Indian constitution out of his inner consciousness. He was to report within

certain limits and with reference to the goal which Parliament has prescribed for Indian policy. No doubt the original terms of reference for his Commission were vague and indefinite. They gave the Commission liberty to report as they liked without any reference to a fixed goal to which British policy in India must always conform, to restrict or to extend the Montagu Reforms, to retard or to

advance India's march to Freedom. It was this sweeping scope of the Commission, no less than its exclusively white personnel, which led some of the most important political groups of India to boycott the Commission as an insult to her self-respect. A better sense of fairness, however, dawned on Parliament when the cloud of Conservative regime of Birkenhead and Reaction rolled over. Lord Irwin, universally acknowledged as a sincere supporter of Indian aspirations, took advantage of this situation to move the Labour Government to declare that the goal of British policy in India was irretrievably fixed as Dominion constitution and was no longer to be left undefined as a vague abstraction or a meaningless generality like "Responsible Government" which could be explained away or whittled down by subtle logic. The destiny of India under British Rule was no longer left to chance or the caprice of changing governments in England or as the sport of random commissions which may come to deal with it in any way they liked. This declaration at once ripped the roaring wings of the Simon Commission and took the wind out of their sails. It no longer permitted them to restrict reforms or to retard progress, as they could under their original terms of reference. They were now bidden to steer towards a definite destination. Therefore, they and their friends, hotly resented and resisted the declaration in Parliament. Its legal bearings and implications were well understood by that subtle lawyer, Lord Reading, who, in the Lords debate, expressed his greatest objection to the use of the expression 'Dominion Status' to define the goal of Indian policy because such definition would

restrict the freedom with which the Simon Commission were originally invested to recommend any constitution that they liked. For the declaration left the way open in only one direction, towards progress, and not towards any retrogression. It is an open secret that the Conservative section of the Commission stood stoutly for retrogression, for the scrapping of the Montagu constitution with its inherent tendency towards Responsible Government and for reform to the older and tried system of Government for the people, and not by the people, for which alone India in their opinion is fit both by history and aptitude, taste and tradition.

II.

But the declaration had its way and delivered to India the last word on the subject from the British point of view. The question now is, has the Simon Commission reported according to that mandate? The mandate was that henceforth no reform should be proposed to India which could not lead directly to Dominion Status or was in any way inconsistent or incompatible with it. No doubt there was wide cleavage between the British declaration and the Indian demand, which is that the forthcoming reform should confer on India full Dominions Status subject to some inevitable reservations not contradictory to that status for the period of transition. Instead of reconciling the British and the Indian points of view in an adequate and comprehensive scheme, the Simon Commission have widened the cleavage and created a gulf that can be bridged only by scrapping their entire scheme, for they have given the warning that their whole scheme must

be considered as an organic unity with its parts indissolubly bound to one another. A great opportunity for statesmanship offered itself to Sir John Simon and never was a greater betrayal! Truly did Lloyd George sound a note of warning when great things were expected of Sir John Simon at the post to which he was being called. Lloyd George feared that Sir John Simon with his turn for legal subtleties lacked the vision and originality necessary for great things: he was fit only for a coasting excursion and incapable of a bold voyage of exploration and adventure in uncharted seas and unmeasured depths. The result is that the task has been much greater than the man and the subtle lawyer has missed his very moorings and bearings and produced a report that is clearly against the mandate of his masters and may be pronounced as something bordering on the illegal.

It was the business of the Simon Commission to bow to the Declaration of Parliament in favour of Dominion Status as the only objective at which reform must aim. But they have defied that declaration by framing a scheme which both in its general principles and in its details contradicts Dominion Status at every point. They have had no authority to frame such a scheme. When the appointed journey is towards Delhi, they are putting us in a train which will take us to Madras! The Viceroy's declaration, while not committing itself to the immediate grant of Dominion Status, nevertheless gave at least the assurance that all further reforms must lead up to it. The reforms proposed by the Simon Commissioners do nothing of the

kind and are unhampered by the restrictions announced by His Majesty's Government. In the Commons Debate on the subject, did not Sir John Simon seek to claim for his Commission an authority superior even to that of Parliament? Therefore he felt himself at liberty to propose reforms for India without any reference to the goal to which they should lead in accordance with Parliament's decision. He felt himself at liberty to lay down the goal of Indian policy according to his own findings.

The first volume of the Commissioners' Report is a well-written thesis on Indian conditions which reflects credit on the literary ability and psychological insight of a disinterested band of students deputed to confront and study them for the first time in their lives. As a study of an entirely new subject, it is a good piece of work for those who attempted it, but the picture of India it draws will not be regarded as a true and political picture by the Indians themselves whom it directly touches, though it may so appear to the rest of the world whom it may interest and amuse. The divisions of India, both physical and social, diversity of race and religion, are duly emphasised to present India as a loose and heterogeneous collection of many countries and peoples shut up by chasm within the same geographical boundaries of a continent which is not capable of growth into a common nationhood, the prerequisite of a democracy or a Dominion Constitution. And, therefore, the second part of the Report which follows, as night the day, its first part, and its facts and findings fight shy of the Dominion Constitution with such

vengeance that a single reference even to the expression is not permitted to pollute the thousand and one pages of raved matter making up the two parts of this epoch-making Report.

III.

It is hardly worth while to cite details to show that the recommendations of the Commission amount to a denial to India not merely of Dominion Status but even the semblance or shadow of self-Government. The general structure and plan of their proposals and the detailed provisions which follow as a matter of course show that the Commission are out to condemn India eternally to a type of constitution that is without precedent in history and is only a credit to the originality and resourcefulness of the brains that devised it. Over and above this, they want to pass off their reactionary recommendation as genuine doses of democracy and instalments of real Self Government! They take credit to themselves for abolishing Dyarchy, although they establish Dyarchy on a much wider and more mischievous scale in a hybrid constitution made up of a number of so-called autonomous provinces under the control of an irresponsible Central Government, an unqualified despotism! And what is the character of the so-called autonomy granted to the Provinces? The autonomy amounts to this, viz. that (1) the Ministers are not to be elected by the Legislature (2) they need not even be elected members of the Legislature (3) they need not even be non-officials and (4) the Governor's power over the Cabinet or Ministry thus recruited is further increased in the direction of dictatorship. This kind of responsible Government in the provinces is to func-

tion under the supervision of a Central Government left absolutely untouched in its irresponsibility except to increase its irresponsibility further. And, lastly, in this new dispensation, the Central Legislature the Federal Assembly, will not have the power even to discuss the Army Budget, much less to record its hitherto impotent votes on it. It only reminds us of the story of the monkey who tried to settle a quarrel about the division of a loaf by eating it away in the process. Sir John Simon's process of settling the Indian quarrel about self-Government is for England to eat away half of Indian revenue just for purposes of the Army without any reference to India, and then throw open the other half as a bone of contention for appropriation by India in accordance with her wishes which are not even given a free and full expression in the scheme of hesitating and halting reforms proposed to restrict her self-determination.

The only way to Peace between England and India is to begin afresh with a clean slate and arrange its terms in a Round Table Conference of representative leaders of both countries. So far as India is concerned, the terms have been already delivered by Gandhiji. These include the grant of (1) a Constitution which will give the "substance of independence" to India, (2) amnesty to political prisoners. These terms are so reasonable that they commended themselves even to the Indian contributor of "Political Notes" of the "Statesman." Surely there can be no peace if England still thinks she can dupe India by giving her not the substance of independence but only its semblance of shadow, as

has been so artfully and elaborately presented in the Simon Constitution.

But apart from the terms of peace, the procedure for arriving at it by removing the present deadlock is of more immediate importance. It must, however, be noted that the Indian situation is not without precedent in history. A similar, nay, a much worse situation arose in Canada which supplies parallels in many ways for India. The previous policy of halting, hesitating and half-hearted reforms brought on an armed rebellion until a remedy was proposed in the Durham Report. In the meanwhile the French and the English laid aside their chronic and fierce antagonism to unite on a demand for a democratic consti-

tution. The different provinces of Canada combined to call a convention where their delegates arrived at an agreed constitution. Then representatives were appointed to proceed to London with the draft of that constitution. That draft was at once accepted as the basis of a bill which was prepared by the joint labours of the Secretary of State and the Law officers of the Crown along with the Canadian representatives, and was ultimately passed by Parliament. Cannot the proposed Round Table Conference be still given a complexion for which Canada supplies a precedent and a parallel, so that it may meet to produce a Dominion Constitution on the lines of the agreed proposals of the Indians themselves?

THE CRUCIAL PROBLEM OF THE INDIAN STATES.*

By DIWAN BAHADUR M. RAMACHANDRA RAO.

THE history of British relations with Indian states has hitherto been mostly in official hands. The Government of India have assumed through their Foreign and Political department, the role of official historians of the Indian states and their exact place and position in British Indian polity. Sir Charles Aitchison's "Treaties, Engagements and Sanads" was published under official auspices; Sir William Tupper, the author of "Our Indian Protectorate" was also an official of the Political department of the Government of India; Sir William Lee-Warner also served in the Political department for a long time and his work "The Native states of India" is still regarded as a standard work on the subject. These books are saturated with the political theories of the Government of India in regard to the Indian states. There has, however, been a welcome change of late in this respect and this is due principally to the activities of the Indian princes and their subjects. For some time now, and more especially after the establishment of the Chamber of Princes, the former began to think on questions relating to themselves and wanted to obtain a correct definition of their position in relation to the paramount power as also in relation to a self-governing India. "The British Crown and the Indian States" published under the authority of the Chamber

of Princes contains for the first time the views of the princes themselves on many questions of policy and practice of the Political department regarding the Indian states. The subjects of the Indian states have also awakened to a new consciousness of their rights and liberties and the memorandum of the Indian States People's Conference contains their views on many matters of fundamental importance. The matter has also attracted the attention of the Indian universities and it is a matter for great satisfaction that a dispassionate study of the whole subject of the Indian states and their future relations with British India is now being undertaken by some of the universities and also by the public men of India. Any exposition of the subject either by the Princes' Chamber or under the auspices of the Political department has its obvious limitations and cannot be regarded as altogether unbiassed. Professor Gurmukh Nihal Singh's work is, therefore, a welcome addition to the literature on the subject.

II

Repression will not avail

The descriptive and historical introduction with which the author begins his work is fairly comprehensive and accurate and brings the narrative up to date. A study of the past relations of the states with British Indian au-

* "INDIAN STATES AND BRITISH INDIA":—By Gurmukh Nihal Singh, M.Sc. (Econ.) (Lond.), Barrister-at-Law, professor of economics and political science and head of the Department of Economics and Political Science, Benares Hindu University, with a Foreword by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. (Nand Kishore & Bros., Benares.)

thorities is a necessary and essential preliminary to a discussion of the future relations between the Indian states and British India. The author divides the states into two categories: (1) the states which have attempted to modernise their administration on Western lines and are paying attention to the development of their economic resources and man-power and where a beginning has been made in establishing representative institutions, and (2) the states which are still being administered in the good old way and where the atmosphere is medieval and the organization patriarchal and semi-feudal. Except a dozen states which he puts down in the first class, the vast majority of the 562 states come under the second head. The professor is fully justified in this classification. He takes Mysore as the best example of the states in the first class and Udaipur or Jaipur as typical of the second class. In the present work the professor does not deal with the question of internal reforms in the states, but confines himself to a consideration of their future relations with British India. It is clear, however, that he holds very sound opinions on the subject of internal reform. He says that "it is necessary for the princes to recognise that the movement for the establishment of constitutional rule in the states has come to stay and that it is bound to grow in strength and volume with the lapse of each day and each month and each year." The Indian states cannot escape the effects of the establishment of the popular institutions in British India. Even if the princes have nothing to do with the democratic government of British India, the states are bound to be affected by

the currents of thought prevalent in British India. "No amount of repression and censoring will avail the princes; it will only help to shorten the duration of their rule and existence. This is the lesson of history, though it is very difficult for the princes to learn. The whole future of the princes is bound up with the acceptance or rejection of this lesson."

III

Safety lies in responsible Government

In the opinion of the author, their safety lies, therefore, "in granting responsible government to their people and in changing themselves, like the British from autocratic, absolute, though even beneficent rulers, to constitutional monarchs. An unholy alliance with the British cannot save them from their doom as it has not done other autocrats elsewhere in the world. The path of wisdom surely lies in accepting the inevitable gracefully in true British fashion and not in trying to achieve the impossible like the Czars of Russia. Indian princes, if they wish to remain in their states, must become constitutional rulers and enter into amicable relations with British India." Situated as the states geographically are, they cannot avoid having relations with British India. In these circumstances wisdom surely lies in cultivating friendly relations with British India. The necessity of establishing real responsible institutions in the western-sense of the term and reforming the administration of the states is, in the opinion of the author, as much in the interest of the rulers as of the ruled, and it is to be hoped that the princes will be profited by this advice. The author is perfectly right in pointing out that the movement for self-

government within the states will rest entirely on the efforts and self-sacrifice of the people of the states and all that British Indians can do is to lend them moral support. Nor does he underrate their difficulties in regard to this matter. Within the states all propaganda and political agitation is forbidden and the people are denied the right of free speech, free association and open trial. In the professor's opinion, "the people of the states are entirely justified in invoking the aid of the British Government to bring pressure to bear on the Indian princes to reform their administrations."

IV

Paramountcy

Professor Gurmukh Nihal Singh has devoted some attention to the question of the paramountcy of Great Britain and the sovereignty of Indian states and to an examination of the theory of direct relations with the Crown as advocated on behalf of the Indian princes before the Butler Committee. He says that the contentions of Sir Leslie Scott had no historical or legal foundation and that the Butler Committee have ignored obvious facts. The relations of the states in India were always with the supreme governing authority in the country namely, the Governor-General in Council who was the *de facto* ruler of British India. In the author's opinion, the theory of direct relations has been deliberately put forward by the British advisers of the Indian princes to delay as long as possible the unification of the two Indias into a single political unit by means of a federation and to suggest insurmountable barriers between the two Indias. This view has been widely held by very eminent public

men in India and is by no means new. So far as the princes themselves are concerned, it may be that they have a feeling that the so-called direct relations with the Crown will give them a longer lease of life for their autocratic rule. Whatever may be the legal or constitutional position, the Indian states and British India are so situated that they cannot get on for a single moment without having something to do with each other. When India becomes a self-governing dominion the princes, in the opinion of the professor, will have nothing to fear and the most recent speech of the Maharaja of Bikaner indicates that the princes realize the inevitable trend of events. On the question of paramountcy and state sovereignty the author is of opinion that the recommendations of the Indian States Committee appear to be very fair so far as they go and that it is the duty of the paramount power to point out to the princes that the only effective guarantee against intervention in the internal affairs of the states is the setting up of a constitutional rule in them. But so long as responsible government does not exist in the states and the people of the states have no means of redress against their rulers, the paramount power should have the right of intervention to put an end to misrule and misconduct. These views are generally in accord with the enlightened public opinion of the country and with the views held by the people of the states.

V

A Federation

The ideal for a real and permanent political union between the Indian states and British India according to the professor, is a true federation.

He does not however believe that this is possible in the near future. The professor refers to the familiar arguments against the federation of British India with the states. What is to become of the smaller states? Are all the 562 states to be included in the federation? What is to be the position of the states which are unable to afford a modern and efficient system of administration? He advocates the union of small neighbouring states into big ones or the absorption of isolated small states into the province in which they are situated. A reform in these directions will not be popular, but there is no doubt that some such effort will have to be made and sufficient compensation given to the rulers concerned for the loss of their dignity and position. The professor is of opinion that here can be no real friendship of cooperation for any length of time between democracies and absolute monarchies and until conditions of government are established in the states similar to those prevailing in British India, the question of federation cannot become a practical proposition. On the other hand, a recent writer in the *Round Table* has taken the view that India cannot be made a self-governing dominion till the Indian states reach the level of British India in administrative and political problems. One cannot help feeling that the difficulties of a federation have been exaggerated and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who has written the Foreword, asks the question: if a federation is not possible for a considerable time, what is to happen in the meanwhile? The writer in the *Round Table* clearly seems to suggest that India should not in the interval, make any progress towards dominion status. Professor

Gurmukh Nihal Singh has not discussed the question whether it is possible to set up British India alone as a self-governing dominion without the states. Or would he ask British India to wait till personal rule in the states is abolished or till the smaller states are absorbed into British India as suggested by him? It seems to me that we shall have to put up for some time with a constitution for the whole of India not exactly of the familiar type.

VI

A Chamber of States.

The author is of opinion that so long as there is no real federation in India, a new machinery for consultation, cooperation and settlement of disputes between British India and the states should be established. He suggests a Chamber of States in the place of the Chamber of Princes. This will certainly bring into existence another deliberative assembly apart from the two legislative chambers in British India and is likely to give more trouble than otherwise. A third body such as the Chamber of States is more likely to act in antagonism to British India than in cooperation with it. The proposal for the addition of an ordinary member to the Governor-General's Council to deal with matters relating to the Indian states has been rejected by the Butler Committee on very insufficient grounds, but the professor puts it forward as a temporary expedient. This proposal has generally found favour in British India. The chapter on economic relations contains views which will find general acceptance in the country. The appendices contain much useful matter, but it may be pointed out that the extracts

printed in Appendix I from the memorandum of the Indian States People's Conference are not from the memorandum actually presented to the Butler

Committee, but from a memorandum printed previously and which, for various reasons, was not presented to the Committee.

EMPIRE BUYING IN GREAT BRITAIN.

By A "TRUE BRITISH IMPERIALIST."

REMARKABLE evidence of the growth of Empire buying in the United Kingdom is given in the Annual Report of the Empire Marketing Board which covers the year ending May, 1930 and which has just been published. Attention was drawn in the last Annual Report of the Empire Marketing Board to a number of Empire-grown foodstuffs, shipments of which into the United Kingdom had surpassed all previous records in 1927 and 1928. The list was long and comprehensive. In spite of this, the year now under review showed further evidence of progress in the consumption of Empire produce in the United Kingdom. Some foodstuffs, record shipments of which were noted in the last Report, arrived in even greater quantities, while other commodities established records. Fruits, dairy produce, tea, meat, sugar and wines are included in the list of records.

Purpose of the Board.

The purpose of the Empire Marketing Board is clear and definite. It is to improve the quality and increase the quantity of Empire products

marketed in the United Kingdom and to make Empire buying a national habit. From this centre radiate all the diverse activities of the Board. The scientist at his laboratory table serves its central purpose no less than does the salesman at his shop counter. For modern marketing is an enormously complex machine and, unless every cog of it is in smooth running order, the perfection of many isolated parts is without value. It is a commonplace to say that no advertising, however skilful, will sell poor goods. Even if the advertising and the quality are beyond reproach, marketing will still fail unless the many problems of distribution have been studied and solved. The Board aims at seeing that no factor contributory to the growth of Empire Marketing is neglected. The public of the United Kingdom has been approached from many angles. There is, first, the need of making a busy, island, industrial people aware of the realities of the scattered Empire of which they are citizens. Such educational publicity can neither achieve its objects swiftly nor have an immediate and measurable effect upon sales. Never-

*Report of the Empire Marketing Board 1929-30. (His Majesty's Stationery office, London) 1930.

theless, if the habit of Empire buying is to be permanently established, educational publicity is essential. The more vividly people appreciate the achievements, the possibilities and the needs of the Dominion and Colonies, the more naturally will they choose to do their business within the Empire.

Catering for the Consumer.

But other approaches to the consumer had equally to be explored. Here, again, is a complex problem. The active sympathy of the great corporate bodies, powerful as purchasers of raw materials and foodstuffs in bulk, has been sought by the Board. Individually so weak in comparison with these bodies but collectively even more effective are the housewives whose goodwill the Board has taken every opportunity of enlisting. The diversity of consumers in the United Kingdom goes far beyond these broad differences. Varying standards of wealth present another problem. Local habits have had to be taken into account. It is a mistake to suppose that easy communications have broken down the barriers behind which the various regions of the United Kingdom still lead distinctive lives. What London likes may prove to be what Lancashire refuses. The exporter from the Oversea Empire who means to serve a nation-wide market with his goods has to study the distinctive taste of districts. No amount of persuasion brought to bear upon the consuming public in all its forms would succeed unless it was supported by the wholesale and retail traders. The Board has, accordingly, endeavoured to secure the fullest co-operation of all kinds of traders con-

cerned with Empire marketing. The Board's officers seek to work in close daily touch with the trades, and this Annual Report would be misleading if it failed to bring out emphatically the value of the services rendered by the trades to the cause of Empire marketing.

The Empire's Marvellous Strength.

Behind all approaches to traders and consumers stretch the innumerable fascinating problems of production and transport. The Empire as a productive entity is young. New sources of wealth are being opened up every year. The Empire is scattered about the world. These facts give it a marvellous economic strength, enabling it to grow almost every kind of natural product. But the need of patient attention to every link in the chain between prairie and fruit farm, ranch and plantation and the retail shops of the United Kingdom is thereby vastly increased. It is natural that the Board should have been invited to lend its aid in many and in contrasted activities. The Board has reviewed all applications with the sense which four year's work has given it of the complexity and of the seeming remoteness of many factors which bear ultimately upon the sale of Empire produce in the United Kingdom. A bull shipped to one part of the oversea Empire and an insect to another may each in its own way do a service to Empire marketing. The detailed sections of this Report should, then, be read in the light of this diversity which gives such scope for service to all citizens of the Empire and, at the same time, affords the strongest grounds for optimism as to the issue of their endeavours.

Change of Government.

The change of Government after the General Election in May, 1929, led to alterations in the political membership of the Board and of its Committees. Lord Passfield, the new Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs and for the Colonies, succeeded Mr. Amery as Chairman of the Board. Dr. Drummond Shiels, Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, became Chairman of the Research Grants Committee in place of Major Elliot, and Mr. Lunn, Under Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, Chairman of the Publicity Committee in place of Mr. Ormsby-Gore. The retiring Conservative ministers have accepted invitations to retain their membership of the Board or of its Committees, and the Board remains happily representative of all the three political parties in the United Kingdom. The Board, encouraged by the marked goodwill shown to its purpose by the distributive trades of the country and anxious to take the fullest advantage of trade experience, has lately strengthened its machinery by the appointment of a new main Committee, to be known as the Marketing committee. It believes that this Committee will secure a regular and continuing contact between itself and the complicated system by which Empire products are distributed to the consumers of the United Kingdom.

Power of Research.

Scientific research, conducted with the aid of grants from the Empire Marketing Fund, is now in progress in the United Kingdom, in each of the Dominions and in numerous Colonies. Particulars of each grant and of the progress made in the investigations

thus financed are given later in this Report. The range of Empire industries and commodities which these grants are designed to assist is considerable and it would scarcely be practicable to summarise what is being done under any watertight divisions. Some grants, as, for instance, those concerning entomology and Low Temperature Research, are relevant to more than one industry and to many commodities. The essential part which scientists are playing in the development of Empire marketing may, however, be seen from the detailed section of this Report. The veins of special knowledge and of enthusiasm which are being tapped are not the least encouraging features of the situation. The past year has witnessed a striking advance in the practice of intellectual co-operation within the Empire. Some scientific research schemes are being carried on with assistance from the Board's Fund in the United Kingdom and others in the overseas Empire countries. Frequently, the problem is being tackled by a team of workers, closely in touch with one another but scattered through the Empire. In all cases, the results achieved are at the disposal of the Empire as a whole.

Systematic Trade Surveys.

The systematic survey of the wastage in imported Empire fruits has been continued in the Liverpool and in the London docks and further reports have been issued and circulated among the overseas producers concerned. Trade enquiries to estimate the extent and nature of competitive supplies and to obtain information on market requirements in regard to quality, grading and packing have

also been undertaken. A series of retail market surveys has been carried out both nationally and in selected areas. The publication of weekly intelligence notes, giving full marketing information for fresh fruit and for dairy produce, has been extended. An interesting development made possible by the support of the trade is the inclusion of statistics of approximately ninety per cent. of the butter held in cold storage. A promising activity is the issue of statistical surveys of the world position as regards the production and consumption of various foodstuffs.

Nation wide Advertising.

The Board has employed, as means of furthering the sale in the United Kingdom of Empire produce from home and overseas, seven methods of publicity. It directed during the year an advertisement campaign in the principal national and trade papers reaching many millions of readers. The general theme of Empire buying was kept in the foreground in all advertisements and was illustrated by specific appeals to buy, among other commodities, Canadian apples, New Zealand dairy produce, Australian dried fruit and South African oranges and soft fruits. The use of special frames for the display of posters was extended, so that the Board now has these frames, with their regularly changing sets of posters in 450 towns in the United Kingdom. Specimen frames have been erected in several overseas Empire countries. Posters were also shown, in connection with exhibitions, on the commercial hoardings. Suitable posters were reproduced in half size and in colour, and were issued, together with leaflets telling the story of the Empire industry or

scene depicted, to over 20,000 schools in the United Kingdom that applied for them.

Two Million Leaflets.

The issue of other leaflets and of display material, including shop window bills and popular recipes, was very considerably increased. The total number of leaflets distributed by the Board in the year was nearly 2,000,000. Lectures—the fourth method of publicity employed—were given under the Board's auspices to audiences totalling 500,000. The British Broadcasting Corporation made it possible for the Board to give out a number of talks to housewives. The value of exhibitions and shopping weeks was so apparent to the Board that it took part vigorously on many of these occasions. A pavilion was erected and given over to changing displays of Empire produce throughout the six months of the forth East Coast Exhibition. Space was taken at fourteen other exhibitions, and assistance was rendered at fifteen shopping weeks in various parts of the United Kingdom. A new and extremely fruitful experiment is being tried at Glasgow, where the Board has rented a shop in a central position for six months and gives it over, for periods of a fortnight each, to individual Empire countries. The direct contacts thus formed with traders and with the public are proving most effective in opening up new and in broadening established lines of Empire trade.

Lastly, the Board has added to its experience of the cinema as an instrument of publicity. The first of its films to be released for public display has been exceptionally well reviewed and has secured satisfactory

bookings. Other films are nearing completion. A beginning has been made with the preparation of a number of Empire interest films for display

to schools and other audiences. Such in outline is the ground covered in the past year by the Empire Marketing Board.

THE THRALDOM OF THE PRESS.

By Mr. G. COOPER GRAHAM, A. I. B.

EVER since the days of the "Mar-tyrdom" of Titus Oates even the lowest of Grub street parasites has prided himself on belonging to—or at worst of scraping an unsatisfactory living by imposing upon—the profession that can most boldly boast of its honourable freedom: that profession, needless to say, being the one connected with periodical literature.

Purists, of course, may contest the discipline and call the Expression "periodical literature" a contradiction in terms. But those who would confine the term "literature" to productions of the press not published at stated intervals soon find themselves in a position more self-contradictory than that which they would contradict: for they would include Ethel M. Dell, Rosita Forbes and Rudyard Kipling, while excluding Steele, Addison, Johnson and J. L. Garvin—which, to improve upon Euclid, is more than absurd. In addition it is entirely beside the point, for the intention of this present effort is to elucidate the extraordinary reversal of the position that has taken place since the days when "the freedom of the press"

was something worth fighting for and suffering for: since the days when, apparently, it was possible for such a thing to exist to be fought for. [Just as one might idly wonder when consuming a bazar *gin pabli ayab* or *estingale*, if such a thing as ambrosia, the nectar of the Gods, really ever did exist].

But enough, by way of preamble. The position is serious enough, in all conscience, without adding to its difficulties by ponderous hilarity. From this point be it understood, then, that a serious problem is being seriously studied: a problem, too, which affects more closely than is at first apparent all whose lives are set in Eastern surroundings and one which interests more deeply than he cares to admit one whose sympathies, sharpened by study, close contact and long residence, are so intimately bound up with those lives.

As this is intended to be in no sense a historical study—although on the other hand, the subject is one that occasionally presents irresistible temptations to indulge in historical analogy—a very convenient

period at which to commence this examination of the tendencies underlying journalistic utterance with reference to India is presented by the Delhi Durbar of 1911. That festival received more notice in the British press than any previous incident in the history of Anglo-Indian relationships. [The Mutiny and the trial of Warren Hastings included: not because it aroused more interest, but because newspapers were larger and more numerous]. The conservative view of India at that time, and of the reciprocal duties and responsibilities involved by British occupation thereof may be accepted as being expressed by the London "Times". As an opening excerpt the following may with advantage be quoted.*

"The agitation which now lies ahead will call, not for prosecution, but for careful and not unsympathetic consideration. There are many signs that the political leaders of India intend to concentrate their efforts in near future upon a demand for greater administrative autonomy. They realise quite clearly that the recent enlargement of the Councils represents the utmost concession of representation which Great Britain is at present disposed to grant. After the courteous Indian fashion, they have been extremely moderate in their speeches in the last 18 months.....Yet of a certainty the movement is only postponed.....The ultimate outcome of such a movement must be to bring political leaders into hostile contact, not with the Government of India, *but with the autocratic financial control exercised from the India Office.*" [The italics are ours]. Although it is not imprabable—in fact it is probably

certain—that a man of such wide Eastern experience and long official record as Admiral Ballard was in the habit of reading "The Times", it is doubtful if the passage we have emphasised was in his mind when he wrote.—

"In the Portuguese cycle of domination the whole organisation of power in the Indian Ocean remained a Government responsibility down to its smallest detail; but with their successors it passed to the hand of privately promoted associations, whose aims were officially sanctioned by express Charter, but whose actions and methods of operation were in practice free from Government control. Three such Corporations sprang up, one English, one Dutch and one French:though established—ostensibly at least—for the purpose of trade only, these syndicates controlled a respectable fighting force, from the very nature of their work.....Hence, when these commercial adventurers set their faces Eastward they were fully equipped for war on the Sea if necessary, and their respective states found it not merely convenient to leave them to protect their own interests when threatened by foreign opposition, but even to use them as a means for extending national prestige.....An entirely novel situation arose in Eastern history in consequence, for now the Indian Ocean—the scene of so long and varied a record of maritime incident—*passed from under the dominion of a Crown to that of groups of sober men of business seated in offices at a distance of a ten month's voyage.*"†

Yes. Sober Men of Business. In spite of the failure—*pro tem*—of the

*From the the *Empire Day Edition* (May 20, 1911.)

†*Rulers of the Indian Ocean* by Adminal G. A. Ballard. K. C. B. (Duckworth) 1927 pp. 148/9.

Rothermere-Beaverbrook Imperial Economic stunt, the fact remains that the "Sober Men of business" [mostly boasting aucestry that traces back far beyond the limits so wide of the British Empire] have still their hands tightly grasped around this trophy of past chicanery. These same "men of business" took over journalism *via* the advertisement columns a few years back, and the *dicta* of their organs are the more illuminating for that very reason. We will proceed to examine some of these.—

"Daily Mail" Jan 15, 1930.

"A Stronger Hand in India" by Viscount Brentford.

"India was conquered by our predecessors". Shades of D. O. R. A ! We have read Prescott's "Conquest of Mexico" and his "Conquest of Peru" but he seems, together with all his brother historians, to have ignored what must have appealed to him as a far more picturesque exploit (*if it had ever happened*)— the "Conquest of India". The writer's impression of the course of events includes no such glorious achievement. An early paragraph in the Cambridge History of India* gives a different idea of the process:—

"(Colonel) Goddard used the utmost tact, and advanced with great rapidity through Bhopal, where Nawab Hayat Muhammad Khan assisted him to the utmost in spite of Maratha threats".

The anomaly of the "tactful conqueror" is one which "Jix" might find it difficult to explain, if that noble lord's inclinations had not always tended to-

wards autocratic dictation rather than towards substantiated argument.

The accompanying leading article [which is really more of a servile "puff" than a "leader".] on the same date comments:—

"Mr. Baldwin approved Lord Irwin's notorious declaration promising India Dominion Status, though that declaration was extorted with threats by the disloyal Hindus."

No one threatens an all-powerful conqueror. *Ergo*: Either the "threats" were a perfectly legitimate manoeuvre under the rules of the present-day political game, or the conquest "is not so efficient an axiom on which to base the argument as Lord Brentford would have us believe.

Confining, for a moment, our attention to the same influential journal, the middle (display) page of Jan 23 can be read with advantage in conjunction with the financial page of Feb. 11.—

Jan 23.

"Gandhi's Campaign Causes Financial Chaos,

Panic on Bombay Exchange.

Big Slump in Gilt Edged Stock.

Grave financial effects have already been produced in India by Mr. Gandhi's Campaign of civil disobedience"†

"From our own correspondent"

Bombay. Friday.

The Bombay stock Exchange crisis caused by Mr. Gandhi's civil disobedience campaign continues. India Govt: 3½% loan, which was quoted at 67 rupees last week, touched the low level of 64 rupees today, but later

* Vol V. p. 266

† In smaller type on Jan 25.

recoverd slightly." Under ordinary circumstances no comment would be needed on so slight a change.

Feb. 11 "Indian Loan Over-Subscribed.

"Subscription lists for the issue of of £ 6,000,000 India Government 6 % Bonds (1932-1932) were closed at 10.30 yesterday morning, * the account having been oversubscribed.

In other words, "Let not thy left hand (page) know what thy right hand (Page) doeth"!

When it leaves the realm of finance for that of *haute politique*. The "Daily Mail" becomes even more fatuous. Here is their leading article of Feb: 4.—

Indian Princes know.

The Maharaja of Patiala, one of the greatest of the Indian Princes, has given the right answer to Gandhi and the treasonable plotters of the All-India Congress in the stirring speech which we report to-day. He has told them that the Indian Princes remain loyal to the British Crown, feel bound to oppose with all their strength the seditious demand for independence.

It is well known that, in making this emphatic declaration, the Maharaja spoke for the other Indian Princes. They represent the ablest and most intelligent elements in India, and are of great birth and noble antecedents. They govern between them an area of 711,000 square miles, which is three and a half times the size of France, and they have a total of 72,000,000 subjects. In every serious crisis they have shown themselves the true friends of the British Empire.

What the Maharaja said yesterday is what *The Daily Mail* has said repeatedly. His warning against the growth or revolutionary activities is one that ought to be taken to heart by the Viceroy and his Administration. India needs to-day firm government and justice, not such crazy experiments as the introduction of Dominion Home Rule, which could lead to nothing but chaos and civil war. Let us compare with "The Times" of 1911 (before referred to) with Sir William Meyer,—how these good old English names do crop up!—speaking:—

"At the base of all cause, as ever in India the village, with its own Staff of petty officials and a large degree of autonomy which has perforce been subsequently curtailed by the advance of British administration." And then turn to the Cambridge History of India, reviewing the famous Kasijora case of 1779/80.

"The question at issue here was whether the Supreme court had the right to exercise jurisdiction over everyone in Bengal, Behar and Orissa, and especially over the zamindars. Hyde had issued a writ against the raja of Kasijora, a zamindar of the Company. The council told the raja he was not subject to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, and when the Supreme Court sent Sheriff's officers to apprehend him, the Council sent some companies of sepoys to arrest the Sheriff's officers and bring them back to Calcutta.... Referring to the danger to the public revenues and to the quiet of the provinces, and to the irregular and illegal nature of the writ, Hastings says: 'God knows how far we

* Our Italics. The lists opened at 10.0 A. M.

are right on the last conclusion.* I am sure of the former '."

In his attitude he was merely following the precedent set by the other European influence in India. A generation before Bussy had written to Duplex (26 Feb. 1754.)

"What I can, and think I should, assure you, is that it is of the greatest importance to manage these provinces at first according to the Asiatic manner and only to substitute a French government for that of the Moghuls gradually and by degrees. We certainly must not begin on the first day of our rule. Experience and practical acquaintance with the country, and with the value and manners of its inhabitants, show that we should not hasten the assertion of absolute authority, but establish it gradually, instead of exposing it to certain failure by claiming it at our first appearance. I attribute the successes I have gained hitherto principally to my care on certain occasions to observe Asiatic customs."

And "Jix" has the audacity to refer to the residuary legatee of this policy as a "conqueror"!

* * *

The "*Sunday Times*" of March 16th enlisted the aid of Mr. W. Ameer Ali I. C. S., in a column entitled "The Truth about India". Apart from the fact that even a full column seems short allowance for so extensive a subject, it is an amusing coincidence of newspaper "make up" that on the exact reverse of this pompous indictment of Gandhi is a review in kindly vein of Mrs. Walter Tibbits' "Veiled mysteries of India".

The following is an extract:—"Then there was the Judicial Commissioner who showed the author the envelope of a letter which he had received by mysterious agency from the Mahatma Koot Hoomi in Tibet. This judicial officer was sitting in a dak bungalow at Dehra Dun when his eyes fell on what he at first thought was a beetle jumping about on the verandah. On picking the mysterious arrival up he found that it was in reality a missive addressed to him "via Mists and Snows," in which the Mahatma advised him not to leave by the next train, but to wait to see something interesting." Personally, we prefer Gandhi to Tibbits—on this form, any how!

The *Daily Mail* next enlists the services of Mr. D. S. Jakalvar, editor of the "*Kaiwari*" and secretary of the Bombay Provincial Non-Brahmin party. He says:—

"It is the firm conviction of every man in India who has the interest of the country at heart that until and unless the spirit of Brahmanism is destroyed there can be no self-Government for the people of India in its real sense. I appeal to the British public who have ultimately got to decide the question to render the much-needed help to the masses in India which will enable them to free themselves from the bondage of Brahmin predominance."

Unfortunately for Mr. Jakalvar, the Editor of the *Daily Mail* has tasks so eclectic that he felt compelled to include this on another page:

"The Madras Legislature to-day passed the following resolution:—

The Council welcomes the pronouncement of the Vicery in October regarding Dominion status and the

* And, he might have added, in keeping with the traditions he represented, "and nobody else cares".

round-table conference [which will follow publication of the Simon Commission report] as a timely and statesmanlike offer."

Let us next compare "*Midland Daily Telegraph*" of Feb. 6th.—with the *Daily Mail* of January 29.

Mr. Gandhi.

Extraordinary Demands.

INDIA "PERPETUAL EL DORADO."

FOR BRITISH.

Ahmedabad, Thursday.

Reverting to to the series of extraordinary demands made last week in his organ, "Young India," Mr. Gandhi, the politician-mystic, who leads the Nationalists of the Congress Party, to-day, publishes a leading article entitled "Some Implications," in which he says: "Well might the demands raise a storm of indignation in the British Press as they mean more to the British investor than Dominion status or even independence,"

The British imagination, he adds, pictures to itself India under Dominion status, remaining a perpetual El Dorado for the British.

British Rule Attacked

Continuing, Mr. Gandhi vehemently attacks British rule, comparing it to snakes that by their very appearance paralyse their victims. The demand referred to included total prohibition, the reduction of the rupee to 1s. 4d., the reduction of land revenue by at least 50 per cent., the abolition of the salt tax, an initial reduction of military expenditure by half a reduction of the salaries of the higher grade Civil Service to one half or less, a protective tariff on foreign cloth, the discharge of political pri-

soners, the return of political exiles, the abolition of the C. I. D. or its popular control, and the issue of licences to use firearms in self defence.

Indian Railway Strike.

Situation Slightly Worse

BOMBAY, THURSDAY.

The Agent of the Great Indian Peninsular Railway has notified the strikers that unless they return by Saturday their places will be filled. The strike situation is reported to be slightly worse this morning.

More men joined the strikers last night, and the suburban services are somewhat disorganised. Two picketers have been arrested, one of them being the President of the Red Flag Extremists Union. *The Railway Telegraph*.

A Warning to Mr. Gandhi.

Mr. Wedgwood Benn, the Secretary for India, has sent the following letter to a correspondent in reply to an inquiry regarding India sterling securities:—

Dear Sir,—I am directed by the Secretary for India to say that, as you are doubtless aware, India sterling securities, while issued under the authority of Act of Parliament and charged on the revenues of India, are not guaranteed by the British Government.

Like many other stocks, including stocks issued by a Dominion under the Colonial Stock Acts, they are by law constituted stocks in which British trustees are authorised to invest; but that is a separate question.

The Secretary of State cannot undertake to deal with hypothetical

contingencies; but, at the same time in view of the tenor of your letter, I am directed by him to say that :

"His Majesty's Government have no intention of allowing a state of things to arise in India in which repudiation of debt [threatened by Mr. Gandhi, the Indian extremist, as part of his campaign for complete independence] could become a practical possibility, and that it is inconceivable to him that, in dealing with any scheme of constitutional change in India, Parliament could fail to provide safeguards, should they be needed, against a breach of the conditions under which these loans were issued.

Yours faithfully,

A. HIRTZEL.

[Sir F.A. Hirtzel, Permanent Under-Secretary of State of India]—The *Daily Mail*. [and, remembering that both are Tory organs, try and explain why the "*Telegraph*" omits the accusations that the "*Daily Mail*" light-heartedly made over a week before !

The "*Morning Post*" on Feby. 25th says :—

"The frightful dangers of the proposed civil disobedience campaign are widely recognised, and the same sinister rumours from the frontier as in 1919 show that the tribes are hoping that Gandhi will be able to cause trouble and give them a chance of looting the fat Indian plains.

Solid Elements Afraid.

Careful inquiries from official and other sources show that there are absolutely no grounds for serious apprehension as to any breakdown, even the more extreme politicians, including many Congressmen, declaring that Gandhi will not be sup-

ported save by rabble boys and professional agitators mostly of Communist persuasion.

Landowners and other solid elements are becoming afraid of the possible results of Gandhi's antics, and may tacitly support the Government in dealing with him and at any rate it is expected that they will not gravely embarrass the Government, apparently forgetting that on the previous day it printed these two paragraphs in ominous juxtaposition.

A Renter messages from Bombay States that the All-India Non-Brahmin Congress Committee to-day adopted a resolution supporting the Viceroy's announcement of October 30 and January 25 on the constitutional issue in India, and expressing readiness to co-operate with the Government and all other parties in making the Round Table Conference a success."

125 Injured in Riots

Ahmedabad, Feb. 23.

Hindu-Muslim riots broke out at Una, in the State of Junaghur, yesterday. Martial law has been proclaimed there, and will be enforced until next Wednesday. Eleven Mohammedans have been arrested. The Hindus report that about 125 Hindus, including several women, have been injured in the rioting, and that Hindu shops were looted and burnt.—*Reuter*. [and so the list might be continued *ad nauseam*. Perhaps we have wearied the reader with these inconsistent and some times incoherent excerpts. If they have followed us, however, in our course of reasoning indicated by the title of this short contribution to the study of India's problems, they will realise the vital truth that is exposed by this appalling Exhibition of callous indifference to

all but party requirements pictured by an unprincipled demand for 'news quality'. No journal published in Great Britain to-day either to proclaim inform or even influence the political opinions of any large section of responsible British opinion can support its claim to do so. [The result of the last General Election there was in itself a proof of that in one phase.] Extracts such as have been quoted here have, nevertheless, a tendency to be repeated *without comment* in Eastern columns,

and this essay will not have been in vain if it can induce the reader to accept them for what they purport to be.

The large majority of Englishmen are imbued with a generous sympathy for India and her aspirations towards unity and independence within the Empire. Unfortunately, the bulk of the British press is controlled by interests that are founded on economic conditions inconsistent with those aspirations.

DIGNITY OF LABOUR—ITS IMPLICATIONS.

By C. V. HANUMANTHA RAO M. A.

IS there a concept known as the dignity of labour? this is a question which has assumed prominence in these later years when labour has given ample and sufficient proof of being able to assume responsibility for arduous tasks for which it was considered unfit till some time back. There is, of course, an apparent suggestion of contradiction between 'dignity' and 'labour' and the question is inevitable as to whether labour and dignity can at all go together. It is also a matter of controversial discussion as to whether it can be appropriately applied to labour of the muscular as distinct from intellectual labour.

Whenever there had been a revival of industrialism there had also come along with it a corresponding lower of opinion against treating lab-

our as anything like dignified, and a similar movement was in progress at the time of the mechanization known as the Industrial Revolution. The first reactions of that movement were the glorification of the ideal of capitalism and treating with contumely of every thing and every one who concerned himself with those avocations involving the expenditure of bodily exertion. It was thought that the person who could command capital and the capacity for organization was one who alone counted and that the man who put his shoulder to the wheel and who actually engaged himself in working the machine was entitled to little consideration and much less esteem.

This attitude towards an important agent of production could not however, continue for long. The writing of

philosophical thinkers like Ruskin and Carlyle have exposed in a scathing manner the fallacies involved in the standards set up by the industrial processes which have reduced human beings to mere mechanical automats. They asserted that an individual may have sold his body but not his soul and so long as the soul is free it has maintained its self-respect unimpaired. The glory and importance of man as man was emphasized and the dignity and honour attached to human labour in all grades and of all categories were pointed out as something which could not be detracted from.

The man who is labouring hard to produce things which are to be enjoyed by others is really doing a very important service to society. He is in fact a more useful member of society than the idler who has come into the enjoyment of a wealth gathered by others who is thereby enabled to enjoy the fruit of other people's labour as well. The worker may have consented, for the nonce, to sell his labour owing to a combination of causes, for which the present organization of society is not the least potent; but the inherent divine-head in him is there, and makes him, if he is conscientious in his duty and self-respecting in his actions, a more dignified figure than the employer who has purchased his labour.

As has already been stated, it is a matter for consideration whether intellectual work is superior to manual work and many will perhaps be inclined to take it for granted that it is so. In fact it is a proposition generally admitted without much demur that a man who does brain work is infinitely better than the man who merely performs a task set to him

from day to day and from year to year. There is some truth in the statement as from the very earliest times intellectual work had been given an honourable place, as for example, Aristotle considers only the leisured and intellectual classes as fit for the exercise of the responsibilities of Government and all manual labour confined to slaves; who were precluded from all participation in citizenship rights. Slavery as an institution was justified on grounds of public policy; and considering the circumstances under which the Greek State was founded, no other treatment could have been envisaged for them.

But religious awakening, the development of a social conscience, the growth of the democratic feeling in politics and socialistic ideas of political economy—all have tended to discredit the Greek ideal of the function and place of manual labour and to enthrone on a high pedestal the work of people whose lot it is to spin and toil for the benefit of his fellows. The capitalistic organization is gradually yielding place, if it has not already done so, to a socialistic organization of society; the plutocratic and the aristocratic form of government is giving place to the democratic form; and a social conscience which was impervious to and which tolerated without even so much as a pang, the consignment of a section of humanity to a position of unrelieved drudgery has been roused to a realization of the injustice that had been perpetrated by such segregation. Wilberforce agitated for the abolition of slavery and another philanthropist, Abraham Lincoln abolished it, thus paving the way for a changed outlook on the part of those concerned in regard to the evolution of the dignity attached to human labour.

The question can be looked from another point of view. Democratic advancement has placed labour at the head of Governmental affairs and there is no denying that it has acquitted itself satisfactorily in the discharge of its function. When the difficult art of Government is successfully carried on by the representatives of manual workers, is it not absolutely invidious and is it anything other than gross ignorance and stupidity to deny to them a privileged and dignified position in industry? Recent events have amply demonstrated the fact that intellectual and manual skills are not altogether incompatible and that they can exist side by side. It is only the absence of opportunities or rather the denying of opportunities that has stood in the way of manual workers manifesting their inherent mental capabilities; and that heredity as a factor determining human character or aptitudes has little potency as opposed to environmental circumstances and social conditions. The labourers, as most people must admit, are hard-headed, practical and commonsensical persons with a flair for those things which make for success in business and therefore in life.

There is suggestion of rank egotism in precluding the workers in a factory from participating in the work of organization of production; and it is a relic of the capitalistic regime which is fast going out of vogue. It is worse thing to continue to regime to recognize this truth especially when labour has shown itself dignified enough to shoulder any responsible work and it is worst of all to attempt to confine it to a secondary and subordinate position in the industrial organization. Labourers can no longer

be expected to remain contented with being mere hewers of wood and drawers of water; they want and they ought to be associated as equal partners in the work of production. It is the only method of solving their ruffled consciences and the only way of reconciling them to look at capitalistic tendencies with some degree of solicitude and regard otherwise the situation will become fraught with serious repercussions to both the arms of production. It is therefore to the profit of both that this essential transformation which has come in our social evolution is frankly acknowledged and to give it due recognition.

In the light of the above considerations, it is absolutely untenable to deny the existence of the concept the dignity of labour. In spite of the apparent contradiction conveyed by the words of the phrase, there is no good served by harping upon that contradiction alone, while there is every necessity to emphasize its inherent significance. Dignity for anything or for anyone comes especially through its or his character more than through anything else and all Labour is dignified so long as it is not proved that the person who labour is not otherwise disqualified from being called so. It is the safest course to follow and at the same time the most reasonable course to consider the question in its philosophical aspect; there is room for conflict as to the dividing line to be drawn between manual labour and intellectual labour and to find out where the one begins and the other ends.

In conclusion, it has to be stated that if there is one thing more potent than another in inducing in the minds of men a correct conception of the

implications of dignity of labour, it is that of embarking on an experiment of mass education. Apart from the 'natural' differences that exist between one individual and another in regard to their intellectual or moral qualities, the one method of loving down inequalities and promoting a better sort of understanding between the various types and communities of human beings is to provide facilities for such education. It is only then that we can be enabled to look at the

existing facts squarely in the face and to understand that there is an essential trait of dignity in one performing the duties of a scavenger as in another discharging the functions of a cabinet minister and that after all both of them are doing certain services to society, which the latter cannot possibly go without.

THE ART OF THE LATE POET-LAUREATE.

By Mr. K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI, B. A. B. L.

EVER since Tennyson accepted, "The laurel greener from the brows of him that uttered nothing base" there was great and signal poetic achievement by him, which made the laurel greener yet. Despite a certain careful ornateness of style which was regarded by some critics as calculated prettiness, and which even led them to sneer at this *Idylls of the king* as "a boudoir epic", he was a representative poet of the age and was keenly responsive to the modern forces of science and democracy and feminism, while being rooted in the eternal and elemental things and feeling which form the permanent and ethereal stuff of poesy. But after Tennyson's death, the laureateship passed to a poet of second rate eminence and achievement. Alfred Austin, facile writer and finely-attuned spirit as he was,

had not the high accent and the noble idealistic note befitting the spacious times wherein his lot was cast. When, however, Robert Bridges became the poet Laureate in 1913, there was expectation and promise of better achievement. I shall try to assess here the value and greatness of his work, though his achievement is undoubtedly below the level of such great poets as Wordsworth and Tennyson.

Robert Bridges was born in 1844, and died only recently this year. He was educated at Eton and Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and studied medicine at St. Bartholomew's Hospital. He gave up the practice of medicine in 1882. His published works consist of poems, dramas, critical essay including that on *Milton's Prosody*, and

anthologies, including *the Spirit of man* (1916). His collected works were published nearly twenty years ago in seven volumes, and consisted of *Prometheus the Fire Giver*, *Eros and Psyche*, *The Growth of Love*, *Nero*, *Achilles of Scyros*, *Palicio*, *The return of Ulysses*, *The Christian Captives*, *Honours of the Court*, *The Feast of Bacchus*, etc. His other works include *Demeter*, *Shorter Poems*, *Later Poems*, *Poems in Classical Prosody*, *October*. Only a few months ago he published his last great poem *The Testament of Beauty*. The laureateship has been now bestowed on another great poet viz. John Masefield. Though there are other eminent poets alive—like Kipling, A. E., Yeats, Alfred Noyes and others—Masefield's work in *The Everlasting Mercy*, *The Widow in the Bye Street*, *Nan*, etc., is of high quality and justifies the bestowal of the poet laureateship on him.

Robert Bridges has written poems on many subjects, in many metres, including classical measures, as well as French measures like rondeaus, and triolets though the bulk of the poems is in the ordinary metres well known in English poetry. He has, however, practically stood outside the stirring social and political movements of his time. In his photographs and pictures we see that his look is that of an idealist recluse, who combines emotion and contemplation, and is more concerned with the ideal eternal values rather than with the everchanging practical and pragmatic values of life.

It is pleasing to find that he has a fine and noble conception of the nature and function of poesy. He says about the poetic temperament.

"For Fancy cannot live on real food ;
In youth she will despise familiar joy
To dwell in mournful shades ; as they grow real,
Then buildeth she of joy her far ideal "

(*New Poems*)

He says again :

"Fool ; thou that hast impossibly desired
And now impatiently despair'st, see
How nought is changed ; joy's wisdom is attired
Splendid for other's eyes if not for thee ;
Not love or beauty or youth from earth is fled ;
If they delight thee not, 'tis thou art dead".

(*Later Poems*).

He says that true poesy is a sweetener, a purifier, and a creator of life.

"O mighty Muse, wooer of virgin thought,
Besides thy charm all else counteth as nought ;
O heavenly Muse, for heavenly thee we call
Who in the fire of love refine'st all,
Accurst is he who heark'neth not thy voice ;
But happy he who, numbered of thy choice,
Walketh aloof from nature's clouded plan ;
For all God's world is but the thought of man ;
Wherein hast thou re-formed a world apart
The mutual mirror of his better heart".

(*Later Poem*).

He says that the inner bond of poesy between soul and soul is the sweetest tie on earth ;

"Man hath with man on earth no holier bond
Then that the Muse weaves with her dreamy
thread"

(*New Poems*)

He says about himself that he is glad to sing even if songs were doomed to die :

"I too will something make
And joy in the making ;
Altho' tomorrow it seem
Like the empty words of a dream
Remembered on waking".

(*Shorter Poems*).

Robert Bridges is at his best in his short lyrical poems. The pressure

and poignancy of modern life are not favourable to long poems, specially epic poems, and the novel has largely taken the place of the drama as a delimeator of human character acting under the stress of conflict. Though modern poetry has a wide range and dazzling record of achievement, its real *forte* is its lyrical element. Even in modern drama it is the lyric note in it that is admirable and is admired.

The themes of Robert Bridge's numerous short sweet lyrics are the eternal themes of all lyric poetry viz., beauty, youth, joy, love, death, nature, patriotism. In his nature poetry we find not only glad poems in praise of lovely and sublime aspects of nature, but we find also poetic representations of the modern scientific concept of nature. He says in his *Hymn of Nature*.

"Power eternal, power unknown, uncreate :
Force of force, fate of fate.
Beauty and light are thy seeing,
Wisdom and right thy decreeing,
Life of life is thy being

.....
Thy gems of life thou dost squander
Their virginal beauty givest to plunder,
Dookest to uttermost regions of age-long ice
To starve and expire ;
Consumeest with glance of fire,
Or back to confusion shakest
With earth quakes, elemental storm, and thunder !

It is, however, in his poems of spring, and flowers and birds, wind and sun, that we find at its best his deft delicacy of touch. He strikes a fine new note about Spring :

"O bounteous spring, O beauteous spring,
Mother of all my years, thou who dost stir
My heart to adore thee and my tongue to sing,
Flower of my fruit, of my heart's blood the fire,
Of all my satisfaction the desire !
How art thou every year more beautiful,

Younger for all the winters thou hast cast ;
And I, for all my love grows, grow more dull,
Decaying with each season overpast !
In vain to teach him love must man employ thee,
The more he learns the less he can enjoy thee"

(*Shorter Poems*)

He has written many other spring poems. He says finely in one of them :

"The freshest are unbound,
And leaping from the hill,
Their mossy banks refill
With streams of light and sound :
And scattered down the meads,
From hour to hour unfold
A thousand buds and beads,
In stars and cups of gold."

(*Shorter Poems*).

In a poem commingling flowers and songs, he says :

"I have loved flowers that fade,
Within whose magic tents,
Rich hues have marriage made,
With sweet unmemoried scents :
A honeymoon delight
A joy of love at sight,
That ages in an hour :
My song be like a flower !"

(*Shorter Poems*).

He says about *Asian Birds* :

"Another ! Hush ! Behold,
Many, like boats of gold,
From waving branch to branch
Their airy bodies launch.
That music is this,
Where each note is a kiss ?
.....
How the delicious notes,
Come bubbling from their throats !
Full and sweet how they are shed
Like round pearls from a thread !
The motions of their flight
Are wishes of delight"

(*Shorter Poems*).

The following poems about the sun and about wind are squally fine :

"Awaken, cheer, adorn,
 Invite, inspire, assure
 The joys that praise thy morn,
 The toil thy noons mature :
 And soothe eve of day
 That darkens back to death ;
 O golden sun, whose ray
 Our path illumineth !"

(Shorter Poems)

"To me thou findest the way,
 Me and whomsoever
 I have found my dream to share
 Still with thy charm encircling ; even to night
 To me and my love in darkness and soft rain,
 Under the sighing pines thou comest again,
 And staying our speech with mystery of delight,
 Of the kiss that I give a wonder thou makest,
 And the kiss that I take thou takest".

(The South wind).

The best poets of the world attain
 their sweetest art in intermingling
 natural description and human feeling;
 and Robert Bridges excels in this as
 well. He says in his lyric about a
 withered rose :

"Yet thy perfume sweet ;
 Thy petals red.
 Yet tell of summer heat,
 And the gay bed :
 Yet, yet recall the glow
 Of the gazing sun,
 When at thy bush we two
 Joined hands in one".

(Shorter Poems).

He says again in a poem interlink-
 ing lunar glory with the glory of
 love :

"The full moon from her cloudless skies
 Turneth her face, I think, on me,
 And from the hour when she doth rise,
 Till when she sets, none else will see.
 One only other ray she hath,
 That makes an angle close with mine,
 And glancing down its happy path
 Upon another spot doth shine.
 But that ray too is sent to me,
 For where it lights there dwells my heart ;

And if I were where I would be
 Both rays would shine, love, where thou art".

(Shorter Poems).

Equally charming and essentially
 true are his poems on youth and love,
 joy and beauty. They are full of the
 note of adventure, the note of enchant-
 ment, the note of passion, and the
 note of rapture.

"O youth whose hope is high,
 Who dost to Truth aspire,
 Whether thou live or die,
 O look not back nor tire.

.....
 If thou canst death defy,
 If thy faith is entire,
 Press onward, for thine eye
 Shall see thy heart's desire".

(Shorter Poems).

"Thou dimpled Millicent, of merry guesses,
 Strong-limb'd and tall, tossing thy wayward tresses
 What mystery of the heart can so surprise
 The mirth and music of thy brimming eye ?"

(Later Poems).

"Ye happy, airy creatures !
 That in the merry spring
 Think not of what misfeatures
 Or cares the year may bring ,
 But unto love
 Resign your simple natures
 To tender love";

(Shorter Poems).

"I will not let thee go,
 Ends all our month—long love in this ?
 Can it be summed up so,
 Quit in a single kiss ?
 I will not let thee go

.....
 I will not let thee go.
 I hold thee by too many bonds ;
 Thou sayest farewell, and lo !
 I have thee by the hands,
 I will not let thee go".

(Shorter Poems).

"But life and joy are one, we know not when,
 As though our very blood long breathless lain

Had tasted of the breath of God again.

I have possessed more joy than earth can lend;
I may attain what time shall never spend;
Only let not my duller days destroy
The memory of thy witness and my joy."

(*Shorter Poems*).

Robert Bridges has written some patriotic poems, but they are on the whole few and far between and not of great accent and moving power. The jubilee song written for music in 1897 is worthy of note.

"Hark! The world is full of thy praise,
England's Queen of many days;
Who, knowing how to rule the free,
Hast given a crown to monarchy.
However, Truth and growing peace
Follow Britannia's wide increase,
And Nature yield's her strength unknown
To the wisdom born beneath thy throne!
In wisdom and love firm is thy fame:
Enemies bow to revere thy name:
The world shall never tire to tell
Praise of the queen that reigned well."

(*New Poems*).

No great lyric poetry is without its accent of poignant cry at the sorrows of life, and the supreme sorrow of death, and Robert Bridge's poetry voices their note with combined sweetness and power.

"Only life's common plod: still to repair
The body and the thing which perisheth:
The soil, the smutch, the toil and ache and wear,
The grinding enginery of blood and breath,
Pain's random darts, the heartless spade of death;
All is but grief, and heavily we call,
On the last terror for the end of all."

(*Shorter Poems*).

"Ah! little at best can all our hopes avail us
To lift this sorrow, or cheer us when in the dark,
Unwilling, alone we embark,
And the things we have seen and
Have known: and have heard of, fail us."

(*On a dead Child*).

Thus Robert Bridge's lyric achievement is of great beauty and charm. His sonnet—sequence *The Growth of Love* is more ambitious but more unequal in merit. The most noteworthy modern achievements in this direction are Mr. Browning's *Sonnets from the portugese* and Donte Gabriel Rossete's *The House of Life*. Robert Bridge's work, though it misses the accent of great performance, has many fine ideas couched in beautiful verse;

"The whole world now is but the minister
Of thee to me; I see no other scheme
But universal love, from timeless dream
Waking to thee his joy's interpreter."
"In thee my spring of life hath bid the while
A rose unfold beyond the summer's best,
The mystery of joy made manifest
In love's self-answering and awakening smile."
"For beauty, being the best of all we know,
Sums up the unsearchable and secret aims
Of nature, and on joys whose earthly names
Were never told, can form and sense bestow."
"Prodigal nature makes us but to taste
One perfect joy, which given she niggard grows;
And lest her previous gift should run to waste,
Adds to its loss a thousand lesser woes:
So to the memory of the gift that graced
Her hand, her graceless hand more grace bestows."
"Since pleasure with the having disappeareth,
He who hath best in hand hath most at heart,
While he keeps hope."
"The men to-day toil as their fathers taught,
With little better'd means; for works depend
On works and overlap, and thought on thought."

The poet takes love through the entire gamut of rich individual and social emotional experience, and eventually links up human love with love-divine.

"This world is unto God a work of art,
Of which the unaccomplish'd heavenly plan
Is hid in life within the creature's heart,
And for perfection looketh unto man."
"Eternal father, who didst all create,
In whom we live, and to whose bosom move.

To all men by Thy name know, which is Love
 Till its loud praises sound at heaven's high gate.
 Perfect thy kingdom in our passing state,
 That here on earth Thou may'st as well approve,
 Our service, as Thou ownest theirs above,
 Whose joy we echo and in pain await.
 Grant body and soul each day their daily bread:
 And should in spite of grace fresh woe begin,
 Even as our anger soon is past and dead
 Be Thy remembrance mortal of our sin:
 By Thee in paths of peace Thy sheep be led,
 And in the value of terror comforted".

The beautiful classical story of *Eros and Psyche* has been beautifully rendered by him in a fine narrative poem. The magic touch of Keats, though without its full enchantment, is felt in this work. He says of the beauty of Psyche.

"Her vision rather drove from passion's heart
 What earthly soil it had before possest,
 Since to man's purer unsubstantial part
 The brightness of her presence was address;
 And such as mock'd at God, when once they saw
 Her heavenly glance, were humbl'd and in awe
 Of things unssen, return'd to praise the best".

Equally fine is the description of Eros. It has the restraint and harmony, the balance and grace, which are the notes of classic art.

"His skin is brilliant with the nimble flood
 Of ichor that comes dancing from his heart,
 Lively as fire, and redder than the blood,
 And maketh in his eyes small flashes dart,
 And curleth his hair golden, and distilleth
 Honey on his tongue and all his body filleth
 With wonton lightcomeness in every part".

The entire poem is symbolical of what the poet describes as the.

"Immortal question in a mortal face,
 The vague desire whereunto man is 'born'"

I have already said that Robert Bridge's dramas are not first rate works. The drama is in fact, like the epic, a declining literary form. The great and famous verse plays of the Elizabethan age, which culminated

in the supreme achievement of Shskespeare, are a vanished art. The recent verse plays of Stephen Phillips, though they contain fine poetry, are more or less hot-house plants. Even the recent world war, which was prophesied to be destined to give wings to the spirit of man, and to bring to birth great poems and plays, has not had the confidently expected result. The rivalry of the novel, the more recent and effective rivalry of the 'movies' and now of the 'talkies,' the growing materialism of the age, the dying of the ancient fires of high ideals, the shrinking of the world and its mysteries before the Gorgon look of Science, the advance of democracy, in which the diffusion of a low average of enlightenment among the masses has merely amplified literacy, without increasing the permeations of refined culture, the ever increasing rush of life, the quick disappearance of leisure without which the jewels of Art cannot be wrought, the craze for sensation on the part of the public and the desire for quick fame and success on the part of the artists, and other causes have led to this pitiful catastrophe. Ibsen, Shaw, and others have created a new and potent form of prose play but the days of great verse drama seem to have gone for ever.

Robert Bridge's masks in the Greek manner—*Demeter* and *Prometheus the Fire-giver*—are, however, redeemed a little from the modern low levels of dramatic achievement by reason of the kinship between the artist and his work. The Greek touch is felt in the chorus song in *demeter*.

"Like pearls on a thread,
 Like notes of a song,"

Like the measur'd tread
Of a dancing throng".

In *Promethens the Firegiver* we do not have the high and ethereal note of the great Greek playwright or the even higher and more lyric and ethereal note of Shelley's *Promethens Unbound*, but we see a fine motif finely worked out i. e. a new gift of divine fire given to man-

"The king of sorrows, melancholy man,
Bows at his labour, but in heart erect
A god stands, nor for any gift of god
Would barter his immortal-hearted prime".

Such was Robert Bridge's and such his work which had distinction and classical charm if not the highest accents of the highest poetry. To him can well be applied the lines in which he describes the spirit of man in his *Promethens the Firegiver*:

"That spirt which lives in each and will not die,
That wooeth beauty, and for all good things
Urgeth a voice, or in still passion sigheth,
And where he loveth draweth the heart with him.
Hast thou not heard him speaking, oft and oft,
Prompting thy secret musings, and now shooting
His feathered fancies, or in cloudy sleep
Piling his painted dreams?"

In his latest poem *The Testament of Beauty*, we have some eccentricities of simplified spelling and also some eccentricities of style and peculiarities of thought but the poem is noble one and has the ambitious, if not fully and artistically accomplished, aim of presenting the Ascent of Man. It is divided into four books entitled Introduction, Selfhood, Breed, and Ethick. What irritates us in the poem is its attempt at combining the

unconventional style of Whitman with some innate and inherited regard for the ancient shakles of rhythm and melody and metre. The poet says in the first book.

"Man's happiness his flaunting honey'd flower
Of soul,
Is his loving response to the wealth of nature.
Beauty is the prime motive of all his excellence,
His aim and peaceful purpose".

In the second book he describes the attainment of selfhood or individuality, and its privileges and pleasures. By way of a bit of scientific romantic speculation he says.

"And if selfhood thus rule throughought organic
life
'tis no for thought that all the donb-activities
In atom or molecule are like phenomena
Of individual selfhood in its first degree".

In the third book the poet sings the romance of sex in the evolution of the human type, while in the last book he deals with the ethical and spiritual perfectibility of the human being. Despite the grip of scientific ideas round the fair throat of the muse and despite unnecessary eccentricities of spelling and style and thought, the poem has glow of imagination and pulsating thought. The poet says well that "Beauty is the highest of all these occult influences

The quality of appearances that thro' the sense
Wakeneth spiritual emotion in the mind of man,
And Art, as it createth new forms of beauty,
Awakeneth new ideas that advance the spirit
In the life of reason to the wisdom of God".

and he eventually leads us to.

"That mystic rapture, the consummation of which
Is the absorption of selfhood in the Being of God".

(A) BOOKS OF THE DAY.

THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF INDIA.

By (THE LATE) Mr. E. A. HORNE.

THE author of this book accompanied her husband to India, when he took up the position of Principal of the Sydenham College of Commerce in Bombay, a position which he occupied from 1914 to 1920. Like him, she was a distinguished graduate of the London School of Economics; and, on his death in Delhi in 1920, she returned to England and was appointed Lecturer in Commerce at the London School. This, together with her book on the "Trade of the Indian Ocean", published in the same year (1929), are the fruits of her intensive study of India's trade and of the economic background to that trade. A distinguished predecessor in the same field, at the London School, was Dr. Knowles, whose masterly sketch of the economic history of British India since 1765 is contained in pages 259-466 of her "Economic Development of the Overseas Empire" (1924). Mrs. Anstey's may, indeed, be regarded as a companion volume to that of Dr. Knowles. It does not profess to be historical, taking up the story of India's economic development, more or less, where the late Professor Knowles leaves it; and indeed it might more suitably have been called "An Economic Survey of India in the Twentieth Century". Both Mrs. Knowles and Mrs. Anstey have had access to the unrivalled collection of printed documents of every description bearing on their subject, for which the London School of Economics is famous; and both have made that skilled and workmanlike use of their materials, which one has learnt to expect of economists trained in that school. Mrs. Anstey has had the advantage of six year's experience of India itself—an experience, it is evident, which was receptive and sympathetic; and she has had the further advantage of specializing more

exclusively in this field. The result is a "survey" of great interest; and the student of Indian Economics will find it an invaluable work of reference.

Mrs. Anstey's book, however, is more than an industrious and helpful compilation. What is original in it is the broad sweep of the survey and the impression which is left on the reader's mind that there is nothing in the life of a people—whether it be religion or social customs, education or public health, political organization or the position of women—which is not an integral part of its economic structure and development. This "organic" view of economic development is, of course, characteristic of the modern economists; and an earlier exponent of it, whose influence on modern thought has been very great, is Friedrich List. But no previous writer has brought out with such startling and convincing force as Mrs. Anstey the fact that the economic problem in India, like the political problem, is fundamentally that of new wine in old bottles. In her concluding chapter, (p. 474), Mrs. Anstey writes "I am convinced that no rapid advance can take place in the absence of fundamental social reorganization"; and who will deny the truth of this, whether we are speaking of economic or of political advance? "First and foremost", Mrs. Anstey goes on to say, "it must be definitely recognized that general prosperity in India can never be rapidly or substantially increased so long as any increase in the income of individuals is absorbed not by a rise in the standard of life, but by an increase in the population." This is the spectre of India's population problem, a spectre to which, too often, we comfortably shut our eyes. The second

great obstacle to progress lies in the "uneconomic outlook" of the people. As Mrs. Anstey says (p. 476), "A static social ideal cannot co-exist with a progressive economic ideal. An increase in prosperity can only be expected from the co-operative efforts of the members of a community in which the economic motive prevails". Whatever the explanation, and there is more than one, it is undeniable that the "economic motive" (as this is understood in the West) is a very feeble constructive force (and whether this is a good thing or a bad thing *per se* is entirely beside the question), even among the wage-earners, not to speak of the classes to which India looks for entrepreneurs and leaders of industry. The third great obstacle to economic progress in India, as Mrs. Anstey rightly and courageously points out, is the lack of harmony between the Government and the governed. "The fact that India's contact with the external world during the last one or two centuries", she says (p. 484), "has been mainly with a country whose social organization is diametrically opposed to her own may partially explain the disappointing cultural effects of the present artificial union of Eastern and Western forces." In the sphere of taxation, to take but one example, on which the "ration-building" departments of government depend, the hardships of an "alien" Government are tied. Whether the resuscitation of the "indigenous local community", on the lines attempted by Mr. Brayne in Gurgaon, afford a means of "uniting the genius of East and West", as Mrs. Anstey appears to believe (p. 482), is more doubtful.

So much for the fundamentals, of which Mrs. Anstey has an almost disconcertingly firm grasp. As regards her illuminating and comprehensive survey of economic and social conditions, it must suffice to offer certain "pointers". No better short account of the rise and vicissitudes of the steel industry is to be found than that contained in her pages (pp. 242-54); and this is followed by an admirable account

of the cotton mill industry (pp. 260-78). An exceedingly instructive section is that which deals with the development and possibilities of hydro-electric power (pp. 30-4), the upshot of which is that India is handicapped by the relatively high cost of generating such power, even under the most favourable conditions, just as she is heavily handicapped in the use of her fuel resources, coal and petroleum, by their unpromising distribution. A good account is given of the development of India's railway system (pp. 130-43) and of the economic effects of that development (pp. 143-48); and there is a valuable analysis of the significant changes which have taken place both in the character and the direction of India's external trade since the War (pp. 335-44), one conclusion indicated being that there has been a "permanent tendency towards the export of a larger quantity and proportion of manufactured goods". The change indicated is slight; but it is highly significant. There is an ambitious, but on the whole convincing, discussion of the trend of prices and the cost of living between 1900 and 1914 and again between 1914 and 1919-23. The treatment of the Reforms (in the chapter on Indian Public Finance) is disappointing, and suggests that Mrs. Anstey is not completely in touch with more recent developments; and the treatment of India's remarkable tenancy legislation (pp. 192-3) is entirely inadequate, considering the importance of the subject. Finally, to complete this cursory summary, there are particularly well-written sections on the population problem (pp. 38-46); on the epidemic diseases, which constitute such an important factor, (pp. 72-8); on factory legislation (pp. 296-304); and on emigration and indentured labour (pp. 309-14), though oddly enough, no reference is made to the greatly improved position of India and her nationals in the Union of South Africa.

Mrs. Anstey, like Marshall, has a weakness for putting some of the best of her material into Appendices. There is a

valuable appendix on infant and maternity welfare (chiefly in Bombay city), and a most instructive appendix on the legal position of managing agents, supplementing what is said regarding the advantages of and drawback of the "managing agent system" on pages 113-15 of the text.

The volume is furnished with maps and diagrams (some of the latter attempting in black and white what should only be attempted in colours), with statistical tables, which are excellently chosen and arranged, a bibliography, which is not very happily arranged, and an index. A note in the bibliography (p. 552) informs the reader that "the best known Indian newspapers are the *Times of India*, the *Pioneer* and the *Madras Mail*". This will not please Calcutta!

Mrs. Anstey's book is disfigured by not a few inaccuracies and misprints, which should be removed in a second edition. "Mowra" (p. 34) is sacreely recognizable as *mahua*; and "hugga" (p. 461) is an odd misprint for *hugqa*. To say that "indigenous salt is subject to an excise at the same rate as the duty on imported salt" (p. 26) conveys a somewhat misleading idea of the salt tax! Matters are not improved by the footnote on page 348,

where Mrs. Anstey writes: "The import duty on salt is the same as the existing excise in the *provinces concerned*". The first cotton excise (of December, 1894) was imposed, not on mill-made cloth, but on mill-made yarn of medium and higher counts (p. 346). The large profits on minting (p. 382) occurred not before but after the "closing" of the Mints; nor is it correct any longer to say that the Secretary of State sells "Council Drafts" in London (p. 117). Land revenue is not "revenue due, in British India, to the Central Government" (p. 98 f. n.); nor are metalled or first-class roads "under the control of the *Imperial Government*" (p. 129). On the other hand, the provincial rates have not "now been abolished" (p. 381) or "disappeared" (p. 388). The "transferred" subjects have not been handed over to the "sole control of ministers" (p. 370); and the "reserved" subjects do not include "higher" education and the development of industries. Finally, the Governor-General is not appointed by the Secretary of State for India (p. 366); and the fact that the salary of the Secretary of State is carried on the British estimates does not mean that "Parliament now votes upon the *Indian budget*" (p. 372).

EUROPE AND THE EAST.

By Mr. MEHDI IMAM.

"**I**GNORANCE to-day is a crime in international politics." These the closing words of Mr. Harris's book express briefly his objective in publishing this survey of the forces underlying European expansion in the East. The eye of the critic has discerned that much of the misunderstanding and the suspicion existing among the nationalities, large or small, of the modern world could be superseded, if not entirely removed, by the presentation in a clear light of the policy of the various powers engaged to-day in this mortal combat for commercial and political dominion.

Mr. Harris shows us without sparing truthfulness that the European nations went forward to the countries of the East with no high sense of trust or moral duty, but solely and wholly for purposes of securing trade facilities, thereby drawing to themselves the wealth and resources of the world. This self-love of the nations brought in its train the consequences which a policy of self-interest alienated from moral obligations must involve. It produced in China a spirit of antipathy against all Europeans; in India the Sepoy Rebellion; and in Turkey the Cremean War.

The problem of Asia to-day was to obliterate the past, to call a truce, and secure the adjustment of the relations between the East and the West. The objective of all powers should be to establish mutual confidence; to give free play to the exchange of thought on both sides; and to assist the growth of Eastern countries not by subverting national institutions, but by fostering the natural genius and talent for individual development.

Mr. Harris is aware of the impediments that lie in the way of such a policy of

benevolence being adopted. He traces the growth of racial antipathy which has tended to prevent a contact between the parties. But being by nature an optimist he expects that with the progress of modern civilisation, and the sense of the common interest of the universe as a whole involved in that civilisation, this racial antipathy, this commercial and political rivalry, the relic of antiquity will be banished from human history. Mr. Harris also clearly bears in mind the international race for the possession of the commercial resources of the East. Added to these difficulties, Mr. Harris points out, there is a complete lack of unity on the part of European nations to formulate a common policy for developing the countries of the East. The forces of the West are distracted by divisions.

But Mr. Harris sees in the rise and growth of the League of Nations a possibility for composing the differences existing between the European powers and for adopting a common course of conduct in their relation to the East. The statesmen in Geneva, gathered from the corners of the earth, may be able to restore confidence and advise a common line of action, freed from commercial or selfish interests to advance the regions of the East.

II.

Mr. Harris has analysed with vivid exactness the condition of the relations existing between Eastern and Western forces. The policy of acquisition has been the dominant policy of the day in the West. But it is fortunate in one sense, and this Mr. Harris has not observed that there is distraction in the ranks of modern powers. United action on their part would paralyse the present awakening of the East. In

recent times the tragic history of Persia has illustrated how the best endeavours of the Persian Government must fail owing to a common action by Russia and Great Britain to overthrow the able administration of Mr. Shuster. The sudden elevation of Turkey is also an example of the rapid progress that the East can make where there is want of unity of action among the counsel of Western powers.

In regard to the League of Nations, its political value in assisting the growth of the East is doubtful but it may have an important bearing in raising social conditions. The succeeding chapters are concerned with the historical analysis (dating from about 1850 to 1925) of the leading events of European expansion in the East. The near East first claims our attention. Bismarck above all other men grasped the essential significance of the Near East problem when he said:—"The Turkish question only interests Europe through its effect upon the relation, of the great powers among themselves." The problem of the Near East, Mr. Harris defines, as "the internationalisation of trade routes and the protection of the interests of all nations from Belgrade to the Persian Gulf and from Egypt to the Caspian Sea." The failure of Europe to judge the vital issues at stake in the Near East has led to most of the international disasters of recent years. Next the curtain rises on the decay of the Ottoman Empire. Sultan Hamid of Turkey is dismissed from the scene of action. The author then traces the growth of German influence in Turkey from 1900; the adjustment of Turkish relations in 1914, the sudden declaration of War; Turkey's unexpected decision to fight side by side with the central powers; her collapse in 1918; the partition of her Empire designed by allied statesmen; and lastly one of the most dramatic events in modern history—the reconstruction of Turkey under Kemal Pasha.

The author then passes over to countries governed under the mandate of

League of Nations, Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia and then to the Russian expansion in central Asia.

The scene then shifts to the land of gardens—today the helpless victim of modern diplomacy—Persia. The thread of the policy of Russia and Britain are laid bare—Russia intriguing to capture Persian resources and threatening the frontiers of India; Britain with no aim of power or expansion but ever alert to protect the barrier that divides her dearest dominion from an invasion across the Khaiber Pass. Persia strangled in the grasp of competing powers; the appointment of Shuster to breathe life into the dying limbs; his dramatic dismissal under the pressure of Russian authorities and with the connivance of the British Minister; the outbreak of the War; the reversal of British policy of a weak Persia; and lastly the rise of a military dictator—Raza Khan—close the scene of pathos and of beauty which has been the lot of that ill-fated country.

In dealing with India, Mr. Harris omits most of the controversial points. He describes the policy of Lord Curzon; the effects of the Partition of Bengal; the Morley-Minto Reforms; the Non-Co-operation movement; and lastly the Reforms of 1919. In discussing India's relation to the world outside, Mr. Harris appears to be impressed by the fact of Indian Representation in the Imperial Conference. This, he assures us, raises India into a partner in the British Empire. Such an inference is one which a distant observer may be forgiven for making. But opinion upon that subject is sharply divided and Mr. Harris might have done better if he had presented the two aspects of the position of India outside without committing himself in favour of any particular view. The next chapter deals with the defence of the Indian Frontier including the Persian Gulf, Baluchistan, Afghanistan, Nepal, Burma and the Shan and Malay States.

III.

Mr. Harris then summarises the British policy in Tibet of guarding, without expanding, her hold upon the Tibetan Frontier and of opening the trade routes to India; and on the other hand the Chinese Policy of securing the commercial and political control of Tibet. The Convention of 1905 between Great Britain and China to maintain the integrity of Tibet; its violation by China in 1912; the Tibetan declaration of independence to expel the foreigner; the treaty in 1914 dividing Tibet into Inner, under Chinese sphere of control, and Outer, an autonomous Tibet; and the Civil War in China resulting in the withdrawal of Chinese influence, all these fill a fascinating page of modern history which has been but rarely touched by competent authorities. After describing the French administration of Indo-China, and Siam, we are brought into the realm of ancient China. There Mr. Harris shows in its fiercest play the self-love of the nations in a desperate race to command the wealth and opulence of that country. He gives a clear narrative of the opening up of China under the compulsion of western forces; her relation to foreign powers and lastly the Civil War—the direct consequence of international rivalry.

Next Japan passes before us in this procession of Powers. There the youngest of the moderns, is seen struggling, and, succeeding in her efforts, to shake off the fetters of the past, is seen next flushed and triumphant in her death throes with the Russian bear. Mr. Harris's estimate of the character and achievement of the Japanese people is as a whole fair and unbiased; but in certain matters his American sense of patriotism unbalances the correctness of his judgment. For instance his view of the opening up of Japan as being due almost entirely to America, and its accomplishment by pacific means, is not in accordance with facts. Mr. Harris attributes the opening up of Japan to "the whaling interests of United States being inconvenienced by the failure

of Japan to permit the return of shipwrecked sailors" (page 477) which caused Daniel Webster to inaugurate a vigorous policy in 1851 for the purpose of opening Japan to foreign intercourse. Commodore Perry allayed the hostility of the Japanese by his bringing miniature locomotives" (page 477). In this way Japan was persuaded to make the first treaty with America in 1854 and the "other powers shared in the fruits of American success". The real facts of the opening up of Japan as is generally known is very different. The opening of Japan was not due mainly, or entirely to America. Holland, Russia, France and England had been besieging the country with a view to obtaining concessions. America entered upon the scene not in defence of her whaling industry but to secure trade facilities as much as any other nation. America did obtain the first treaty but the Japanese yielded not to the persuasions of Commodore Perry but to the expectant explosion of the allied guns! Hence Mr. Porter, a leading authority on Japan writes. "in 1853 from a military and naval stand-point Japan was in the position of a naked man faced by armed adversaries. She had no ally" (page 105). (Japan. Rise of a Modern Power). Again "Japan was neither actually nor it seemed potentially in a position to resist European and American aggression." (same p. 106). "The spirit in which the American expedition had been despatched may be appreciated in the following note in a contemporary American Journal:—

"The Japanese expedition according to a Washington correspondent" said the New-York Herald "is to be merely a Hydrographical Survey of the Japan coast. The 32 pounders are to be used merely as measuring instruments, in the triangulations. The cannon balls are for procuring base lines. If any Japanese is foolish enough to put his head in the way of these meteorological instrument of course nobody will be to blame except himself if he should get hurt" (page 98). Hydro-graphical Survey and protection of ship-wrecked sailors are fine diplomatic cobwebs!

The last country to come within our view is Korea. There the author shows how young Japan obtained an over-mastering ascendancy over the Koreans, an ascendancy that was essential to the development of her position as an equal partner in the Assembly of Nations; and an ascendancy which whilst it conferred certain benefits of the modern material civilisation upon that country as a whole was maintained not without violation and bloodshed.

The last Chapter entitled The New Pacific gives an outline of the history of the islands in the Pacific including the Philippines.

"Europe and the East" is an admirable introduction to modern history tracing as it does recent developments in a clear terse and sympathetic manner. It will be useful for the schoolroom as well as an invaluable companion to a man of leisure and culture in those rare moments when he can afford to retire from the busy world of conflict to the recesses of thought. The book should have special appeal for those who live in the present; and for those who wish to revive scenes of history in which if they are not actual they are at least interested spectators.

LIFE OF COWPER.

By. KUNWAR RAJENDRA SINGH.

THE Stricken Deer, or The Life of Cowper, by David Cecil" is a very interesting book. No other name than "The Stricken Deer" could have been more apt or appropriate. These are the very words of Cowper himself,

I was a stricken deer that left the herd,
Long since; with many an arrow deep infixt
My panting side was charged, when I withdrew
To seek a tranquil death in distant shades.

Cowper was unlike any other person of his times: there were so many oddities and complexities in his nature that throughout his life he was never at peace or rest. He was hyper-sensitive, over-nervous, shy and timid, always afraid of the unknown, harassed by dreams, distracted by his own thoughts. At the age of six he was sent to school, like every new comer he was teased and tormented, with the result that "his nervous system was ruined for life." He adored his mother: she was all in all to him. He wrote forty seven years later, "I can truly say that not a week passes, perhaps I might say with equal veracity not a day, in which I do not think of her."

His nature was "exquisitely tender, and nearly selfless." He was poor and there was no source of increasing his income. He was a failure as a lawyer because "he could not make himself work regularly." One day he remarked to Thurlow, a successful lawyer, "I am nobody, and I shall always be nobody." Once his cousin offered him both the clerkship of committee and the Reading clerkship. Instead of feeling happy at the prospect of ending his financial troubles his mind began to worry him. Would he be equal to it? Did he deserve it? Moreover he felt like a murderer because he had wished for the poor clerk's death to which place he was going. The nearer the time of his examination approached the more nervous he became, so much so that "the idea of suicide began to steal into his thoughts." He did make several unsuccessful attempts to kill himself and when at last he made it known to his kinsman he took the papers away from him and the matter ended. Now the idea of Hell got hold of him. He went on repeating "I am damned," so much so that he became "a gibbering, raving maniac." When he

began life anew his thoughts turned towards religion and he used to sing,

Far from the world, O Lord, I flee
From strife and tumult far,
From scenes where Satan wages still
His most successful war."

But before long he was full of doubts which were unfilial. In 1773 he was again "in a fit of raving madness brought on by some peculiarly horrible dream." He remained a victim to these occasional fits till the end of his life. For some time he took delight in hares, guinea-pigs birds, cats and dogs, and then again lapsed into gloom. In that terrible poem, *The Casabway*, he imagines that he has been abandoned by God as unworthy of His favour and concludes thus:

"No vision divine the storm allayed
No light propitious shone,
When snatched from all effectual aid
We perished, each alone:
But I beneath a rougher sea,
And whelmed in deeper gulls than he"

He was also fond of gardening and drawing, but only as long as the mood lasted. Politically Cowper was a Whig "nurtured in the tradition of 1688. He was not a man of reading nature—his interest in the books was 'limited'. "What he liked was something picturesque and full of incident."

In one of his love affairs he was sorely disappointed, when after four long years' courtship the father of the girl did not give his consent, and in the other, he himself did not push the matter to finality owing to his regard for another woman named Mary, who was like a second mother to him.

In the true sense of the word perhaps, Cowper was not a poet, although "ever since he was a child he had amused himself by writing occasional verses." "Latin verse writing at the age of fifteen and religious exercises when he was thirty two." He was supremely satisfied when *The Task* was published. It brought him money and

tame and made him known to a wider circle. The general opinion, however, is that "his poems are not so good as his letters." To his correspondents he often wrote, "yours, more than I have time to tell you. The ladies are in the greenhouse, and tea waits." But when he did write a letter it was full of lyrics. He wrote to his cousin, Lady Hesketh, when she promised him to come and stay in June, "I have nothing to do but wish for June, and June, my cousin, was never so wished for since June was made."

The time he marked "by the way it registered itself on the face of Nature." For instance, Lady Hesketh would come "when the leaves grow yellow" or a book would be published "before the first roses" or "for the robin may whistle on my grave before next summer."

In January 1800 his health was alarmingly impaired. It went on from bad to worse. "On the 19th of November he was observed to be weakening. Throughout the following night he lay mostly unconscious and still. Miss Perowae (who was on a short visit) asked him if he wished for a drink, but he refused. "What does it signify?" he said wearily. They were his last words. At five in the morning he became unconscious twelve hours later he ceased to breathe. Such was the end of him whose life was a sermon on tragedy.

I shall not be tempted here to stray into literary disquisitions regarding Cowper's place among Englishmen of letters—how he turned the turf over the grave of the classical school of poetry, heralding the dawn of revolt against convention both in art and society, cleared the path for Wordsworth, Shelly and Byron—but shall end this brief review by referring to the interesting fact that he was an old school fellow of Warren Hastings Esquire, one of England's so called "Empire-builders" and condemned him as "a villian and the worst of men" when Burke hurled his fiery denunciations against him as a common oppressor of mankind.

(B) BIRDS-EYE-VIEW CRITICAL NOTICES.

NEWEST LITERATURE ON INDIAN ECONOMICS.

The Commercial Policy of the Moghuls. By Dr. D. Pant. (D. B. Taraporevala Sons and Co, Hornby Road, Bombay) 1930. It is, from many points of view, a remarkable work that Dr. Pant has produced in his *Commercial Policy of the Moghuls*—his thesis approved for the degree of Ph.D. by Trinity College, Dublin—for it will very likely revolutionise the entire view of the history of the Moghul rule in India. The great glory and dazzling brilliance of the Moghuls, and the glowing descriptions handed down by historians, are likely to impress one with the idea that the Moghul period was full of prosperity and happiness to the subjects of the Empire. But facts are said by Dr. Pant to be otherwise, and a close study such as he has made in this book, would show that the whole policy of the Moghuls epitomised, resolves itself into the historic statement of Louis XV of France: "I am the State". The Rt. Hon. Lord Meston who contributes a foreword to this book says: "Dr. Pant's treatise provides a mine of facts about the trade and produce of India during the zenith of the Moghul Empire... Dr. Pant's thesis is the slow and difficult path of India's industries in the past. Under Brahminical Hinduism, "Systems of Philosophy and not Principles of Economics", were found. Under the Moghul Rule, the well-being of the multitude was sacrificed to the luxury of the few, and the climax was reached when Aurangzeb crippled the economic machinery of the country by his campaigns in the Deccan, and the warfare of his bigotry on Hindu subjects. The book will shatter the illusions about India's glorious economic condition under the Moghuls, and will lead to a better apprecia-

tion of the commercial policy of the Government of to-day. But whether—considering our modern notions of the duties of states towards their subjects, in the matter of encouraging the growth and expansion of indigenous industries, trade and commerce—the comparison would necessarily redound to the credit of the British-Indian government is more than what we can say, coming on the heels of the forced enactments giving preference to British imports of the more important class. How-so-ever that be, Dr. Pant's scientific study of the commercial policy of the Moghul rulers is a very useful contribution to the economic history of India, and is a work of permanent value to the students of Indian Economics.

Life and Labour in a South Gujarat Village. By G. C. Mukhtyar, M. A. (Longmans, Green and Co, Ltd. 53 Nicol Road, Bombay) 1930. Mr. Mukhtyar's *Life and Labour in a South Gujarat Village* is a volume in the "Studies in Indian Economics" series, edited by that eminent Indian economist, Professor C. N. Vakil. The talented author and the very capable editor have undertaken—what is called—the intensive study of a single village and have produced an admirable volume on its economic life and condition, which should be read by every student of Indian Economics, and every one who desires to work for the uplift of rural India. The book is not only interesting but highly instructive, and its data and deductions are very clearly stated. The present survey, which has been designed on lines slightly different from those of previous ones, gives a complete picture, based on accurate statistical and other relevant information, of the daily life of the villagers. An investigation of rural conditions has been

systematically carried out by a stay of about 200 days by the investigator in the village, viz., Atgaon in Surat district, selected by him for the inquiry. The intensive study of the life and conditions of individual villages can do nothing but good, and we congratulate Mr. Mukhtyar and Mr. Vakil on the joint result of their labours. We regard this book as a valuable contribution to the synthetic study of Indian economics and have great pleasure in commending it to students of Indian economics, and even more so to workers in the cause of village up-lift, and also to political reformers who will rise from a perusal of this masterly survey of our rural conditions with a deeper conviction of the stupendous poverty of the masses in this country.

The Agrarian System of Moslem India. By W. H. Moreland. (Heffer and Sons, Ltd., Cambridge, England) 1929.

Mr. W. H. Moreland's *Agrarian System of Moslem India* is a useful and instructive supplement to Dr. U. N. Ghosal's *Hindu Revenue System*. In it the author of *India at the Death of Akbar* and *India from Akbar to Aurangzeb* presents us with a wider survey of Indian economic history. It is an attempt to give a connected view of the developments in the land revenue system extending over a period of six centuries. From the available material the author has attempted to give a connected account of the relations that existed between the peasants and the State, the assessment and collections of the State's share of the peasant's produce, and the position of the several classes of intermediaries to whom the State alienated these functions. It has been well said that during this period of Moslem rule in India, lasting from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century, a kingdom had three essential constituents, the sovereign who ruled it, the army which supported the throne, and the peasantry which paid for both; and the relation subsisting between these entities was aptly presented in an aphorism current in those days, that "troops and peasants are the two arms of the kingdom." The dynastic and military

history of the period is now tolerably accessible to students, but it is impossible to obtain from existing literature a general or connected view of the position of the peasants in their relations with the State, and it is this gap which the author has now filled by the publication of this learned and scholarly work, which justly deserves to be acclaimed by all students of the Muslim period of Indian economic history.

History of the Hindu Revenue System.—By U. N. Ghoshal, M. A., Ph. D.—(Registrar Calcutta University. Calcutta) 1929.

Dr. U. N. Ghoshal—Professor of History in the Presidency College Calcutta—has already made his mark by the publication of his books called *History of Hindu Political Theories*, and *Ancient Indian Culture in Afghanistan*. His latest work, *Contributions to the History of Hindu Revenue System*, is marked by the scholarship of high order which characterized his earlier treatises. In it the learned author sets forth a fairly comprehensive account, in their chronological sequence, of the origin and development of the ancient Indian revenue system, borne out and deducible from a critical study of the relevant data on the subject. The result is a learned, luminous and instructive volume, which throws a flood of light on the economic conditions of ancient India and which will be invaluable to the students of Indian economics. Some of the many interesting subjects dealt with, in the course of this truly masterly survey of a rather abstruse subject are the sources of revenue (land assessments, tolls, transits, duties, customs etc.), classes exempted from taxation, revenue administration, branches of state expenditure and, last but not least, a historical sketch of the revenue system of Upper India from 300 B. C. to 1200 A. D. The scope of the work is thus almost exhaustive, the treatment of the subject scholarly and the book, as a whole, highly meritorious, which redounds to the credit of Indian scholarship.

Economics of Rural Bengal. By K. B. Saha (Chuckerjetty, Chatterjee and Co.

15 College square, Calcutta) 1930. In the foreword contributed by him, Professor Jehangir Coyajee (of the Presidency College, Calcutta) commends the work of Mr. K. B. Saha—Lecturer in Economics in the Dacca university—called *Economics of Rural Bengal*. Professor Coyajee's commendation of Mr. Saha's book is well-deserved, for it is the first important work on the subject, since the appearance of the late Mr. Jack's book on Bengal economics, many years back. Mr. Saha's book is comprehensive in its scope and covers a large ground. The author deals in it with the physical features of the province and their economic significance, crops and their production, standard of cultivation, land system, agricultural holdings, rural indebtedness, village industries and labour, trade and transport, growth of population and pressure on the soil, and lastly middle-class unemployment. On each of these subjects, the author presents sound, accurate and unimpeachable data, enriched with acute observations. This book will make an ideal text-book for students of the economic condition of Bengal.

Bihar Co-Operation. By Sadashiva Prasad. M. A. (Secretary Behar and Orissa Co-operative Federation, Patna) 1930.

In his *Bihar Co-operation*, Mr. Sadashiva Prasad—a young Biharee graduate—has offered the results of his economic studies in Co-operation, in the Hajipur subdivision of the Mozafferpore district, on lines similar to those in his previous study dealing with the Jamui subdivision of the Monghyr district. To disarm adverse criticism, the author—who evidently carries a twenty-first century head on his young shoulders—tries to smother the critic under an avalanche of enlogiums gathered by him from various sources—civilians, educationists, industrialists and others. We may ignore them safely and form our own judgment, which is by no means adverse to that of the writer. In fact uninfluenced by the "chits" he has collected, we testify to the merit and usefulness of the

economic data he has skilfully brought together, and which reflect great credit on his spirit of research and economic acumen. We shall watch his literary career with interest.

Fields and Farmers in Oudh. Edited by Dr. Radhakamal Mukerjee (Longmans, Green and Co, 6 Old Court House Street, Calcutta) 1929.

Dr. Radhakamal Mukerjee's compilation is an exceedingly good contribution to provincial Indian economics. It contains three theses presented by graduates of Lucknow University for their M. A. examination in Economics. Two of them are detailed surveys of particular villages, while the third is a special inquiry into the condition of agricultural labourers in a District near Lucknow. The book will appeal not only to students of economics, but also to the general reader, for it brings to light important facts about the rural conditions and the village life of Oudh, as the result of economic surveys carried on in dispassionate and scientific spirit. The book reflects credit on the study of Economics in the Lucknow university.

CURRENT ANTI-INDIAN POLITICAL LITERATURE.

The Dilemma in India. By Sir Reginald Craddock. (Constable and Co, Ltd., 10 and 12 Orange Street, London W. C. 2) 1929.

Swaraj. The Problem of India. By Captain J. E. Ellam. (Hutchinson and Co, Ltd. 34—6 Paternoster Row, London, E. C. 4) 1930.

Revolution in India. By John Dellbridge (Morley and Mitchell Kennerley Jr., 22 Essex Street, London, W. C. 2) 1930.

Whenever Indian reforms are under consideration, a crop of anti-Indian books appear, generally written by old Anglo-Indians, who have eaten India's salt, but are all the same *namak-haram*—i. e. un-

faithful to the salt. It was so at the time of the Morley-Minto reforms, the Montague-Chelmsford reforms and is so now on the eve of the Round Table Conference reforms. Of the many such books, the three enumerated above are typical of the rest. Our old friend Sir Reginald Cradock was the first in the field with his *Dilemma in India*. What is the dilemma on the horns of which this typical sun-dried bureaucrat finds himself so miserably and hopelessly impaled? That dilemma, as he poses it, is this: "On the one horn is inscribed the 'Breach of Mr. Montagu's Announcement, 1917, on the other, 'The Betrayal of the Sacred Trust, Queen Victoria's Proclamation, 1858.' If we keep the trust do we also keep the pledge made by Mr. Montagu. Or, if we keep Mr. Montagu's pledge do we commit a breach of the sacred trust?" The fancied irreconcilability of Queen Victoria's Proclamation and Mr. Montagu's declaration is characteristic and vitiates Sir Reginald's entire argument (such as it is). He and the like of him cannot or will not see that the Declaration of 1917 was but a tardy and incomplete attempt to effectuate the policy outlined in 1858. Be that as it may, Sir Reginald comes to the conclusion that the 1917 pronouncement with its talk of responsible Government should be thrown overboard out of deference to the Queen's charter the "Sacred Trust", and that India's goal can only be a Dominion-in-partnership, an Indo-British Dominion. Sir Reginald's conception of this strange hybrid, and his concrete plans for the immediate future (which include the institution of a Durbar of the Indian Empire, representing an amalgam of the old and the new) are so delicious that we must not deprive the reader of the pleasure of acquainting himself with them at first hand. It is sufficient to note that his so-called practical suggestions are now valueless, since they have been cast overboard even by the Simon Commission. Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof.

The name of the very worthy author of *Swaraj: The Problem of India*, does not figure even in *Who's Who* for 1930.

So we are denied the privilege of knowing anything of his claims and qualifications as an authority on India, and we are not ashamed to confess our ignorance of his name and existence. But what does his book purport, to be? The publisher's statement (on the jacket) says: "it is an examination, and an explanation, not only of Swaraj, but of our right, as Aryans, to rule in India; of the circumstances which conferred that upon us; and of the nature of those elements which are conspiring to drive us out of the country. The challenge thrown into our faces by the Swarajists is taken up and flung back again. They do not hesitate to criticize and denounce British Rule in any terms they please. They cannot complain if the same measure is meted out to them. Their charges are met, shown to rest upon no basis of fact, and the falsity of them is made manifest. *Swaraj: the Problem of India*, is written with the deliberate intention of influencing public opinion in favour of British Rule in India, and of showing that Swaraj is a hollow sham, a balloon of mere verbiage that needs only to be pricked." So that is it. Well, it is presumably a wonderful book for the ignorant British elector, but there can be, obviously, no room for it in India, where we know *something*—if not much about the country called "India".

Mr. John Dellbridge's *Revolution in India* is to a large extent of a piece with the other two books. Here too we have the advantage of the publisher's statement on the jacket. It runs as follows:—"A vigorous and out-spoken discussion of the present Indian situation. Mr. Dellbridge has had unrivalled opportunities of studying his subject, (pray, what are they?) having had the confidence of the natives (pray, who are they?) as well as that of the Government (pray, when and where?). After a short comprehensive survey of the causes that have led to the present crisis the author offers a solution which, in his opinion, would settle the question once and for all (pray, what is

it?). This book is bound to excite thought, and we venture to hope that it will go a long way towards dragging from obscurity much that deserves the glare of day—" (our parentheses). This is scrumptious! But the book itself is better, than the statement quoted above would lead one to infer, for though there is much in it that is perverse and objectionable, it really stands out for Dominion Status for India as the only solution of the Indian problem

CURRENT PRO-INDIAN POLITICAL LITERATURE

Indian Political Crisis. By W. I. Hull, Ph. D. (The John Hopkins Press, Baltimore, U. S. A.) 1930

The Case for India. By John S. Hoyland (J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., Aldine House, Bedford Street, London, W. C. 2) 1930.

Indian Problems. By F. W. Wilson. (Indian Daily Mail Office, Bombay) 1929.

Dr. William Hull's *Indian Political Crisis* is one of the John Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. The author—who is an American publicist and professor—offers in it his vivid and interesting impressions of the activities of the National Congress, which he attended in 1928. He records in his book summaries of the more notable speeches delivered at that session. He starts with the premises that the British rule is a tyranny and that "the vehicle or institution of asserting or achieving freedom against tyranny became the national political assembly known as the Indian National Congress." He also testifies to the now officially-admitted fact that the Simon Commission "was almost universally boycotted in India". The varied events and the clash of diverse opinions leading up to this crisis are presented in this book. An effort has been made in it to treat these in a detached and historical spirit, permitting the various protagonists to

uphold their respective policies in their own words. The meetings of the All-Parties Convention and of the Indian National Congress, held in Calcutta, have been made the heart of the narrative. For, as James Madison showed in his "Notes of Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787," it is in the arguments pro and contra which are expressed by political leaders in the clash of a nationwide debate that the varying issues at stake in constitution-making, and the reasons for them are most cogently presented. The special merit of this little volume of 182 pages is that it is an unbiased but critical study of the Indian nationalist movement, leading up to the political crisis of 1929. Prof. Hull has clearly shown that what happened at the session of the Calcutta Congress of 1928 is the historical background of the last Congress, held at Lahore, when Indian National Congress adopted the programme of Indian Independence in place of the "Dominion Status." This book is an important contribution in the field of political history of India, and it should be read by all who wish to get an unbiased estimate of the present tendency of Indo-British relations.

Of the many books that have recently appeared on current Indian problems, Mr. John Hoyland's *Case for India* is one of the most well-informed, sympathetic, and yet critical, betraying a deep insight into the realities of the subject. The reason for his notable success is not far to seek. The author recently returned to England after more than fifteen years sojourn in this country partly in a small country town, partly in a large industrial city, and partly amongst the villages and jungle-tracts. During that time he had been engaged in educational and relief work, and had come into intimate personal contact with thousands of Indians. As such he came to acquire an intimate knowledge of the life and social conditions of the people. In his book, suitably designated *The Case for India*, he, first analyses the main factors in the existing condition of affairs in India, religious, social, and political; and, secondly,

he gives an imparatiai presentation of the opinions now held by the great majority of Indians regarding their problems. In view of the first-hand knowledge he has gained he gives a valuable account of the situation from the standpoint of a sympathetic Briton, and he is able to state with fairness and accuracy the feelings and desires of Indians for the future of their country and its relations with Britain. We are content to note here these general aspects of this highly interesting and very instructive work. We shall revert to it at some length in a later issue.

Mr. F. W. Wilson is very well known by now as a highly qualified and sympathetic British publicist, at first as the editor of the *Pioneer* and since of the *Indian Daily Mail*. His *Indian Problems*—which is introduced by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru—is a collection of nine essays dealing with problems that this country has got to tackle. The relations of Britain with Indian India may be put on some sort of a satisfactory and stable basis when the Swaraj constitution is hammered out, but the need of the development of the civic sense, the problems arising out of the growth of industrialism, of poverty and unemployment, will continue to be almost as pressing. It would, therefore, be best if those who are actively engaged in the struggle for freedom were to give their thought to these matters. And there could not be a better introduction to the magnitude, the imperative nature, and the difficulty of the problem than this little book of well-written essays, which attempt an examination of the defects and weakness of the Congress programme in a fair and sympathetic spirit. The book will amply repay perusal.

LATEST WORKS OF REFERENCE.

International Statistical Year-Book, 1929 (League of Nations, Information section, Geneva Switzerland) 1930.

We welcome the fourth revised and enlarged edition (in English and French) of the *International Statistical Year-Book*

1929 issued by the League of Nations. It is, in a sense, the most important of the League's many publications. The object of the *Year-Book* is to give in a condensed and convenient form the principal statistics of area and population (actual population, natural increase, migration movements), production (agricultural, mineral, industrial) trade, transport, public finance, exchange rates, prices, wages, of the various States. The present edition contains eight new tables of demographic, economic and social statistics. Special mention should be made of the new table of production indices. These indices, which are being used to an increasing extent, have not hitherto been collected in full international tables. As they are given in great detail in the *Year-Book* and are accompanied by explanatory notes, it becomes easier to follow the differences and fluctuations in the industrial activities of the various countries. At a time when the agricultural depression is the object of general attention, care, has been taken to make the agricultural statistics in the *Year-Book* as up to date and as complete as possible. Thirty-five tables relating to agricultural production, most of which show the harvest of 1929/1930, are also supplied. To make the statistics in the *Year-Book* easier to handle, several detailed tables of coefficients for converting currencies, weights and measures have been included. There is table for converting the currencies of 61 countries at par, a table for converting at the rate of exchange ruling in 1929, and another table giving the principal conversion coefficients for metric weights and measures and those in use in the United States, the British Empire and Japan. Finally there is a table containing a number of conventional coefficients for converting weight measures into those of capacity and *vice versa*. This short note on the contents of the book will satisfy our readers of its very great utility to all students of international statistics.

The Industry Year-Book and Directory 1930. (Keshab Bhaban, 22 Sham Bazar Bridge Road, Calcutta). 1930.

The Industry Year Book and Directory 1930 will commend itself to a wide public by reason of its handy size and its convenient arrangement. Not only is its letterpress interesting but from a reference point of view it will be found accurate and comprehensive. In the present edition the book has been thoroughly rewritten and revised in the light of fresh essential information collected, and many new chapters have been added to increase its usefulness to the public as a handy compendium of references. It aims at supplying reliable and up-to-date information bearing on many technical aspects of trade, industries and markets, and supplemented by an elaborate directory it seeks to unfold the possibilities of the internal trade centres, at present computed to amount to fifteen times the volume of the foreign trade. One of the sections which will appeal most to the men of business is the review section, introduced by an article on Progress of Trade and Industries in 1929-30, and devoted to descriptions of agricultural and mineral resources of the country. Those contemplating expansion of markets will naturally turn to the Market Places of India section, which furnishes commercial and geographical descriptions, district by district, of all market places of India in detail, covering local produce and principal industries, commercial dealings, imports and exports, modes of communications, and chief fairs. Another section of special interest is the explanation of technical terms used in connection with various trades and industries. The Directory section has been thoroughly revised and enriched by the addition of addresses. The volume should find a prominent place in the libraries and business offices owing to its acknowledged value as a comprehensive, useful and reliable reference book. With it on the desk a businessman, in any of the different branches of business in India, will have the essential data and facts of the whole field at his elbow.

Indian States Register and Directory, 1929. Edited by A. N. Sudarisanam.

(Indian States Register and Directory Office, Egmore, Madras.) 1929.

There has been a wide demand of late in British India for detailed and accurate information regarding the Indian States, their administration and their progress. And so the *Indian States Register* supplies a long-felt want, as it is a year-book and a reference work in one, and should thus prove a valuable addition to the literature dealing with the States. The speeches of the Viceroy and various Indian Princes, made during the last year are re-printed in it, and they give the reader an idea of the aims and aspirations as well as the disabilities and grievances of the rulers, though they do not give any indication of the wrongs under which the States' subjects suffer. But the portion of the volume containing accounts of proceedings of States' Peoples Conferences purports to present the case of more than seventy million Indians in Indian India for constitutional progress towards responsible Government, and this is even more valuable than the section devoted to the viceroy and the princes' speeches. The book furnishes highly useful data on many other connected topics, and taken as a whole it is a very valuable addition to reference literature dealing with Indian India. The second edition, under survey, has been enlarged by a hundred pages, by reason of the gazetteer and the administrative portions having been increased, the other sections duly overhauled, and the whole book carefully and judiciously revised. No student of Indian India can afford to do without this excellent work of reference.

The Liberal Year-Book for 1930. (The Liberal Publication Department, 42, Parliament Street, London, S. W., 1) 1930.

The three great political parties in Britain have each their organs in the press and a manual work of ready reference—the Labourites their *Labour Year-Book*, the Conservatives their *Constitutional Year-Book* and the Liberals their *Liberal Year-Book*.

A publicist who desires to be in touch with the movements and developments of the three leading political parties in that country should keep on his book-shelf the annual editions of each of them. The edition of the last, for the current year, is the twenty-sixth of the series. It is carefully revised from year to year. All obsolete matter is judiciously pruned off, and new information is inserted and the whole text is studiously overhauled. The result is that each new edition is not only thoroughly up-to-date and abreast of the latest political data, but replete with a vast store of information about British politics, surveyed from the Liberal stand-point, not easily accessible to students of public affairs in India. The book, though primarily compiled for the use of the members of the Liberal party in Great Britain, is of great utility to public men even in this country. Some of its most attractive features, of special interest to Indian publicists, are the excellent and up-to-date sketch of parliamentary procedure, the biographies of Liberal members, and the fairly comprehensive bibliography of current books of political interest. Altogether, the *Liberal-Year Book* is one of the most valuable works of reference.

The Constitutional Year-Book, 1930. (National Union of Conservative and Unionist Association, Palace Chambers, Westminster, London, S. W. 2.) 1930.

The Constitutional Year-Book which is now in its forty-fourth annual issue—is to the British Conservatives and also to all seekers after information about that Party an excellent guide. For the object it desires, to serve, the *Constitutional* is a work of great utility. Its scope is chiefly political and it offers a cheap and handy reference-book of facts and statistics bearing on topics of current interest. It is carefully revised and its pages may be trusted to supply useful and accurate information. The current edition of the *Constitutional* which has been remodelled and improved—is replete with up-to-date information regarding data about British political conditions from the Conser-

vative standpoint. The statistical section has been enlarged and data are now given which will facilitate the task of the readers in the study of current economic problems. It is comprehensive in scope and range, and deserves to be kept handy as a useful work of reference.

The Labour Year-Book, 1930. (Labour Publications Department, Transport House, Smith Square, London, S. W. 1) 1930.

In the course of reviews of the previous editions of the *Labour Year-Book*, we have spoken of it in terms of high appreciation as a very useful reference work. The current edition is deserving of recognition as a highly meritorious work of reference. Judiciously compiled and well-printed, the volume will be highly useful to politicians, publicists and public men. The tropics dealt with range over the whole field of British politics, surveyed from the Labour stand-point, and include not only the principal political, social and economic problems but also the trend of international and inter-dominion affairs during the year. The directories of the principal Labour and Socialist organizations, institutions and the press, native and foreign, is another useful feature of the work. The *Labour Year-Book* which records, from year to year, not only the progress of the Party, but takes a critical survey of the whole field of its political activities, deserves careful study at the hands of Indian publicists and public men, especially now that the Labour Party is in the ascendant, being once again in office, though (unfortunately) not yet in power.

The Burma Year-Book and Directory, 1930. (Modern Publishing House, 284 Phayre Street, Rangoon.) 1930.

We welcome the second, revised and overhauled, edition of the *Burma Year-book and Directory*, which we noticed in terms of appreciation on its first appearance last year. *The Burma Year-Book and Directory* is a highly useful work of reference, its contents being of an almost encyclopaedic character. It supplies accurate and up-to-

date information on diverse topics—ranging from agriculture, industry and commerce to education, railways, archaeology and sports in Burma. Rangoon is naturally exhaustively dealt with—full particulars being given about the city, its institutions and the port, and its import and export trade. The Rangoon directory furnishes addresses of officers, landowners, businessmen, and gives interesting information on the world-famous pagodas of Burma, steamship service, schools and colleges, hotels and boarding establishments, customs, and many other topics. One particular feature of the book is, that besides the usual reference lists it contains quite a good number of informative articles about Burma, like "Burmese Festivals," "Burma Legislative Council," the "Rangoon University." The book will thus serve as an invaluable guide alike to the tourist, as well as the businessman, in Burma. The work of revision has been carried out in the current edition, very skilfully by Mr. K. S. A. Aiyar, who deserves our felicitations on turning out this excellent work of reference to Burma.

Webster's Royal Red Book. (A. Webster and Co., 44 Dover Street London W. 1) 1930.

Webster's Royal Red Book is the only reference work of importance issued regularly twice a year. It is the oldest work of its kind, judging from the fact that the May (1930) number is the 276th edition. It is issued every January and May, and the latter edition is naturally intended for the London season. Its main features are the London street directory which runs up to about over 200 pages, followed by a classified list of prominent London professional and business houses—a feature which will be found very useful by purchasers in India. An alphabetical list, with addresses of the residents in London, an almanac for 1930, the lists of the Members of the Houses of Lords and Commons, the Government offices, clubs, public societies and institutions, hotels, and the plans of the London theatres, etc.,

form other useful features of the publication, and all corrections are made up-to-date and carefully checked before its issue. *The Royal Red Book* is thus a valuable reference work which visitors to and residents in London cannot afford to ignore. It is a highly useful guide to London society, and its usefulness is maintained by careful and judicious revisions twice a year.

The Little Oxford Dictionary. Compiled by (the late) George Ostler. (Oxford University Press, Bombay) 1930.

An authoritative English dictionary that can be slipped into the pocket is something that everyone who has to speak or write must often have desired. They will find exactly the dictionary they have wished for in *The Little Oxford Dictionary*. Founded on the great *Oxford Dictionary* it has the necessary authority and the compiler, has done his work with a complete understanding of what is wanted. The result is a compendious little volume of 640 pages bound in blue cloth, and costing but one rupee, which should be kept handy by every student of English.

A Directory of Societies and Organizations in Great Britain concerned with the study of International Affairs. Compiled by S. A. Heald (The Royal Society of International Affairs Chatham House, 10 St. James's square, London, S.W. 1.) 1929.

Mr. Stephen A. Heald's *Directory*—the full explanatory title of which we have quoted above—is a useful compilation and will be of service to students of international affairs, particularly when they happen to be in London, where most of the institutions are situated. A glance at this reference book will be an eye-opener to the Indian in London, showing how little his country yet figures in international matters.

Liddell's Simla Directory 1930. (Liddell's Printing Works, Longacre, Simla) 1930.

Messrs Liddell—the proprietors of the well-known Simla weekly bearing their name—are also responsible for the annual

Simla Directory. As Simla society charges considerably from year to year, the *Directory* has naturally got to be recast and rewritten as frequently. The work of thorough revision is skilfully performed, and the result is an excellent, up-to-date and comprehensive directory of the summer capital of India, which will be indispensable to all residents in and visitors to it.

GUIDE BOOKS AND TOURISTS, LITERATURE.

Burrow's Handy Guide to Europe. Second Edition. (E. J. Burrow & Co., Ltd., Central House, 45-7 Kingsway, London, W. C. 2) 1930.

The second, revised and overhauled, edition of *Burrow's Handy Guide to Europe*, which represents an excellent idea excellently carried out is, indeed, welcome. Rolfe's *Satchel Guide to Europe* and Stedman's *Complete Pocket-Guide to Europe* are two of the better-known American hand-books for travellers in Europe, but there was no similar British publication. This want was completely removed when the *Handy Guide* appeared in 1926, through the enterprise of Messrs. Burrow, who have specialized for years in the compilation of tourists' reference literature. Their *Handy Guide to Europe*—which is strongly bound in attractive cloth boards—covers the whole of that continent, except Russia, and it also includes a section, at the end, on places of special interest to Americans. It successfully condenses the greatest amount of accurate and useful information in the smallest possible space and the numerous specially-prepared and well-drawn maps and plans (which are thoroughly up-to-date) and the list of hotels appended after every town and resort dealt with, materially enhance the usefulness of the text. Compact, handy (being portable in a coat pocket), packed from cover to cover with useful information and essential particulars regarding travel facilities, customs, currency etc. for all the countries, and fully abreast of the latest developments in methods of

travel, this fully-indexed guide is a notable addition to the reference literature of the European tour, and is a marvellous compendium of highly useful knowledge for tourists in Europe. It is to be hoped that this valuable and meritorious work—concisely written and clearly printed, with the names of all places and features of interest shown in prominent type—will receive such wide appreciation as to encourage its enterprising publishers to make it (like its American prototypes, referred to above) an annual publication and also to include in it information about the group of Soviet republics in Europe, which follow the lead of Russia, so as to make its scope co-extensive with the whole of the European continent.

Motoring on the Continent. Second revised edition. By C. L. Freeston. (E. J. Burrows & Co., Ltd., Central House, 43-7 Kingsway, London, W. C. 2) 1930.

We welcome the revised and enlarged edition of Mr. Charles Freeston's *Motoring on the Continent*. It sketches out over sixty road routes to the principal resorts and touring areas of Europe, described by a motorist of wide experience in continental touring. A thoroughly practical handbook, which should be read by everyone contemplating motoring on the Continent, it should be kept handy by the motorist on his continental tour. The illustrations are of exceptional interest, each one is either a rare and little known view, or a more familiar spot under exceptional conditions. The maps have been specially drawn. The large key chart shows all the routes described, and sections specially numbered are given separately on a much larger scale. Careful attention has been given to the indexing and cross-referencing of the handbook, by means of which the principal places can be readily found and the tour in which they are included. Additional notes on touring in Algeria and Tunisia are given. It would thus be seen that this is a handbook of a quite superior order. It deals with all the leading routes and favourite tourist haunts, and gives such road information, with regard to the chief touring districts, as

will render the motorist independent of any other directions. In addition to the sections describing favourite routes to the principal resorts, there is a useful section of practical things for a Continental tour which no motorist intending to tour on the Continent should fail to read. The book contains five maps and seventeen illustrations, and is a highly useful, compact and well-designed guide to continental travel by car.

The Port of Bombay. By W. R. S. Sharpe. (Bombay Port Trust, Bombay) 1930.

Ceylon. By Ashley Gibson. (J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., Aldine House, Bedford Street London W. C. 2.) 1929.

The Hand-Book to the Sculptures in the Peshawar Museum. By H. Hargreaves. (Government of India Central Publication Branch, Calcutta) 1930.

The trustees of the port of Bombay were well advised in getting their Deputy Chairman to undertake to compile *The Port of Bombay*, which is a well-written and interesting historical sketch of Bombay as a port—its harbours and docks—from the earliest times to the present day. The book which is illustrated and embellished with maps, plans, and tabular statements of statistical data, offers a readable sketch of the remarkable growth and expansion of Bombay, from practically a fishing village to that of the second city of the British Commonwealth and is a useful and well-got-up survey. The book should find appreciation amongst a large circle of readers. *Mr. H. Hargreaves's Handbook of Sculptures in the Peshawar Museum* is a new up-to-date edition of the late Dr. Spooner's work on the subject, first issued in 1909, and long since out of print. The new edition will appeal to all interested in Indian archaeology. *Mr. Ashley Gibson's Ceylon* (in "The Outward Bound Library") is a revised edition of an earlier work called *Cinnamon and Frangipanni*. Although *Mr. Gibson* gives in his work a wealth of information about the topography, scenery

and sights of Ceylon, the book is chiefly noteworthy for its keen insight into the life of the Singhalese as also of the jungle. He depicts the island scene from within, and creates a fascinating atmosphere in which he is helped materially by Miss Barbara Shaw's numerous pencilled sketches. The latest changes and development in Ceylonese travel and traffic are noted in a new preface and the book is fully up-to-date. No visitor to Ceylon should go there unprovided with a copy of *Mr. Ashley Gibson's Ceylon*.

The Airway to See Europe. By Eleanor Elsner (Albert Adriott, Ltd., 37-8 Golden Square London, W. 1.) 1930.

Mrs. Elsner's The Airway to see Europe is a truly pioneer work, and as such deserves a cordial welcome. In commending it, in a foreword, Lord Thomson, Secretary of State for Air, says, "Mrs. Eleanor Elsner describes the Joys and thrills of air travel in appropriately breezy style. Readers will learn from this book how a short holiday can be spent by using the new means of transport; how accessible the most distant parts of Europe are to the air travellers; how tedious journeys can be shortened and the opportunities for sight-seeing multiplied." We agree and strongly recommend its use by air travellers. *Mrs. Elsner* has enjoyed especial facilities in collecting her material. The big air lines have given her passage over their various routes, for her to gain her impressions, and the result is the first constructive book dealing with air travel from the point of view of the passenger. This book does not bristle with technicalities, but deals with the delights of travel by air—its extreme safety and economic utility both for pleasure and business tours. Every one who reads this book will at once want to fly over the air routes of Europe when next they take a holiday or wish to make a business trip to the Continent. The book is not technically, perhaps, a guide, as it does not furnish practical information, but it is none the less highly informative about air travel in Europe.

Come to Scotland. (The Simmath Press, Ltd., Simmath House, Roseangle, Dundee) 1930.

Come to Scotland is a profusely illustrated guide to "the bens and the glens, the hills and the heather" of "Caledonia Stern and Wild", edited by Mr. A. R. McFarlane, who has done his work very well. Apart from the letter-press its chief merit is its great attractiveness by reason of its illustrations. Perhaps never before has such a large number of reproductions of the beauty spots of North Britain been gathered within the covers of a single volume. Opening the book one finds a very serviceable road map, showing distances. Then follow pages showing well-nigh a thousand of beautiful and interesting scenes selected over the length and breadth of the land. These are accompanied by descriptive letterpress. The general arrangement of the book is that at each opening, views and the text appear on the right-hand page, with announcements of the firms of the district on the left-hand page, so that local flavour is strongly pronounced throughout. As one turns the pages a sense of the wonderful variety of romantic riches of Scotland grows upon the reader. Almost every view stirs some romantic memory or pleases the artistic sense. The pictures lead the reader on from page to page, and the accompanying letterpress supplies a concise guide to the chief features of the various districts. An index makes reference easy. Altogether a beautiful souvenir of Scotland.

Holidays by L. M. S. (General Manager, London Midland and Scottish Railway, London) 1930.

Holiday Haunts. (General Manager, Great Western Railway, Paddington, London) 1930.

The Holiday Handbook (General Manager London and North-Eastern Railway, London) 1930.

Hints for Holidays. (General Manager, Southern Railway, London) 1930.

Under the Railways Act of 1921, the many lines of British railways were grouped, from 1st. January, 1923, under four managements, designated the London Midland and Scottish, the Great Western, the London and North-Eastern, and the Southern Railways. Each of these four publishes revised editions, from time to time, of profusely illustrated, large, bulky handbooks, weighing about a couple pounds each, giving full particulars of the many holiday resorts served by it, the text being embellished with maps, plans, descriptive sketches, practical information and everything else which the average tourist is likely to require in the way of knowledge of travel conditions—and all this at the cost of but six pence! Marvellous, indeed, must be the organizations which can turn out such super-excellent, sixpenny guide-books, of about one thousand pages, and place them on the market for the benefit of the travelling public for a mere trifle. It were much to be wished that the various Indian railways would take a leaf out of the book of the British railways; but that, though a consummation devoutly to be wished for, is not likely to be realized in the near future.

Paris. By L. Hourticq. (The Richards Press, Ltd., 90 Newman Street, London, W.1) 1930.

In a previous issue of the *Hindustan Review*, we noticed in terms of appreciation "The Modern Pictorial Library", edited by Mr. S. P. B. Mais. The latest addition to it is Mr. Louis Hourticq's *Paris*. Like Mr. Beresford Chancellors *London* in the same series, Mr. Hourticq's *Paris* is not a guide to the gay city in the strict sense of the term. But its well-written letter-press and profuse illustrations render it exceedingly useful to the visitor to Paris. Dealing with and illustrating, as it does, the geographical position and plan of Paris, its history from the earliest times till the present day, its famous buildings and boulevards, and its many scenes and sights in important districts, it forms an invaluable

companion to the traveller in the capital of *La Belle France*.

May I Show You Rome. By J. Orecchia. (30 Via Lombardia, Rome, Italy) 1930.

In spite of some misprints, due to the printing in Italy of the book in English, Mr. Joseph Orecchia's *May I Show you Rome* is an excellent guide to the eternal city. Not only does it furnish in a compact form, archeological, artistic and historical data about Rome, but also a complete chronological list of all the popes, and a historical sketch of the city from the earliest times till the end of the Roman empire, with brief biographies of important personages. But while all these and the lucid descriptions of the principal scenes and sights, buildings and monuments, galleries and museums make it a meritorious work, there is yet one serious defect in it—the total omission of practical information. This last included in the next edition, will make it an ideal guide to Rome.

Cook's Travellers Handbook to Belgium. By Roy Elston (Thos Cook and Son, Ltd., Berkeley Street, Piccadilly, London, W.) 1930.

The latest addition to Messers Cook's *Guides*—another hardiwork of Mr. Roy Elston's—is devoted to Belgium, and possesses all the characteristic merit of the series in which it appears. It presents concisely and clearly those features of Belgium which generally attract the tourist to that country, while it also supplies practical information, brief sketches of Belgian history, architecture and painting, and a useful bibliography. The book is accurate, informative and up-to-date, and should prove highly useful to the traveller in Belgium.

RECENT LEGAL LITERATURE

The Life of Sir Edward Marshall Hall. By E. Marjori banks, M. P. (Victor Gollancz, Ltd, 14 Henrietta Street, London) 1929.

It is truly a notable addition to legal biography—Mr. Edward Marjori banks's *Life of Sir Edward Marshall Hall*—for, as happily put by Lord Birkenhead in his foreword to the book, "Sir Edward is fortunate in his biographer" and the author "is fortunate in his subject". The author is a stepson of Lord Hailsham, who was Lord Chancellor in the last administration, was educated at Eton (where he was captain of the school) Christchurch, Oxford, where he took a first in "Mods" and "Greats" and also became President of the Union. He went on the first Oxford University debating tour to debate on the League of Nations with American Universities. Called to the Bar in 1924, he became acquainted with the subject of this biography, and published a sonnet about Marshall Hall in the *Morning Post*, as a result of which Lady Marshall Hall suggested that he should undertake the *Life*. He afterwards signed a contract with the executors under which they undertook to give him for the purpose all the relevant papers and documents, and the result is an excellent work. Mr. Marjoribanks was elected M. P. for Eastbourne (in the Conservative interest) at the last General Election. His highly interesting book portrays a career which, professionally concerned with the tragedies of others, was a tragedy in itself and is thus absolutely enthralling. The biography is based on the letters and documents of the great advocate, as well as on the memories of contemporaries. Good use has been made of the material, and the result is a vital—and, it must be added, pathetically—human figure of very great interest. Simply as a vivid piece of biography, this book would be certain of wide popular success. But an even greater factor in such assured success is the wonderful series of *causes celebres* which are presented in its pages—and presented, not in the manner of newspaper reports, but with a mass of intimate and revealing detail. For instance, the full story of the Mme. Fahmy case is for the first time told here. We read of Marshall Hall's remarkable theory of the Crippen

affair, and the reasons which led him to think that Crippen was innocent of any intent to murder; and his equally "sensational" view of the "Brides in the Bath" case—to the effect that Smith did not drown his victims, but caused them to commit suicide in the bath by the power of suggestion. There are other cases of great interest. One can get an idea of the panorama of legal drama which is unfolded when one remembers that Marshall Hall was briefed in many of the most famous criminal cases of our time, all of which are fully described in the book, and make fascinating reading. As has already been said, the biographer has had full access to Sir Edward's notes and letters, with the result that he is able to narrate his cases from "inside the mind" of the great advocate. The book is thus a psychological study. It is richly illustrated, some of these illustrations being of a very rare character. They range from photographs and cartoons of the advocate himself, and of some of the more remarkable of the men whom he defended, to such things as the photograph in court of the Seddon death sentence, Marshall Hall's collection of criminal implements, and some of the remarkable drawings made by Wood, the artist, who, it will be remembered, was acquitted. Judged, therefore, by even a highly critical standard, the book under review must be pronounced to be a very meritorious work and should obtain a large circulation in the legal world.

The Indian Penal Code.—2 Vols. By Dr. Nand Lal, B. A., LL. D. (Krishen Lal & Co., 19 Fane Road, Lahore) 1930.

Now that Dr. Nand Lal has entered the lists of—what shall we say?—"legal authorship arena", Sir Hari Singh may as well strain every nerve to retain the laurel on his brow. Dr. Nand Lal's *Civil Procedure Code* has now been followed by two heavy and weighty tomes of 3,400 pages (called the *Indian Penal Code*) which hurled at a full or divisional bench—to say nothing of a single judge bench—will let out blood in court, and confound the upholders of law

and order. But there they are—hard as stone, quite twenty two pounds in weight, and chokeful of the codeless myriads of precedents. For all that Dr. Nand Lal's *Indian Penal Code* is truly a monumental work, which is exhaustive, self-contained, lucid, accurate, elucidative, and in one word scientific in its exposition and treatment of the substantive criminal law of British India. As regards its usefulness alike to the legal practitioner and the judge and the magistrate, it is furnished with a full, compendious and descriptive index, which materially adds to its utility. In fact—like his previous commentary on the civil adjective law—this gigantic treatise redounds in the highest degree to the commentator's great learning, admirable industry and infinite patience. The work claims to be "an exhaustive explanatory and critical commentary, and a really comprehensive, encyclopaedic and unique work", and that the author's attempt has been "to see that not a single important point, which could possibly arise in any criminal case, or charge, under the Indian Penal Code, or might conceivably occur to the mind of any criminal lawyer" has been overlooked. Though it is putting it rather high, it can not be said that Dr. Nand Lal's claim is exaggerated. The thoroughness and the breadth of scale, on which the author works, may be gathered from the fact that he devotes over 150 pages to a discussion of the two sections dealing with murder and culpable homicide. There are about forty pages given to "sedition" and "disaffection" in section 124A, and eighty to "defamation".

Other important sections are treated with equal liberality. Such is the *magnum opus* of the erudite Dr. Nand Lal, and the present work, like its predecessor, is the result of great learning and labour. The highly instructive general introduction, the systematic synopsis of the sections, and the exceedingly exhaustive index referred to above, add substantially to the usefulness of the work. The book may be justly described as an inexhaustible mine of legal learning in the domain of substantive criminal law, and these two volumes will form a highly meri-

torious addition to the criminal lawyers library. We desire to convey our heartiest felicitations to the talented author, on the notable success he has achieved in his commentaries, on two of the greatest Indian codes, and more particularly on the Indian Penal Code.

Crime in India. By Sir Cecil Walsh. (Ernest Benn, Ltd. Bouverie House, 154 Fleet Street, London E. C. ; also The Educational Book Company of India, Gujranwala, Punjab,) 1930.

We have noticed in terms of appreciation, Sir Cecil Walsh's two previous works on Indian Criminology—*The Agra Double Murder* and *Indian Village Crimes*. These are now followed by *Crime in India*, which is a fresh collection of sensational criminal cases, designed to illustrate further the peculiarities and weird mentality of the ordinary Indian cultivator; the difficulties of crime investigation in India; the astounding effrontery of police corruption and extortion; and other special characteristics of the administration of criminal jurisdiction. In his introduction Sir Cecil discusses methods adopted by the police for extracting admissions from suspected persons, and the unsatisfactory nature of the examination of prisoners at the trial; the inefficiency which characterises many sessions trials; the value of the jury system; and the probable general effect, upon law and order in India, of a further extension of "Indianisation". The stories told, all of which have been taken from official records of trials, are arranged in three classes; one contains further instances of sensational Indian village crimes and mysteries; a second comprises cases of false charges, including an almost incredible plot, by which a police officer of one Indian State, investigating a crime in another, was led into a wonderful trap, and sentenced to several years imprisonment on a false charge; while the third contains a few isolated cases, including one of police extortion, and one of the wrongful conviction, and severe punishment, of a Hindu bridegroom and two Hindu priests, who were all

members of a Christian Mission, for taking part in a non-Christian marriage. There is thus much of great interest in this latest study of Indian crimes and criminals, and the book is bound to appeal to a large circle of readers. At the same time, it must be noted that there is much in Sir Cecil's views, deductions and inferences, which is objectionable from the Indian point of view, to which we shall advert in a later issue.

The Government of the British Empire. By Dr. Edward Jenks. Fourth Edition. (John Murray, Albemarle Street, London, W.) 1930.

The fourth edition of Dr. Edward Jenks's *Government of the British Empire* is a new book rather than a new edition. It has, to a considerable extent, been rewritten, in view of the great changes in the subject since the last edition appeared. Prominent among these are the new policy of Imperial organisation inaugurated by the Imperial Conference of 1926, and the revolution in the scheme of local government in England and Scotland by the legislation of 1925-29. The important changes recently made in the judicial system of the Irish Free State are also summarised; and, generally speaking, every effort has been made to bring the book up to date. The numerous changes in the structure of the organization of the British Commonwealth, brought about by the Imperial Conference of 1926, based on the famous declaration that Great Britain and the self-governing Dominions are "autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate to one another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations." The book is a comprehensive sketch of the governments of the various states of the British Commonwealth, and is at once sound, accurate and informative.

Trial of Oscar Slater. Edited by W. Roughead. Third Edition. (William Ho-

dges and Co., Ltd., 12 Bank Street, Edinburgh, and Butterworth & Co., 6 Hastings Street, Calcutta) 1930.

Mr William Routhead's *Trial of Oscar Slater* which is the third edition of the book in the "Notable British Trials Series", provides a complete historical record of a long legal tragedy about which everybody must by this time know something. New features, in the present volume, are a report of the proceedings at the 1928 appeal in Edinburgh, and an entirely new introduction reviewing the whole case from 1908 to 1928. Alike in its inception, its developments, and its results, this cause is altogether exceptional. In no other murder trial has the supposed right man been arrested upon an admittedly wrong clue; in no other murder trial has a conviction been secured on evidence of identity, unsupported by other facts and circumstances inferring the accused's guilt; and in no other murder trial has the case been reopened and the verdict quashed after well-nigh twenty years. For these important reasons this book is of exceptional interest to all students of criminology and is bound to appeal to them.

Lawbreakers. By Charles Kingston, (John Lane the Bodley Head. London) 1930.

Criminals with two personalities, the predecessors in fact of Stevenson's famous fiction, *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, head the *dramatis personae* in Mr. Kingston's latest volume. These include a doctor who was a burglar by night, a policeman who in his spare time trained thieves, an army officer who stole the plate of the London clubs—the Reform Club amongst them—of which he was a member, a defaulting cashier who was famous for his benevolence, and a poet-artist and friend of Lamb and Dickens, who was a forger and poisoner. This latter was Thomas Griffiths Wainwright, the subject of essays by many famous writers. Perhaps even more remarkable is the story of Hans Schmidt, the priest, who in 1913 committed murder in New York, and of

whose dual personality there can be no doubt, for coeval with his life of crime he was a deeply religious and successful ecclesiastic. There are in addition a selection of miscarriages of justice in Great Britain and America, and a variety of stories concerning memorable and unique trials, with many quaint anecdotes. Mr. Kingston's book is probably the most versatile he has contributed to the subject of criminology.

Barristers, Solicitors and Public. By "A Barrister". Third Edition. (Effingham Wilson, 16 Copthall Avenue, London, E. C. 2) 1930.

The full title of "A Barristers" book—now in its third edition, which betokens its success and popularity—is *The Relations between Barristers, Solicitors and the Public*, which is self-explanatory. It is a lucid account of the growth and development of the two sections of the legal profession in England—roughly speaking of those who act and those who plead—and of their relations *inter se* and also with the public. Though the English system does not obtain in this country—except perhaps in the "Presidency" towns—there is much in this book that will be found of interest to legal practitioners in India as well. It also contains useful information for students who desire to be called to the English Bar.

The English Constitution. By Sir Maurice Amos. (Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd., 39 Paternoster Row, London E. C. 4) 1930.

Sir Maurice Amos's *English Constitution*—it should have been more appropriately called the *British Constitution*—is one of the recent additions to the publisher's English Heritage Series, the earlier volumes of which we have already noticed in terms of commendation. The volume under consideration is a clear and concise sketch of the group of political institutions, which jointly make up the constitution of Britain, and the author offers in it a lucid exposition of the principal rules, and leading

principles governing these institutions and their relations *inter se*. It will be found useful by young political leaders in mastering the fundamental principles of British constitution.

Source-Book Constitutional History from 1660. By D. O. Dykes (Longmans, Green and Co, 39 Paternoster Row, London E. C. 4) 1930.

Dr. D. Oswald Dyke's *Source-Book of Constitutional History* (from 1660 to the present day) is an excellent compendium of the subject it deals with. The author takes a comprehensive view of the scope of Constitutional History. While the greater part of the documents included are excerpts from the Statute book, there are also included many leading cases on constitutional law. In the earlier sections dealing with the Revolution of 1688 there have been printed some important documents, which have been hitherto inaccessible to students. Thus this *Source-book* will be exceedingly helpful to the students of British constitutional history.

ON THE EDITORS TABLE : MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE

Six Brilliant English Women (Gerald Howe, Ltd., 23 Soho Square, London W. I) is a collection of portraits drawn by able writers. The six women dealt with—not necessarily all of them English—women, as Mrs. Besant certainly is not—are Aphra Behn (1640-1689), the incomparable *Astrea*, the earliest professional woman writer, noted for her adventures in Surinam, as a government spy, and as a London dramatist; Sarah Churchill (1663-1744), wife of the great Duke of Marlborough, and for a time the most powerful woman in Europe; Elizabeth Chudleigh (1726-1728) Duchess of Kingston, the famous Maid of Honour, who was convicted of bigamy; Lady Hester Stanhope (1776-1839) niece of William Pitt, the first English woman to travel in Arabia; Elizabeth Barrett Browning (1806-1861) who eloped with Robert

Browning to get married; and Mrs Annie Besant (1874-), the most remarkable living woman, in turn clergyman's wife, Freethinker, Socialist, Theosophist and Indian Reformer. Each of the essays is well written and the book is highly interesting. To the "Modern Pictorial Library" issued by the Richards Press, Ltd., (90 Newman Street London W. I.), Mr. S. P. B. Mais contributes *Shakespeare and the Dawn of British Literature*, which is an excellent sketch. The author has provided in it a comprehensive view of English literature from its beginnings to Elizabethan dramatists. Starting from the story of Beowulf, Mr. Mais traces the development of English literature to the mediaeval romances, Chaucer and the great Elizabethans. His study of Shakespeare deals with the man and his work, and provides a short history of the first folio, with notes on all the plays. The reader will understand his Shakespeare all the better for knowledge of the sources, of his inspiration, and of the material for the building of his plays. The study of English literature will be found to be not merely a matter for the dry-as-dust professor, but a source of real and absorbing interest for the general reader of to-day.

Miss Sackville-West, author of *The Land* and well known as a critic of fiction, has not published a novel for several years. The plot of her new book—called the *Edwardians* (The Hogarth Press, 52 Tavistock Square, London, W. C. I)—takes place round about the year 1905. It is primarily a *roman de mœurs*, a study of the "smart set"—cold worldly, fashionable, extravagant, scandalous, though with a strong sense of keeping up appearances and of tenue. The characters range from King Edward VII down to the housemaids in the servants hall. Another aspect of life in those days is shown in the picture of life in a great country-house. Miss Sackville-West paints a lively picture of ducal

life in a great country house in Edwardian days; she charmingly admits in an author's note that no character in the book is wholly fictitious. Miss Sackville-West makes some amusing and interesting observations in telling her tale, which is well worth reading.

The three parts of the *Shivaji Album*, edited by the Chief of Aundh (The State Press, Aundh)—issued in view of the celebration this year of the tercentenary of Shivaji's birth—is an excellent collection of art-pictures. The Chief of Aundh is entitled to our appreciation for bringing out these albums "illustrative of the romantic and adventurous story Shivaji". Each part contains ten colour plates accompanied by explanatory matter, and the "pictures are so arranged as to afford a continuous view of the career of Shivaji from his birth to his coronation". The need for such an album visualising the great hero's deeds we keenly felt, and we are pleased to note the highly successful way in which the whole work has been planned and carried out. The book is quite opportune at the present moment and we expect there will be a great demand for it.

Professor Gilbert Murray's translations into English of the Greek dramatists are absolutely the best. His latest addition is *The Suppliant Women* of Aeschylus. (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 40 Museum Street, London) This is a very special and curious play, much the oldest Greek tragedy preserved, and really not so much a play as a sort of ballet or cantata. It has generally been regarded as practically unintelligible, but professor Murray believes he has got the meaning out of it; and there can be no question of its great lyrical beauty, and its religious importance for the thought of the fifth century. Professor Murray has written a long and interesting introduction to this new example of his art and scholarship.

Miss Winifred James's *London Is My Lute* (Chapman and Hall Ltd., 11 Henrietta Street, London, W.C. 2) is a collection (reprinted from the papers) of an excellent

series of London sketches. "I am the singing Troubadour and London is my Lute", is the motto of Miss James's title page; and with a charming, wistful intimacy she recounts the simple adventures of a lonely woman's home-making in London, her troubles, her dreams, her disappointments, and her consolations. This is a book for every woman; and indeed for every man as well, for its homely but searching problems are independent of sex, and appeal to the sympathy of every reader who is not deaf to the call of life—at any rate, in London.

We have lying on our table the new editions of two good books—the second of Messrs Carey Scott's *Outline History of the Great War* (Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, London) which provides a plain and concise narrative of the main British campaigns, rather from the point of view of those who fought, than from that of the professional historian, and the fourth (with a new preface of Mr. E. Roy Calvert's *Capital Punishment in the Twentieth Century* (G. P. Putnam's Sons, 24 Bedford Street, London, W. C. 2) which is the most effective plea we know of for the abolition of the extreme penalty of law. Both these books were noticed by us appreciatively on their first appearance, and we commend them again to our readers.

Philip's *Crown Atlas* (George Philip and Son, Ltd., 32 Fleet Street, London, E.C. 4) is a compact and reliable atlas alike for purposes of reference and study. It comprises of 48 maps printed in full colours, portraying the latest political changes and alterations in place-names and boundaries throughout the world. The maps are informative and full of detail without being overcrowded, and this entirely new atlas, together with its consulting index, forms an admirable desk companion, or an ideal addition to the bookcase. We commend the *Crown Atlas* as one of the best atlases available.

Bar and Buskin, by Mr. E. F. Spence (Elkin Mathews and Marrot, Ltd., 54

Bloomsbury Street, London W. C. 1) is a sparkling volume of reminiscences by a Kirg's counsel and an eminent critic of the drama, and is full of interesting and amusing stories of the law and the stage. The volume is all the more attractive by reason of the author's success in two different spheres of activity, in each of which he distinguished himself. Thus his memories of a long life—he is seventy now—and law and theatre, for now a period of over forty years, are a notable addition to the literature of memoirs and reminiscences.

Last Words of Famous Men by "Bega" (Williams and Norgate Ltd., 38 Great Ormond Street, London W. C. 1) is a unique anthology of the last words or sayings attributed to notable men and women of all countries and religions. It shows the manner in which very different characters have faced the common destiny of men, and gives us an insight into the state of mind of those who are about to undergo the greatest crisis of their lives—their meeting with Death. It is a collection of words of wisdom which merit careful consideration at the hands of all thoughtful beings.

Points of View (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 40 Museum Street, London) is a highly instructive collection of broadcast addresses, delivered by some of the most eminent Britishers. Here are the famous "Points of View"—now brought together—which aroused such interest and discussion when they were delivered late last year over the wireless. Everyone who heard them—and who did not?—will be glad to have them all together in one

volume. They deserve careful attention alike for their subject-matter, and the high position of the lecturers.

Major H. Hobbs's *The Romance of the Calcutta Sweep* (Thacker, Spink and Co., Calcutta) and Colonel A. R. Winsloe's *Rackets in India* (The Times of India Press, Bombay) are books of great interest to sportsmen in India. Major Hobbs's book is an excellent sketch of the history and romance of the Calcutta Sweep; while Colonel Winsloe's book is a compendious historical sketch and exposition of the game of rackets as played in India. Both should appeal to a large circle of readers.

Stammering by Miss Elsie Fogerty (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 40 Museum Street, London) is an excellent work on the subject it deals with. The author as the Principal of the Central School of Speech Training and Dramatic Art, is a master of the subject which she deals with, and her little book is a sound and comprehensive exposition of stammering, its disadvantages and its proper treatment. The book may be safely commended to all sufferers from the affliction.

Mr. Tucker Brooke's *The Shakespeare Songs* (J. M. Dent and sons, Ltd., Aldine House, Bedford Street, London, W. C. 2) is a complete collection of the songs either written by, or attributed to, the greatest English dramatist. It is edited carefully with elucidative notes, a helpful glossary and an index of first lines, with an illuminating introduction by Mr. Walter De La Mare. The anthology should obtain a wide circulation amongst the numerous admirers of Shakespeare.

THE REVOLUTION IN INDIA : A FLASHLIGHT VIEW.

IN their official communique—dated the 30th June—on the political situation in the country, the Government of India made the following declaration:—"The action of the Working Committee (of the Congress) demonstrates that they have now reached the stage of endeavouring to promote a revolution, through an overthrow of the Government. The Committee must be considered as engaged in a deliberate attempt to subvert the Government". We hope that in the face of this frank acknowledgment, by the highest official authority in the country, it will not be open to any subordinate executive officer to question the correctness of the description of the present state of affairs in this country—at any rate in so far as the work and method of the Congress party and the result achieved by them is concerned—as a political "revolution". We propose to survey, analyse and discuss in this dissertation such aspects of this formidable movement as are of interest not only to the Government, but to the vast bulk of the politically-minded people in this country, as also to other nations in the East and the West, amongst whom the stupendous problem connoted by the term "India" makes some appeal, alike on the ground of the growing sense of kinness of all humanity, and withal on that of a keen appreciation of the struggle for freedom, carried on by the Congress party, through absolutely novel methods hitherto un-

known in this world, because they have never been tried—at any rate on so extensive a scale—in any country, at any period, since the dawn of history. This is clear from the fact that notwithstanding the very strict censorship prevailing for months past, even the American Press seem to have got an insight into the present situation in this country. Referring to it, for instance, one of the leading American journals—the *New York Nation*—writes:—"The spectacle not only of revolutionary leaders voluntarily giving themselves up to the authorities, but of unarmed men deliberately baring their breasts and calmly allowing themselves to be shot—all this seems incredible to the Western mind. It has remained for India to give it (the doctrine of non-violence) by far the most remarkable application in our time". On the same subject, the *New York World* writes as follows:—"The resistance to British authority led by Gandhi is of a kind with which the western mind is peculiarly unfit to deal. Were Gandhi leading an insurrection, were he attempting to seize the power of government, there would be ample precedents as to how to meet him. But Gandhi, by renouncing the weapons of war, has made it infinitely difficult for the British to resort to those weapons. In so far as he has disarmed his own followers, he has in a very large degree morally disarmed the British. It is impossible to strike hard and with conviction at men who refuse either to parry the blow or to

return it. While their discipline and courage hold out, the followers of Gandhi cannot be successfully coerced. Unless they are provoked to violence, the ordinary procedure of arrest and punishment will but serve to strengthen the movement, while to provoke violence in a nation of three hundred millions, in order to be able to suppress it, is, on the other hand, as dangerous as it is revolting". These two short extracts—from two of the most influential organs of American public opinion—bring into prominent relief the striking difficulties of Government in suppressing the non-violent revolution in the country. No apology is, therefore, necessary for discussing it, in its various aspects, at some length, in the *Hindustan Review*, the more so as we have not seen, so far, any comprehensive and systematic survey of this unique movement, its effect on the Indian mass-mind, on the one hand, and on the British Government, on the other, as also on the non-Congress sections of the community in this country, and on its trade and commerce, in particular, and the political situation, in general.

II

Since we last surveyed the political situation in the country—about the time when, in March last, Mr. Gandhi was on the eve of embarking upon civil disobedience, by defying and violating the salt laws—India has been in the throes of a political revolution, by no means silent either, as its repercussions have echoed throughout the civilized world. Though the Indian non-violent revolutionaries are unarmed, in the literal sense of that term, let there be no mistake about their incapacity, for many of them have their defensive

armour and their weapons—an austere discipline, a burning sense of indignation at what they regard their country's wrongs, an intense love for the freedom of their motherland, and a will to do and a soul to dare. Notwithstanding, therefore, their being undrilled and unarmed, in the popular acceptance of those terms, they are well-accounted to carry on the struggle, in as much as many of them—especially among their leaders—are of the stuff of which heroes and heroines are made. Though ultimately they may have to, and probably will, give way to the highly disciplined, wonderfully well—organised and immeasurably superior forces, material and intellectual, which are at the command of the British-Indian Government, it cannot be said, at present, that their defeat is necessarily certain in the near future, or that it will be a crushing one when it comes, or that they will be induced to attend the Round Table Conference, in London, unless it be by some significant gesture which will assure them of Britain's intention to concede to India, almost immediately, a constitution modelled upon the Dominion governments of the British Commonwealth, which Mr. Gandhi has rightly characterized (in the course of an interview given by him in jail to the representative of the *Daily Herald* of London) as "the substance of independence." Be that as it may, there cannot be the least doubt that a hundred years hence, perhaps even much earlier, the events that are happening to-day in India will be regarded by impartial historians as most wonderful and unique episodes, not only in the history of this country, but in that of the human race. This is not a prophecy, but the simple statement of a

fact. The remarkable heroism, calm courage and admirable patience, that we are witnessing daily in the present struggle, have exceeded most sanguine expectations of the Congress leaders and belied their fears. Such a wonderful spectacle and unyielding demonstration would have been unthinkable to any one in this country even a few years back. To dare all and to bear all is not possible for all persons in any country, and for obvious reasons the least so in our own; but it is being done and the suffering entailed is being borne cheerfully in jail and outside it, not only by hundreds, but thousands, of men and even by large numbers of women, whose selflessness and patriotism, for what they regard as their duty to their country, deserve high acknowledgment. Such an acknowledgment may be made, notwithstanding that it may not be possible for us to see eye to eye with them in regard to the propriety and expediency of the methods and tactics adopted by them to achieve the object they have in view—the political, economic and cultural freedom of India, or, in other words, Dominion Status for India—which is also the aim of all the classes, communities and the other political parties in the country, aye, even of those who are generally believed by Government to be ranged on their side—the princes, the land-holding classes, the Muslims, and the leaders of the “depressed classes”, as they are now designated. This admission is made in terms unequivocal even in the first volume of the Simon Report.

III.

This struggle for freedom in India is being closely watched even in

foreign lands, especially in America. It goes without saying that the sympathy of many freedom-loving foreigners—European and American—is with the Indian non-violent revolutionaries, as evidenced by the expression of opinion of the two leading and influential New York journals quoted above. Also, over one hundred Americans, including many eminent men, presented not long back a statement to Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, advising him earnestly to make peace with Mr. Gandhi, of whom they justly spoke in terms of highest regard and admiration. The comments of the foreign press that have been wired to this country, and the cartoons (on the subject of the Indian struggle) that have appeared in the leading papers of the European and American countries—some of which have reached us in the British and American *Review of Reviews* and other periodicals—bear no manner of doubt that the press in foreign lands is deeply interested in the keen contest waged by the “civil disobedients”—unarmed though they are even with walking sticks, let alone lethal weapons—against the might and majesty of the British-Indian Government. Much of the interest in the struggle is, no doubt, due to the personality of its great leader, Mr. Gandhi, whose name to-day is synonymous with that of India throughout the civilized world—he being justly regarded as the highest personification of the noblest aspirations of his native country, or in the words of the *Times* “the living symbol of her (India’s) natural desire for self-determination.” Thus in the course of a letter to the *Times* Sir Francis Younghusband writes:—“When recently travelling in Canada and the

United States, I was impressed by the unusual interest taken in India. But, for *Canadians and Americans*, *Gandhi was India* (our italics). What Gandhi wanted, India must want. And what Gandhi wanted must be good; for Gandhi was a saint. Gandhi wanted to sever the connection of India with England, and wanted to sever it at once. Therefore, India wanted this and wanted it at once." We can easily understand the chagrin betrayed by the writer—an old Anglo-Indian—but he and his compatriots must not forget that facts *are* stubborn things. As emphasised by a rather severe critic of his—Mr. F. W. Wilson, editor of the *Indian Daily Mail*—"Mr. Gandhi has rendered his countrymen two inestimable services, and when the history of modern India comes to be written, these will be universally praised. Mr. Gandhi has taught his countrymen to get rid of her inferiority complex and that they are the equal of any white man; he has taught them self-respect and self-confidence. This is Mr. Gandhi's greatest work. His second effort, to which I would give the fullest praise, is his work for the depressed classes." Led by such a selfless leader, is there anything to be surprised at, if many of his followers, all over the country, have in truth achieved wonders? We have used the expression "achieved wonders" advisedly, for nothing less would describe what they have attempted and accomplished.

The first stage in their plan of campaign was the defiance and violation of the salt laws, and these enactments, in almost all the provinces, have been openly flouted by them and reduced to

nullity. Contraband salt has been manufactured and sold by them on an extensive scale, under the very nose of officialdom, and open (not covert) raids upon Government salt-works, have been made by thousands of the Congress "volunteers", and though many of the leaders and large numbers of their followers have had to go to jail, and the rank and file obstructed by the police and at many places severely beaten and disabled, the movement has never lacked recruits or languished for want of reinforcements, which have poured in from all sides, cheerfully willing to be assaulted by the police and to be sent to jail by magistrates. Even assuming that the financial loss to Government has not been large, it cannot be said that the non-violent revolutionaries have so far come off second best in the first round of the struggle. Obviously their primary object was not so much to inflict pecuniary loss on Government, as to imbue the mind of the masses with a spirit of defiance of such laws as they considered unjust, improper or objectionable, and thereby seriously affect Government's prestige. This is frankly acknowledged in the Government of India's communique of the 30th June, from which we have already quoted in the opening paragraph. Our own view, which is quite familiar to our readers, is that it would be a bad day for the future Swaraj Government of this country if the masses were taught to defy and set at naught the law of the land; for once they learn to do so, they are not likely, judging from human experience, to unlearn it easily, and they will not draw any subtle distinction between British-made laws and Indian-made laws. We feel that every intelligent Indian must recognize that though Mr. Gandhi's

campaign may have helped to accelerate the withdrawal of the British raj, from India, it is establishing, by its methods of work and ideals, objectionable precedents, and strengthening habits of thought and action amongst the masses which will make it appreciably more difficult to build up any stable or even tolerable form of Swaraj in India. But we recognize that that is not the view of Mr. Gandhi and his lieutenants. They seem to think that the best thing they can do at present, is to impregnate the mass-mind with a spirit of defiance of the fiscal and other laws, and they certainly seem to have succeeded in their efforts, as evidenced by the following penetratingly acute and significant remarks of so sane, and sober a British journal as the *Manchester Guardian*, which wrote lately: "There is nothing either good or bad, but thinking makes it so. For hundreds, or rather thousands, of years the Indian villager has patiently put up with conditions more intolerable than those which he has to endure to-day. The change is not in the external conditions, but in his mind. Once he regarded his environment as something which he was powerless to alter. Now he has been taught to hope that it is within his power to change it. It is a sense of power, not hopeless misery, that makes men rebels". Assuming the correctness of these observations made by a very influential organ of British public opinion, they constitute the highest testimonial to Mr. Gandhi's efforts and, in the circumstances, he and his lieutenants can justly take credit to themselves for having achieved a notable victory in what *they* believe in, namely in "direct action," as they term their method of "warfare". So

far, therefore, the victory is on the side of the "passive resisters", but unfortunately, there is—as there generally is in almost all human affairs—another side to the shield, and we should now look at it, if we are to form a just and correct estimate of the great struggle for India's freedom, that is proceeding, from day to day, between the rival forces of the non-violent revolutionaries, on the one hand, and the police and the soldiery of Government, on the other.

IV.

Now the other side of the shield is this. It is now a little over five months since Mr. Gandhi launched the movement of civil disobedience and the country, from end to end, has been in a state of tremendous turmoil and tribulation—a state of affairs never known before, not even in the days of the non-co-operation movement, in 1920-21. It would be as well to let the case against Mr. Gandhi's movement be stated in the language of its sternest critic, rather than in our own. Thus writes the *Times of India*, in summing up its charges:—"Mr. Gandhi's movement has had positive results in disorders, violence and bloodshed. There have been a communist revolt at Chittagong, encouraged by the example of the Congress; serious bloodshed at Peshawar and an attempted rising on the Frontier; riots and shooting in Calcutta, Karachi, Madras, and Sholapur. Misguided young men have been belaboured, and are still being injured, in foolish and fruitless attacks on salt depots; policemen have been brutally murdered for doing their duty, troops have been quartered in hitherto peaceful districts, and two cities are more or less in military occupation. Hartals

have been proclaimed and business throughout the country is largely at a standstill. The record of the movement is a tragic one. There remain to be added to it the contempt which has been engendered for the law, the full effects of which will be felt by succeeding Indian Government." This is, no doubt, putting the case against Gandhism at the very highest. It seems to us absurd to connect the Chittagong affair—admittedly the work of "violent revolutionaries"—with the result of the civil disobedience movement, for which there seems apparently no justification. Similarly, some of the other charges also may have to be declared not proved. But making every allowance for the mentality and the language of an Anglo-Indian paper like the *Times of India*, the broad fact remains that a movement like that of civil disobedience is, in the nature of things, calculated to bring about the kind of situation so graphically portrayed in the extract quoted above. This is bound to be so, not because the average Gandhite is not non-violent—though it would equally be wrong to assume that none of Mr. Gandhi's followers or volunteers can ever cease to be so—but because the police and the magistracy (to say nothing of the military forces) naturally pin their faith upon ultimate resort to violence, for what they call the maintenance of law and order. The result thus is a foregone conclusion. Giving them credit for the best of motives and intentions, and for the most tactful of temperaments, they are bound to resort, for the preservation of peace, to their one panacea—force or violence—on the least provocation. But if the matter really rested between the lower executive—the police and

the magistracy—on the one hand, and only the Gandhites, on the other, things perhaps would not have been half so bad as they have turned out to be, and were bound so to turn out.

There is, however, the third and even a more important element to be reckoned with, in this matter—the mob. The occasional horrors of mob-violence are sure to be the inevitable concomitant of a campaign of civil disobedience, and this unavoidable result of Mr. Gandhi's campaign had been foreseen by all intelligent persons, not excluding perhaps the leaders of the movement themselves who had experience of it in the non-cooperation movement of 1921. The mob, as such, cannot be said to be either believer in the preservation of peace, and the maintenance of law and order, or in non-violent civil disobedience, actuated by high and noble ideals of patriotism and selflessness. On the contrary, in India as elsewhere in the world, it believes in the gratification of selfish desires and the lower passions of the human nature—loot, plunder, arson and other deeds of wanton licence. It is always biding its time and opportunities for the weakening of the strength of the Executive and, as soon as it feels secure, it sallies forth to work havoc and commit depredations, in the hope of personal gain, and not for the purpose of securing Dominion Status for India. Time after time, the protagonists of non-violent non-cooperation and civil disobedience have come to grief by ignoring this stern fact—the effect of the activities of this turbid element—with dire results to their movement, in particular, and the progress of the country, in general. In 1922, this factor had to be reckoned with by Mr. Gandhi himself, when as the result of the Chauri Chaura

"cremations" of a number of live constables, he acknowledged his "Himalayan blunder," and called off the proposed civil disobedience campaign, which he was on the eve of launching. This time, evidently resolved to see it through, and actuated by the feeling of "now or never", he has chosen to ignore its effect upon the great unwashed, with the obvious consequences that are summarized by the *Times of India* in the passage quoted by us. But though Mr. Gandhi and his followers may not be pressed by any qualms of conscience for the acts of the crowd, at various places, since the inauguration of the civil disobedience movement on the 12th of March last, impartial chroniclers of current events in this country cannot let them off lightly, by exonerating them from all responsibility for the doings of the mob, and the verdict on this count must go against them. It is this very reasonable apprehension of the misdeeds of the mob that has prevented many patriotic workers in the country's cause—both in the ranks of the Liberals and the Independents—from joining or giving any encouragement to Mr. Gandhi's movement, for they rightly hold that "non-violent civil disobedience," or "peaceful non-co-operation", is a contradiction in terms. Having thus made our position clear, we shall now survey briefly the activities of Government, as displayed in combating Mr. Gandhi's passive resistance movement, the effect of the latter on the general situation in the country, and the trend of the public opinion evoked by it, both in India and abroad.

V.

The policy of Government in dealing with Mr. Gandhi's campaign

seems to us to have been one of drift. For some weeks after he had opened his campaign, Mr. Gandhi was not even interfered with, to say nothing of his having been not arrested, which he himself must have expected. The result was that he was thus allowed to secure more than a month's start against Government, which he and his followers utilized to the best advantage—so much so that a cartoon in an American journal happily hit off the situation by portraying that "Gandhi and Co's salt-shop" was "the one shop that was heard round the world." Another American cartoonist depicted Mr. Gandhi "putting salt on the British Lion's tail", and though an English cartoon delineated Mr. Gandhi saying to Lord Irwin: "May I offer you some salt", and Lord Irwin saying (to himself): "Now should I pass him the pepper?" the fact remains that the latter did *not* pass the pepper to Mr. Gandhi when he was offered the salt, but only weeks later, when the civil disobedience campaign had firmly gained ground. True, during this time a number of the leaders of the movement were arrested, convicted and sent to jail, having been generally awarded monstrous sentences—as often as not accompanied with hard labour—which evoked feelings of indignation and discontent amongst all sections of the people, but no definite action can be said to have been taken to check the movement till the arrest and deportation of Mr. Gandhi. There was then obstruction by the police to processions and meetings, accompanied by vigorous *lathi* charges and, at places, even gunfire, which disabled many, killed some and naturally produced great consternation, but which at the same time made the masses more desperate

and fortified them in their resolve to see it through, "with it or upon it". Then there came serious disturbances at various places, followed at Peshawar by attacks and counter-attacks and at Sholapur (in the Bombay Presidency) by the proclamation of "martial law" (so called), which was administered in that city for several weeks, causing by its operation very great suffering. And all this time picketting of foreign-goods shops, for the boycott of British goods, in general, and British cloth, in particular, had been the order of the day, almost throughout the length and breadth of British India. On the top of it all came the declaration by the Congress Working Committee of their determination to carry on a non-rent and no-tax campaign in all the provinces and to stiffen the boycott and picketting,—which led (some weeks later) to its being declared an unlawful organization, followed by the trial, conviction and incarceration of the greatest Congress leader—next to Mr. Gandhi—namely, Pandit Motilal Nehru. At last the Government awoke to the realities of the situation and Lord Irwin, as the Governor-General, began to issue ordinances hurriedly, almost on an average of one a fortnight, if not one a week. Thus the country has been ruled lately by ordinances, accompanied by the threat of martial law.

The first ordinance—or one of the first batch—related to the press and we dealt with it, at length, in our last issue. The Press Ordinance has wrought terrible havoc and (on official estimate) about one hundred newspapers and journals have ceased to exist under its deadly and drastic operation. The other ordinances have

been devoted to checkmating various other manifestations and prospective developments of the civil disobedience campaign, while Mr. Gandhi has been kept confined in the Poona jail, without even a semblance or formality of a trial, such as had been accorded to his leading compatriots. But in the case of the great leader of the civil disobedience, it is clear that "stone walls do not a prison make, nor iron bars a cage", for even from inside the prison walls, he has managed to send out his voice through the medium of an interview with a representative of the *Daily Herald* of London—which has been read and commented upon throughout the civilized world—demanding for India "the substance of independence", in other words, what is popularly called Dominion Status. At the time of writing, both the Government and the civil resisters seem determined to carry on the struggle to the bitter end. The latter have, clearly, not yet been beaten off the ground. On the contrary, their movement has enormously gained in strength and momentum, even out-side their circle, as the direct result of the highly repressive policy of Government, as is patent from the declarations and manifestos of many of the Liberal leaders—all 'belted knights', by the way—by the large numbers of resignations of their seats in the provincial legislative councils and the central legislatures, even by men who were returned as Liberals and Independents and not on the Congress ticket; and more significantly by the action of an English lady (who had been nominated to the Bombay legislative council) in resigning her seat and her refusal to accept the Kaiser-i-Hind medal awarded to her in the last Honours list. Independent nationalist

organs of Indian public opinion like the *Hindu* and the *Tribune*, and the leading organ of the Liberal public opinion, the *Leader*, (to say nothing of pro-Congress and Congress organs) have all equally been emphatic in their condemnation of Government's policy of high and dry repression, thus showing the trend of general opinion in the country. It is only the half-a-dozen sheets of the Anglo-Indian press that are supporting the policy of Government and encouraging them to persist in it. And though in a situation like the one they are faced with, no sensible critic can find fault with Government for resorting to the necessary amount of force requisite for maintaining law and order, the gravamen of the nationalist charge against the authorities is that theirs is a policy of brute force and political negation, and not one of constructive statesmanship. True, the Round Table Conference (which we warmly supported, last year, when it was announced by the Viceroy) is to be held towards the end of October next, in London; but if not only the Congress party, but others also stay away from it, as the result of the intense acerbity of feeling produced in the public mind by Government's policy of coercion and repression, what would be the value of the decisions of such a truncated conference, representative of only a few classes and communities and from which the spokesmen of the politically influential and advanced parties would be absent? That is the great problem Government are faced with, which they have to solve satisfactorily in the interests of Britain and India alike.

VI

Let us now consider the results which have ensued from the publication of the

Simon Commission's Report. What has been the effect upon the political situation of the publication of the Report, and of the Viceroy's more than one declaration made since the same? So far as the former is concerned, it can be unhesitatingly asserted that its one effect has been to aggravate the political situation in the country far more than any other circumstance. This view of the matter has been placed beyond doubt by the highest official testimony—namely, the Government of India's cabled report to the Secretary of State to the effect that the second volume of the Simon Report "has had an unfavourable reception from practically all Indian quarters—the proposals are generally condemned as inadequate". When one remembers the quarter it comes from and the highly restrained language characteristic of official documents, the Government's statement amounts, indeed, to a very serious admission, highly damaging to the Simon scheme. Even the garbled messages sent by the correspondents of the British newspapers, have not prevented them from arriving at a correct appreciation of the situation, from the Indian standpoint, as evidenced by the editorials of well-informed journals in Britain. Thus the *Manchester Guardian*: "The reception of the second part of the Simon Commission's Report has been even worse than was expected. Not even the moderates or the minority communities have a good word to say for it. One unanimous howl of derision has gone up from the whole land." This is not only absolutely true, but is not at all surprising. The reason is clearly set forth by the *Manchester Guardian* itself, which is by no means favourable to legitimate Indian aspirations: "The Commis-

sion's scheme certainly does not give India immediately anything that can be called the status of a Dominion, with or without reservations. If the Commission's proposals are to be acted on, we must be content to face years of dangerous friction before we can deal with an India mistress of her own destinies and, therefore, once more tolerant, peaceful, and reasonable. And if we feel a certain sense of disappointment, we need not be surprised at the outburst of indignation in India". No Indian could have put his case, against the Commission's Report, more effectively than has been done in the above extract by the greatest Liberal journal in Britain. As pithily put by Dr. Gilbert Slater of Oxford, in a letter to the same paper, the reason, why the Report "does not meet the necessities of the case" is that "it does not touch the real causes of Indian discontent, which are (1) the feeling that Indians are, in their own country, in all sorts of subtle ways, treated by Europeans as an inferior sort of human being, and (2) the suspicion that the government of their country is carried on continually with an eye to British interests. The demand for Dominion Status is, in reality, merely a demand that there shall no longer be any basis for that feeling and that suspicion". That is, in a few words, the case for India. In the circumstances, no one need be surprised if the publication of the Report—so histrionically disclosed to view in two successive instalments, with an interval of a fortnight thrown in, to prepare the ground for a favourable reception of the mischievous proposals—has worsened the situation and literally made confusion worse confounded.

As to the declarations contained in Lord Irwin's address to the central legislatures and in his letter to Mr. Jayakar and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru (in connection with their peace mission), it is true, they breathe that sincerity and noble-mindedness which we have learnt to associate as characteristic of the Viceregal utterances. But, unfortunately, there is a just and reasonable doubt in the public mind whether the Viceroy will be, after all, the master of the situation, in view of the fact that the Labour Government itself is that of a party in office but not in power, which, therefore, needs must trim its sails to every passing breeze. Take the latest example of its trimming its sails. In his famous declaration of November 1st, last year, the Viceroy announced—consistently with the suggestion made to that effect by Sir John Simon himself, in his letter to the Prime Minister—that at the Round Table Conference representatives of India will confer with those of His Majesty's Government. Well, now even that has been thrown over-board and it has been officially announced by the Prime Minister himself that at the Conference the Conservatives and the Liberals would also be represented—each of these two parties by no less than four members, or eight in all. Now do these parties at all constitute, in any sense, "His Majesty's Government?" Surely, we in India are educated enough to know this much, at any rate, that from no point of view can parties "in opposition" be brought under the category of "His Majesty's Government". And yet that is what has come about, notwithstanding Lord Irwin's clear and specific declaration on the point. It is true

Mr. MacDonald has declared that the Cabinet will not abdicate their constitutional right to frame the proposals for legislation to be submitted to Parliament, and that they will not share *this* responsibility with the representatives of the opposition parties, but surely no one who understands the true inwardness of the situation can be deluded by such sophistry. As even the *Statesman* has reminded him, in connection with this very matter:—"Mr. MacDonald cannot afford to forget that he is a Prime Minister in a minority" and that "if he is to carry any proposals, at all, he must obtain the assent of at least one section of the opposition". "In that sense", continues the *Statesman* "the freedom he claims is a very limited freedom", and "it is probable that the Government will not be able to depart far from any considered conclusions the Conference may reach". For such and similar other reasons a large number of people, who are otherwise well disposed towards the Conference, are likely to fight shy of it. And if not only the Congress party, but the Liberals and the Independents also, are not willing to attend it, one can easily conceive what the Conference will be like—a crew of a few reactionaries, with some *Zemindars*, the Muslim die-hard henchmen of Sir Fazl-i-Hussain, some weather-cock "nationalists" and, of course, the Indian princes to bring up the rear. Can any one believe that such a Conference will evolve a successful scheme which Nationalist India will be willing to work?

VII

It must not be presumed that there are not large and influential sections amongst the intelligentsia, who are

opposed both to the ideal of the Congress—the complete severance of the British connection—and the methods and tactics adopted by it to achieve that end. On the contrary, we are satisfied that much the larger section of the educated community in the country is still strongly in favour of the maintenance of the British connection, by India's attaining the status of a Dominion of the great commonwealth of free nations, called the "British Empire". But they all want a clear and unequivocal declaration of the almost immediate prospect of the attainment of that status, with such reservations only as are absolutely necessary to get over smoothly the work of administration during a short transitional period. Unfortunately, all the declarations made so far on this crucial aspect of the problem, have been hedged in by so many ifs and buts and so many qualifying words and modifying phrases, on the part of the Government, that there is a deep-seated conviction in the Indian mind that, if they could but help it, the Government and the British people alike would very much like to shelve this real issue verily to the Greek calends. It is this apprehension—of the acceptance of the doctrine of "gradualness", propounded by the Simon Commission—which leads many otherwise sane and sober people to throw into the scale their moral support, against the Government. The result is that many such people in all parts of the country—not merely the much-abused lawyers, journalists, teachers and others of the same class, but also the so called "stake-holders", like merchants, traders, bankers, financiers, industrialists and others of allied groups, and a large number of the middle-class *Zemindars* as well, have by their words

and deeds lent their moral support, if not open adherence, to the propaganda of the Congress party in the matter of their boycott of British goods, especially cloth. The result brought about by extensive picketting by the Congress volunteers, and the general support of the general public to the boycott movement, is obvious in the appreciable reduction in British imports during the last few months, and the consequent loss entailed on British industries and the suffering inflicted on British workmen, making the already serious problem of unemployment in Britain doubly crucial. A Bombay firm of piece-goods importers have sent round for publication the weekly market report received by them (from Messrs S. & C. Nordlinger, shippers of cotton piece-goods, Manchester) stating that many of the Lancashire mills are on the verge of being closed down. The report runs as follows:— "There are no favourable developments to report and the cloth market remains depressed; the mills are nearing the total stoppage point, and the position of many producers is becoming increasingly difficult. We have now arrived at the stage where small orders cannot be taken because the cost of running a mill for the sake of a few looms is too uneconomic and most manufacturers will now await demand in bulk before they give any consideration to new business. When this demand may come remains to be seen, but even if it came immediately there would be considerable time before any weight of cloth could be produced as the gaiting-up of empty mills is an exceedingly tedious process". Even assuming this report to convey a rather exaggeratedly alarmist view of the matter, the fact cannot be gainsaid that the boycott of British goods has already

been successful beyond expectation and British imports have been seriously affected for the worse. The Viceroy was perfectly right in declaring (as he did on the 29th July, in reply to the address of the land-holders presented to him) that "it is no exaggeration to say that the civil disobedience movement has produced a paralysis of business in all industrial and commercial centres of India. It reacts unfavourably on the whole world, for economic stagnation in India must have world-wide effects".

This statement of the Viceroy's is amply borne out by the slump in India's trade, which is clearly reflected in the returns of June last, for which period only detailed figures are at present available. We find that the imports of private merchandise decreased by nearly 4 crores and totalled 1387 lakhs, and the exports of Rs. 130 lakhs, as compared with the preceeding month of May. Again during the quarter (April to June, 1930) the decline in imports amounted to nearly Rs. 12½ crores and in exports to nearly 13½ crores, as compared with the figures of the corresponding period of the preceding year. As compared with June, 1929, the imports of twist and yarn declined by 700,000 lbs. in quantity and by Rs. 18 lakhs in value, and of piece-goods by 12 million yards in quantity and by Rs. 77 lakhs in value. Under iron and steel there was a decrease of Rs. 35 lakhs. The imports of food, drink and tobacco fell by Rs. 38 lakhs. The exports of food, drink and tobacco increased by Rs. 83 lakhs, due mainly to increases in the exports of rice, wheat and coffee. The exports of wheat advanced from 300,000 tons to 48,000 tons in

quantity and from Rs. 77,000 in value to Rs. 54 lakhs. Despite this large export of wheat its price continues to be exceedingly low. The exports of tea fell by Rs. 50 lakhs in value. Jute shipments fell by Rs 27 lakhs. in value and the exports of oil seeds showed a net decrease of Rs. 64 lakhs and of groundnuts of Rs. 99 lakhs, but the exports of linseed increased by Rs. 58 lakhs. The share of the United Kingdom in imports fell from 43 per cent. in June, 1929, to 40 per cent. in June 1930, while her share of exports remained stationary. This statement may be elucidated further by a study of the figures of imports into Bombay during the period, May to June last, which will show more clearly the effect of the boycott.

Imports from Great Britain

		Piece goods (Packages)	
		1930	1929
April	...	12,220	18,343
May	...	9,029	14,165
June	...	5,753	10,305
Total ...		27,002	42,813
		Yarn (Packages).	
		1930	1929
April	...	2,326	3,248
May	...	1,824	2,937
June	...	1,794	2,945
Total ...		5,944	9,130

Imports from all Foreign Countries (including Britain)

		Piece goods (Packages)	
		1930	1929
April	...	29,936	38,256
May	...	25,367	31,363
June	...	13,357	22,138
Total ...		68,840	91,757
		Yarn (Packages).	
		1930	1929
April	...	51,78	10,281
May	...	6,140	10,259
June	...	6,873	7,890
Total ...		18,191	28,430

It will be noted that the fall in British goods is relatively far greater than in foreign goods as a whole, decline in bringing about the former being obviously the primary object of the boycotters, and of those who are their supporters. Surely, Britain cannot survey with equanimity the prospect of a perpetual or long-drawn feud with the teeming millions of India, who have been now for many long decades her best customers, and by dealing with whom in a relationship of friendliness and in an atmosphere of peace and goodwill, her people have been able to draw huge profits and to enrich themselves enormously. What is worse,

the result of the Government's policy of repression, and political bankruptcy, has been to produce in the public mind a sense of such acute bitterness and poignant acerbity that it has engendered feelings which are now no longer only anti-Government, but are frankly anti-British. Such an atmosphere of storm and strife cannot obviously be conducive, in the long run, either to the advantage of Britain or India. The situation is not only critical, but one of great tension and may truly be said to be surcharged with electricity, which but for proper handling will probably lead to dire and disastrous results.

VIII.

We do not know what Government's solution of the problem is likely to be. We have clearly indicated our view that without the presence of Congress representatives at it, the London Conference will be like the play of Hamlet with Hamlet's part left out. Every reasonable effort ought to be made by Government to induce Mr. Gandhi and some of his chief lieutenants to attend the Conference, and the task seems to us by no means insuperable, now that the leader of the civil resistance movement has clearly declared that what he wants is "substance of independence" which is, of course, synonymous with Dominion Status, and which is what all intelligent and politically-minded Indians really desire. This is well-known both to Lord Irwin and to the Secretary of State for India, and it is to be earnestly hoped that they may even now succeed in their efforts. Speaking lately in the House of Commons, Mr. Wedgewood Benn rightly declared: "We are not

dealing merely with an ordinary out-break of lawlessness. Indians of all races and classes are looking for progress in the satisfaction of their desires. They are looking for the disappearance of the manifestations of race superiority, and for recognition which is indeed vital to the stability of our Commonwealth, that within it there is complete equality of citizenship. It is idle, therefore, to complain if patriotic Indians, whilst condemning the attempt which is proceeding to organise anarchy in India, have also expressed in the most earnest fashion their own desire for a great constitutional enfranchisement." These statements are to us encouraging, as they constitute a frank acknowledgment of India's high aspirations, which should not fail to have a powerful influence on the British Government's future policy. But the question is whether Government, obsessed as they probably are with a false sense of their prestige, will rise to the height that the occasion demands and prove equal to the political situation, as depicted by Mr. Wedgewood Benn himself. We can but hope for the best. We trust Lord Irwin will tear a leaf out of the book of the past, and lay to heart the lesson embodied in the chapter of incidents dealing with the relations of the British Government itself with the Irish leaders but ten years back. References to such data can be found in the history of all countries, but we are inviting Lord Irwin's attention to those of Britain and Ireland, which being nearer his home, will probably appeal to him most.

Without going back to the days of Parnell in the eighties of the last century, when the British Government opened negotiations with that great Irish leader, then kept confined in

jail, it is sufficient to recall the later incident that after the brutal atrocities perpetrated by the Black and Tans, and the dismal failure of the British to coerce the Irish, in spite of them, Mr. Lloyd George's Government did summon the so-called 'murderous' leaders of Sinn Fein to a Round Table Conference and did produce, as the result of their joint labours, the now famous Irish Free State treaty. Then there are some other questions, which have justly been asked in the Indian press in this connection. How did the British Government act towards the rebel movement in Ulster organized openly by Lords Carson and Birkenhead, with the blessings of the late Mr. Bonar Law? What were the circumstances—as depicted in the Durham Report—in which Canada obtained full responsible Government? What was the British policy in South Africa and how soon after the Boer War was self-government conceded to the Transval and the Orange River Colony by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's Government? Again, when Mr. Gandhi himself led the heroic passive resistance campaign on behalf of the Indians in South Africa, in 1913, was it or was it not blessed by Lord Hardinge, the then Viceroy, and did or did not General Smuts open negotiations with Mr. Gandhi while he was still in jail? And even when the non-co-operation movement of 1921—the precursor of the present civil disobedience campaign—was at its height and the Prince of Wales was touring the country, did or did not Lord Reading agree to a conference being held with the leaders of the movement, and were or were not messages exchanged between the spokesmen of the Government of India, and Mr. Gandhi and the late Mr.

C. R. Das, when the latter was actually in prison? These and other similar questions have been pertinently raised in the Indian press, and particularly by our esteemed Liberal contemporary, the *Leader*, which has rendered yeoman's service to the nationalist movement, at the present juncture, by its editorial writings marked by forcefulness combined with cogency, and which has successfully proved false the view, generally propagated by a section of the Congress press, that the non-Congress nationalist journals, are back-sliders. The *Leader* correctly sums up the situation as follows: "It is idle for any Government faced by a huge popular movement, which only came into being because of its own character and constitution, policy and measures, to take up a stiff attitude of authoritarian rigidity and demand a surrender absolute, as the antecedent condition of conciliatory negotiation. If any one knows Mahatma Gandhi, he knows that the great leader my break, but will not bend. Give him tangible proof of that genuine change of heart for which he yearns, and he will be at your disposal to promote cordial relations between your country and his. But try your strength with him, he will be ready to spend his whole life in prison, but he will not call off the campaign he initiated."

IX.

These are words of wisdom, and truth, which Government will do well to take to heart and to act up to, in the interest of Britain and India alike. If they will even now deal with the situation in a spirit of faith, hope and charity—and none is better fitted for this than the present Viceroy—well and good; but if impelled by the hopeless reactionaries who surround him, he acts on the

principle of but keeping his powder dry, then we can see nothing but serious troubles ahead—Round Table Conference or no Round Table Conference. The reason for our apprehension is due to the fact that in a struggle for freedom like the present, the dominant party of to-day must ultimately lose, because it will be fighting against the great world forces which, in the long run, sway the destinies of humanity, and also because in the unnatural situation obtaining in India, Time is on the side of the Indian Nationalists and they are bound to gain the upper hand, in spite of the mighty material strength of the Government against which they are now so grimly contending. As the *Manchester-Guardian* has appositely put it, in the course of an editorial on the present situation in this country:—“The truth is that if things go wrong the blame should rest not so much on human agency either on the side of Government, or the Indian leaders, as on the unnaturalness of the situation. It cannot be denied that *the rule of one country by another is now felt to be monstrous and an indefensible system* (our italics). Readjustment has to take place in regard to the relation with India. We must not be

surprised if there is a show of violence on the part of Indians until Britain has shown, beyond all doubt, that she is in earnest about accelerating the readjustments and putting her relations upon a footing of genuine equality.” We commend these words of one of the most influential British journals, to the British Prime Minister, the British Secretary for India, and the British Viceroy and his Government, in the fulness of conviction that they will realize the true import of the grave struggle on which India has now embarked, and we still cherish the hope that they may even now be able to inaugurate a policy of constructive statesmanship—as opposed to their present one of ordinances and police batons—which will redound to their credit, and will bring about genuine understanding, ever-lasting peace and true friendship between Britain and India; such as educated Indians sincerely desire—they being of all others in the country the recipients of very great benefit by the British-Indian connection, as the result of that mighty intellectual emancipation which has brought into existence all that is justly connoted by the expression “Indian Nationalism.”

THE NECROLOGY OF THE MONTHS.

“TO consummate knowledge of the various systems of law in India, which govern the relations of the different classes of His Majesty’s subjects, he joined a patient and studied judgment. He was of invaluable assistance to us, not only in deciding the particular case before us, but in bringing to our knowledge the exact state of existing decisions. Had he been spared to us, I have no doubt that he would have left his mark in that steady development of decided law which is the great aim of a Supreme Tribunal to effectuate”. So spoke Lord Dunedin, presiding over a sitting of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which met to pay its tribute to the late distinguished Indian judge—Sir Binod Mitter—and at which were present Lord Blanesburgh, Lord Atkin, Lord Tomlin, Lord Thankerton, Lord Russell of Killowen, Lord Macmillan, Chief Justice Anglin of Canada, Sir John Wallis, Sir Lancelot Sanderson, and Sir George Lowndes. Lord Dunedin’s remarks will bring home to the public at large the great and irreparable loss that India and the Privy Council have suffered in the bereavement caused by the premature death, in London, of the first Indian judge of the Privy Council, under the new system. Sir Binod, who was the third son of the late Sir Ramesh Chandra Mitter, was born on 2nd February, 1872. He graduated from the Presidency College, Calcutta, and took his law degree with distinction.

He practised as a pleader at the Alipore Bar for some time and then became an articled clerk to a well-know solicitor’s firm, with the idea of becoming an attorney of the Calcutta High Court. But the humdrum existence of a pleader in the court of the District Judge, or an attorney, was hardly compatible with the ambition of one who was daily coming in contact with the foremost lawyers of Calcutta at his father’s place, and he resolved to qualify himself for practising on the original side of the Calcutta High Court. With this object in view, he made an attempt to run away to England, but was captured near Allahabad and sent home. Within a year from that period his father, whose name even to-day (after the lapse of more than thirty years) stirs the emotions of educated India, and who did not at first approve of his son proceeding to Europe, yielded to the latter’s wishes. So in 1895 young Binod left India, was called to the Bar, in 1897, and was enrolled in the Calcutta High Court, in February 1898. He joined the chambers of the late Lord Sinha and within a short time made such a great impression on those connected with the legal profession that it earned him the nickname of “Walking Legal Encyclopaedia”. In 1910, Mr. Binod Mitter was appointed the Standing Council to the Government of Bengal, and, later, officiated as Advocate-General for some time. His claims to the permanent post of Advocate-General were however, brushed aside

unceremoniously and one Mr. Gibbons was brought out from England. This led to a bitter controversy in the old Imperial Legislative Council at the time, and Pandit Madan Mohon Malaviya put a series of searching questions on the subject. Mr. Mitter was knighted in January 1918. He was elected a member of the Council of State in the place of the late Sir Rash Behary Ghose, but he resigned his seat because he conscientiously felt that he could not serve his country with the necessary devotion, so long as he had to attend to his numerous professional engagements, he being first and foremost a lawyer. Sir Binod was all but appointed Chief Justice of Allahabad, in 1919, but actually was not, notwithstanding the inclinations of the then Secretary of State, Mr. Montagu, because of the eleventh hour intervention of Lord Reading with all his influence with the then Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George. In March 1929, he was appointed a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. It was never doubted that Sir Binod would be an acquisition to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. His grounding in legal principles, his clearness of thinking and analytical powers, his great capacity for marshalling of facts, his encyclopaedic knowledge of case law (both English and Indian) and his wonderful powers for the exposition of juristic principles were, indeed marvellous, and have been testified to by Lord Dunedin—from whose remarks we have quoted a passage in the opening paragraph of this obituary. One of the greatest achievements of Sir Binod Mitter, in his career, was to have produced many successful leaders of the Bar, in Calcutta. Sir B. L. Mitter, the present Law Member of

the Government of India; Mr. N. N. Sircar, the present Advocate-General of Bengal; Mr. Justice C. C. Ghose of the Calcutta High Court and Mr. Justice P. R. Das, till lately of the Patna High Court (the brother of the late Mr. C. R. Das), along with many others, had all been Sir Binod Mitter's pupils. Sir Binod was the elder brother of Sir Provas Mitter, one of the members of Executive Council of the Governor of Bengal, to whom we offer our deepest sympathy.

An eminent Indian physician has passed away in the death of Dr. Chuni lal Bose. Dr. Bose was born at Calcutta

on the 13th March 1861, and received his early education in a local upper primary school, which was subsequently raised to the standard of a high school. He was also for some time a student of the Metropolitan Institution. He passed the Entrance Examination of the Calcutta University, in 1877, from the Sanskrit Collegiate School, and after passing the first examination in Arts from the General Assembly's Institution joined the Calcutta Medical College, in 1880. His father at that time was not in easy circumstances and young Bose had to make strenuous efforts for the prosecution of his studies. He passed both the first and final M. B. examinations in the first division and obtained gold medals. He then joined Government service as an Assistant Surgeon, in March 1886. He was appointed Assistant Chemical Examiner in 1887. He was sent then to Upper Burma in charge of the Civil Hospitals at Magwe, where he returned in 1888 and joined his former service. For

years Dr. Bose acted as Chemical Examiner to the Government of Bengal and Professor of Chemistry in the Medical College, Calcutta, till his retirement in 1920. He was elected a Vice-President of the first Indian Medical Congress (in the Medico-Legal section) held in Calcutta in 1894, and read a highly instructive paper, which subsequently led to the passing of the Poison Act. He was elected a fellow of the Chemical Society, London, in 1894, and a Fellow of the Calcutta University in 1898. He had been lecturing in Chemistry at the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science since 1899. He was for three years editor of the *Calcutta Medical Journal*. He was one of the Vice-Presidents of the Bangiya Sahitya Parisad and was also connected with many other social, educational and philanthropic institutions in the city of Calcutta. He was one of the Secretaries of the Chemical Section of the Calcutta Exhibition, held in 1923; the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works Ltd.; a Director of the Calcutta Soap Works and of the Calcutta Chemical Works Ltd. Dr. Bose rendered very valuable help to Sir Lionard Rogers in his investigation of Leprosy, and contributed many valuable thesis in Science, which have all been embodied in book form. In 1921, he was appointed the Sheriff of Calcutta, this being the second occasion (the late Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar, M. D., C. I. E., being the first recipient) when a medical practitioner was so honoured by the Government. He was appointed the Ahar Chandra Mookerjee Lecturer of the Calcutta University, for 1929, and in that capacity deliver-

ed an instructive course of Lectures on food and dietry, which are being published by the University and of which, prior to his death, he had the satisfaction of seeing through the press the last proofs. Thus in the death of Dr. Chuni Lal Bose, Bengal has lost a distinguished chemist, an eminent physician and a notable citizen.

A great philanthropist has passed away in the death of Mr. Jagannath Jagannath Prasad. Born at Benares, he left his family at an early age, with only Rs 5 in his pocket and went to Calcutta, where he ultimately carried on important business in coal. He was a bachelor all his life and the fortune he amassed he has bequeathed by his will almost entirely to several public institutions. During his life, too, he was helpful to many public and charitable institutions. He opened and maintained at Benares a free charitable dispensary, in memory of his mother, called 'Batasi Devi Arya Seva Sadan'. He opened a number of primary schools in the city and suburbs of Benares, and met their entire expenditure. He gave large donations to the Benares Hindu University, the Gurukuls, the D. A. V. schools and colleges, and to other educational institutions ungrudgingly. He has appointed the Administrator of Bengal as his executor, who is to distribute the legacies as directed by his will. According to it Rs 1 lakh are given to Benares Hindu University; Rs 50,000 to Gurukul Kangri for the promotion of Ayurvedic study of medicines; Rs 25,000 to the National Council of Education, Calcutta, for the promotion and advancement of technical education; Rs 25,000 to the trustees of the Arya

Kanya Patshala, Calcutta ; Rs 25,000 to the Arya Samaj, Calcutta ; Rs 15,000 to Gurukul, Brindaban; Rs 15,000 to Dayanand Anglo-Vedic High School, Benares; and Rs 25,000 to Mahadesiya Kanya Orphanage, Azamgarh. The will also directs the executor and the trustees to found a high school at Benares to be styled 'Jagannath Prasad Anglo-Vedic High school' for the study of the English and Sanskrit languages. It is to be affiliated to the Benares University, and it is directed that Rs.1 lakh should be spent on purchasing a piece of land and erecting a suitable building thereon. Another lakh of rupees is to be invested in Government securities for the maintenance of the said institution. The residue of the estate is to be handed over to the Benares University to be invested by them in Government securities, the income thereof to be applied for the advancement of primary education in the villages of Benares division. The name of Mr. Jagannath Prasad will thus justly go down to posterity as that of a notable philanthropist.

Death has occurred at Hyderabad (Deccan) of Mr. M. Hameed-Ullah Khan ex-Chief Justice of Hyderabad. Mr. Khan was born at Agra on the 17th March, 1864, and was the eldest son of Maulvi Muhamad Samee-ullah Khan Bahadur, well known in these provinces as a capable judicial officer and a profound Arabic scholar. Mr. Hameed-ullah Khan was one of the boys, whose names were placed on the rolls of the Mahomedan College at Aligarh on the day of its founda-

tion, the 24th May, 1875. He read up to the Matriculation standard in this country, and went to England in April 1880. After a course of preliminary education, he joined Lincoln's Inn early in 1882, and later Christ's College, Cambridge, in the same year. At Cambridge he was one of the founders of the Cambridge Majlis, which was a social Indian club and which was survived. In 1884, the late Earl of Cromer went to Egypt as Lord High Commissioner, and being well-acquainted with the family, from which he (Mr. Khan) came, selected him as his attache while in Egypt. In 1886 Mr. Khan graduated with honours at Cambridge, and was called to the Bar in the same year. He returned to India about the end of 1886, and was enrolled as an advocate of the High Court at Allahabad. He had a principal hand in establishing, with the assistance of his father, a hostel in this city for the Mahomedan students of the Muir Central College, the foundation-stone of which was laid by Sir Auckland Colvin—the then Lieutenant-Governor, in 1892. He was appointed a Puisne Judge of the Hyderabad High Court on the 1st March 1895, which office he held for ten years discharging his responsible duties, with ability, impartiality and integrity. In September, 1904, he was taken into the Nizam's Secretariat and acted as Secretary to the Cabinet and the Legislative Department. Later, on the Chief Justiceship of Hyderabad becoming vacant, it was conferred on him. Since his retirement, he had lived mostly at Allahabad, and his death will be felt as a personal loss by his friends in Northern India and in the Deccan.

There has passed away, at the age of sixty four, Lala Bhagwan Din, a well-known Hindi scholar. "Lalaji" as he was called by his friends and students, was born in 1865, in the district of Fatehpur, in the United Provinces. He read up to the Intermediate standard, and began his life as a school master in the Kayastha Pathshala, Allahabad, and later the Chatterpore High School, and the Central Hindu School, Benares. It was at Chatterpore that he came to acquire a serious interest in Hindi literature, then much pooh-poohed and considered to be unworthy of any serious attention. He had the advantage of access to the Chatterpore State Library. The State has ever been a patron of Hindi

learning, and there is a large number of rare books and manuscripts in the State Library. Lalaji made use of all these and soon attained the position of a prominent scholar of classical Hindi literature. Afterwards he came to Benares and settled there. He was one of the editors of the *Shabda Sagar*, the great Hindi lexicon, a monumental work published by the Nagari Pracharini Sabha of Benares. He was a professor of Hindi Literature in the Benares Hindu University, since Hindi became a subject of the curriculum in the University. Lala Bhagwandin, was undoubtedly a great Hindi scholar, and did excellent work as one of the editors of the great Hindi dictionary, His work and worth deserve, as such, acknowledgment and appreciation.

MEN IN THE PUBLIC EYE:-

LIEUT-COL. SUHRAWARDY-MESSRS BROCKWAY
AND BECKETT.

THE announcement that Lieut. Col. Hasan Suhrawardy has been appointed Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University has been well received in Bengal, as it is the first occasion that this distinction has been conferred on a Bengalee Muslim. Lieut. Colonel Suhrawardy, who was born at Dacca, in 1884, is a distinguished medical man from the point of view of academical qualifications and official position, and possesses varied experience of public life in his native province. He was a prominent member of the Bengal Legislative Council and its first elected Muslim

Deputy President. He was also the first Indian Consulting Surgeon of the Medical College Hospital, first Indian Civil Surgeon of Howrah and the first Indian Chief Medical Officer of a State Railway in India and Burmah. He has been uniformly popular with Muslims, Hindus and Europeans in Bengal, and has shown considerable capacity for hard work, organisation, drive and initiative. He is a pioneer worker in the Indian Territorial Force movement and was President of its Advisory Committee in Bengal. He has taken a keen interest in the educational affairs of his province and

is connected with three important Universities in India. He is a Fellow of the Calcutta University and for six terms has served on its Syndicate. He is also a Member of the 'Court of the Universities of Dacca and Aligarh' and was on the Executive Committee of the Dacca University. He is a Member of the Council of the Ripon College and is also member of various Selection Committees constituted for recruiting educational services. Besides he has been a Member of the Bengal Council of Medical Registration and the Governing Body of the State Medical Faculty, and the Faculty of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene, as also a Teacher and Examiner for the Licentiate diploma and the final M. B. degree of the Calcutta University. As a member of the Board of Industries for Bengal, the Board of Apprenticeship for Technical and Vocational education and of the Governing body of the Bengal Engineering College, he has contributed materially towards the growth of the industrial education in his province. He has been a keen worker in the cause of Ambulance in India, is a writer of popular public health and social hygiene literatures, and he has thus rendered commendable services for the physical and moral uplift of his countrymen. He is also the Councillor of the Calcutta Corporation and a Justice of the Peace for the city of Calcutta. His many-sided services, public, educational and humanitarian, have been duly recognised by the Government, and also appreciated by the people.

II,

"It is my desire that the University should be kept separate and aloof from politics and that there should be absolute peace in educational centres'".

Thus the new Vice-Chancellor outlined his policy in an interview with a representative of the *Statesman* of Calcutta. "My policy in the University", he said, "ought to be the policy of a man who does not belong to any party. The affairs of the University, at the present moment, are in a tangle; its financial position is very grave, and it will be my endeavour to serve the University in such a manner as to secure its freedom from financial and other embarrassments, which seem to threaten the smooth working of the University in all its departments. Unfortunately, the University has been made a cockpit of political turmoil. As politicians, persons are free to have any opinion, but as teachers and University men they must agree that politics should have nothing to do with the activities of the University. The University is above politics. My appointment is largely due to the demand of the Muslims to have a Vice-Chancellor from their community, and they will naturally expect a lot of things from me for the advancement of higher education among them. As teem work is absolutely necessary for the advancement of Bengal at large, where the Mohammedans form nearly 56 per cent of the population but are very backward educationally, it is only fair and proper that they should be given every opportunity for higher education which will uplift the veil of ignorance, bigotry and communalism, and open up the vista of true citizenship and brotherhood between man and man. Otherwise, the Muslims will remain a heavy drag on the wheel of progress. As a public health man, I am specially interested in welfare work, particularly among the students. The health of the

rising generation of the country is of the greatest importance, and this problem should be a matter of first concern for all educational institutions. The constructive work inaugurated by that great Vice-Chancellor, Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee, and followed by Dr. Urquhart, should not be allowed to break down. There should be a continuity of policy although the personnel may be changed. I realize the very great and difficult task before me, namely, to keep up the high ideals and traditions of the premier university of India". These are very interesting observations and we shall watch with a sympathetic interest the career of the first Muslim Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University.

The Speaker's Mace and its Raider.

Just at present Messrs Fenner Brockway and John Beckett—members of the House of Commons—can truly be said to be in the public eye. Mr. Fenner Brockway, who was born in Calcutta 41 years ago, has always shown the greatest interest in India, for years past. At 19, he was a journalist, living at a mission settlement in North London, championing the cause of the unemployed and already a member of the Independent labour party. He became editor of the *Labour Leader* in 1916, and in the following year was sentenced to 28th months' imprisonment for his work against recruiting and military discipline. He was chairman of the Non-Conscription Fellowship during the war. Mr. Brockway has been in turn, organising secretary and general secretary of the I. L. P., representing it at the Indian National Congress, held at Madras, in 1928. He was elected Socialist member for East

Leyton in June last year. His persistent questions to and heckling of the Prime Minister about the Indian situation, which ultimately led to the raid on the Speaker's Mace by Mr. John Beckett, brought about a scene of unparalleled audacity in the House, the like of which had not occurred since the time of Cromwell, and we make no apology for placing before our readers an interesting sketch of the incident, adapted from the London papers, especially the *Daily Mail*.

II

The incident began with Mr. Fenner Brockway asking the Prime Minister whether time would be given before the summer recess for a discussion on the situation in India. The Prime Minister, replying to him, referred to a refusal of a discussion on Indian affairs which he had made in answer to a similar question previously. This did not satisfy Mr. Brockway. Had there been no developments, he asked, which made a debate now desirable? The Prime Minister replied that any developments that had taken place made a discussion still less desirable. Mr. Brockway persisted:—"In view of the fact that more than 5,000 men and women are now in prison in India, and that the last hopes of settlement seem to have been destroyed, is this House to have no opportunity of discussing the matter before we adjourn"? The Prime Minister: "I should deprecate most strongly any sort of statement that the last hopes of a settlement have been destroyed, because, as a matter of fact, that is not true." But Mr. Brockway would not yield and began to press urgently his demand for a debate. Was there no means, he asked the Speaker,

whereby back-bench members, deprived of their rights by a conspiracy of silence among front bench leaders, might insist on debating a matter which gave them deep cause for concern. "I cannot create new methods," said the Speaker. He added:—"The methods of ordinary procedure are open to all members irrespective of parties. The hon. member must use existing methods." Mr. Brockway still persisted in his demand and stood as a challenging figure even when the Speaker rose, too, to put an end to his protest. According to parliamentary etiquette for a member to remain on his feet at the same time as the Speaker, is to assail the authority of the Chair, and Mr. Brockway had to abide the inevitable consequences. There were loud shouts of "Order!", and "Name!" "Name" resounded through the House—the usual prelude to a demand for the suspension of a member. The Speaker continued to stand. Mr. Brockway also continued to stand. The House was in an uproar, across which the steady voice of the Speaker carried the ominous words: "I must name the hon. member, Mr. Brockway". This is the only occasion on which a member is ever referred to in the House by his actual name, for an all others he is always "the hon. member for so and so" (naming his constituency). As leader of the House the Prime Minister immediately rose and moved that Mr. Brockway be suspended from the service of the House. The division was taken. Two Government Whips acted as tellers in favour of the suspension. Against it—that is in favour of Mr. Brockway—appeared Messrs W. J. Brown and John Beckett, both Socialist members.

III

It was Mr. Beckett who was then to provide the House with the most exciting scene of modern times. When the tellers were preparing to advance to the table, in front of the Speaker, to relate the figures of the division to suspend Mr. Brockway, Mr. Beckett slouched up to the Speaker's table and before the division figures could be declared—they were subsequently recorded as 260 for Mr. Brockway's suspension and 24 against—Mr. Beckett exclaimed in a loud voice: "It's a damned disgrace!" and seized the Mace from its rest on the table in front of the tellers and attempted to walk away with it. He was astonished at its weight. The heavy end sagged in his hands, so that he almost fell down. Then, recovering his balance, he swung it jauntily over his shoulder and started to walk away with it towards the throng of members assembled near the door. For some moments Mr. Beckett's act paralysed the members and the officials. Mr. Beckett, swinging on his shoulder the symbol of parliamentary authority—which Cromwell alone, among members before him, had dared to remove—swaggered along the aisle. But as he reached the door, startled authority sprang into action. The Serjeant-at-Arms, the custodian of the dignity of the House, in full Court dress, with the sword at his side, rose to intercept him. But a uniformed messenger of the House, was before him. From his post at the door he ran to meet Mr. Beckett, and after a brief struggle, wrested the Mace from him, and gave it to the Serjeant, who, very solemnly, while all men were still breathless with his

audacity, restored it to its proper place. Mr. Beckett also had returned by then to his place on the benches. There was a roar of furious comments, in the midst of which the Speaker was heard recording the decision of the House for the suspension of Mr. Brockway. That member took the rule with dignity: "Out of respect to you, Sir", he said, addressing the Chair, "I will withdraw", and left the Chamber in good order. Mr. Beckett, the major offender, had still to be dealt with. Amid silence, eloquent of contempt after the previous tumult, the Prime Minister rose again and said: "I beg to move that Mr. Beckett be suspended from the service of this House". Four back-bench Socialists shouted "No!" The division was then taken. There were 324 in favour of expelling him. The Speaker recorded the overwhelming vote, but Mr. Beckett had anticipated the decision. He had already left the House, and the last seen of him was when two policemen were escorting him from the outer lobby to the utmost precincts of the Houses of Parliament.

IV

The Speaker's Mace has been the symbol of Parliamentary authority—strictly of the authority of the Speaker—since days earlier than the records of Parliament. In fact, since Parliament has been in existence, the Mace has been on the table. When the House is in full session, the Mace reposes on a rest at the foot of the table facing the Speaker—the table that divides the two front benches. Perhaps the most famous episode in parliamentary history was its removal by Oliver Cromwell, who came to the House of Commons with his soldiers and, pointing to the Mace bade them: "Take away that bable." Cromwell himself did not touch it. A soldier, a Roundhead, took it away, and the original Mace, then pure gold, was never restored to Parliament. The present Mace replaced it, and is of silver-gilt, bearing the monogram "C" to show its date of restoration to the House in the time of Charles II.

CRITICISMS, DISCUSSIONS AND COMMENTS.

INDIAN SEMI-SLAVERY IN CEYLON.

THE difficulties under which Indians in Ceylon are suffering in the industrial sphere are well described in the latest issue of the *Hindustan Review* by Mr. St. Nihal Singh. In an article headed "Indian Semi-Slaves in Ceylon", he points out the conditions under which Indian labourers are eking out their livelihood in the Crown Colony, and explains how the planters are the greatest stumbling-blocks in the way of the industrial freedom of Indians. Even a casual perusal of the article will convince one that the Indian labourer who goes out to Ceylon from this country is voluntarily placing himself in a condition of semi-slavery under the planters. The enormous interest that this question should have to Indians and the great importance that should be attached to it by Indian representatives in the legislatures would be understood when it is realised that nearly seven-ninths of the Indians in Ceylon are plantation workers and their dependents. The exact figure of the number of such workers is given by the Controller of Indian immigrant Labour, who is a member of the Ceylon Civil Service placed in charge of such labour by the Government of the Colony, as 7,396,090 in his last report for 1928. It is an oft-repeated statement in the press and on the platform that these Indian workers and their dependents are living under conditions of semi-slavery. Speakers in the Ceylon Legislative Council after referred to the lack of freedom of movement of Indians in the plantations. It was

said that they are no more accessible than men cast in a goal. The one great difficulty is the absence of any form of organisation among Indian workers, which could unite them as a body, so that they may be able to express their grievances and fight for better privileges. On the other hand, they seem to be so utterly disorganised that even if it is possible to bring into existence anything like a trade union, that union would not be able to function effectively. These sentiments were given expression to in the columns of the press in Ceylon, and though they did not attract much public attention in the din and dust of political controversy, it is essential that they should not be lost sight of in the anxiety to get the political disabilities redressed. There is no doubt that much interest has been shown in India about the political issue, and it will be remembered that the Indian Legislative Assembly pressed for the withdrawal of conditions discriminating against Indians in Ceylon, but so far as the questions of the industrial serfdom of Indians is concerned, it is evident that it has not attracted any notice. This is due not only to the fact that the public were engrossed with the redress of the political grievances, but also because Indians here were not so fully conversant with the hard industrial conditions of their countrymen beyond the Cape. The Indian public will be much indebted therefore to Mr. St. Nihal Singh for his presentation in the *Hindustan Review* of, what he calls, conditions of semi-

slavery in Ceylon. *Justice* (Madras Daily).

The Indian States at the Round Table Conference.

We have read with pleasure and instruction the article under the above caption, published in the *Hindustan Review*, from the pen of Rao Bahadur M. V. Kibe, M. A. We need hardly say that the article is a timely one and is full of constructive suggestions as may be expected from its authorship. The Indian States are to be represented at the Round Table Conference and the probable names of representatives have been mentioned in the press. It is much more important of course that the Indian States should go before the Conference with their mind completely made up. They must represent the whole State system, not the States individually. We think with great respect to Rao Bahadur M. V. Kibe that the Round Table Conference will not be called upon to consider many of the points referred to in his article under the above caption, though of course we are clear that all the issues raised by him are important and deserve to be finally settled as early as possible from the point of view of the Princes and the States. The point as to the exact scope of the Conference is not free from doubt; we can only say for the present that we shall see what we shall see. The fact is that primarily it is a Conference for the settlement of the political question in British India and this is the sense in which Sir John Simon (in his letter to the Premier) wanted his Report and that of the Central Committee to be considered at a Conference in which the States were represented—makes it clear that the internal affairs of the States and their relations inter se as well as their relations with the British Govern-

ment under treaties and sanads and usages will not be matters to which the Round Table Conference will devote consideration. They will then not devote any consideration to the question of the internal reforms of the States. The various suggestions raised from interested—and often uninterested—quarters on the question of the future form of government in the States are wide of the mark of the purpose of the Conference. We need hardly say that from the point of view of the individual State, its form of government in the future is of considerable interest and importance; while the existence of a large number of States in which the ruler is associated with this subjects, who are thus equally responsible with him for the quality of the administration, is a factor whose importance to the peace and good name of India as well as to the course of a common federation of all India, in other words to the cause of a United States of India, cannot be underestimated. So far as the Round Table Conference is concerned, it seems to us that this important question does not arise. In our opinion the Round Table Conference will start with the basis that the States are autonomous in all their internal affairs and that the treaties made with them will be strictly observed both in the letter and in the spirit. Indian States will require this assurance as a condition of their participation in the conference for the settlement of the British Indian Constitution. At the same time, they are interested in this last matter, most vitally interested, as they want at least two kinds of guarantees as against British India in the immediate future, what ever the nature of the constitution that may be set up here. *United India*. (Delhi weekly).

"THE DEAD OF NIGHT"

(a Sonnet)

BY

Mr. B. Gokhale

Then silence swooned upon the city road
And sweet repose the twofold kingdoms 'joyed
But lights alone with shimmering lustre showed
The sentry-heart that made them bold and buoyed.
What mighty spirit had lulled to stirless rest
The hearts of countless citizens bold and brave
Erelong that moved with throbbing zeal and zest
But now had crept as if their lives to save.
The lonely towers that stood erect and proud
Now held a solemn conference with He on High
Perchance they make a faithful 'port not loud
Of those that goodness obstinately fly.
Is it that this be then his prudent plan
The dead of night to tell him deeds of man ?

The Hindustan Review deserves attention from British readers as showing the trend of thought—philosophical, literary and political—among the educated classes of India.—"Truth" London.
The Hindustan Review is of especial value as lifting the brain cap of India and letting us see the thoughts that are moving in her educated mind.—The late Mr. W. T. Stead in the "Review of Reviews," London.

The Hindustan Review is representative of the higher intellectual life of India and enables us to learn the thoughts that are agitating her cultivated circles. Its articles are of especial value from a political and philosophical point of view and it occupies among Indian periodicals a position analogous to that of the "Nineteenth Century" or the "Fortnightly Review."—"United Empire" (Monthly Organ of the Royal Empire Society, London.)

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THE INDIAN IMPASSE AND A WAY OUT

By Mr. C. Vijayaragavachariar (ex-President Indian National Congress)

THE present political situation in India, especially after the Publication of the report of the Statutory Commission, is complex in the extreme, and if I endeavour to study some of its more prominent features in this article, it is not merely in an academic spirit, but with a view to suggesting solutions which, in my humble view, would be sufficient to meet the situation without loss of prestige to England or surrender of those ideals for which nationalist and nascent India has been conducting a historic struggle.

At the very outset it is necessary to bear in mind that the declared aim of British Rule in India is the establishment of Self-Government. It would

tire my readers if I were to take them through all the famous pronouncement from the days of Macaulay and Bright down to the Declaration of November 1st. last, when this principle has been solemnly reiterated by responsible statesmen on behalf of England. One of these announcements stands by itself. When after her splendid war services, India demanded the fulfilment of her political status as an equal partner in the Empire, the coalition cabinet, just emerging victorious from the struggle waged on behalf of the principles of civilisation and national self-determination, advanced the preposterous claim that England was to be the sole judge of the manner and time of India's advance to her goal of self-government

and that it could only be by stages. In spite of the protests of every section of the country, this arrogant and insulting claim was embodied in the preamble to the statute which established a peculiar and hybrid constitution, the initial condemnation of which by Indian leaders has been justified by the way it has worked during the last two years. The Report of the Statutory Commission, instead of repairing the error which caused the gravest injury to the good feeling between the two nations, has poured acid on the sores by repeating that doctrine *ad nauseum*. The Indian people cannot agree to the claim of the British Parliament to judge of their fitness to establish self-governing institutions in the country. While sympathy is professed at every step for the aspirations of the Indian people, this theory of Parliamentary guardianship is stressed along side, and we in India know which of these considerations really weighs with the Commissioners. If the only method of testing this claim is, not arguments drawn from the facts of our political situation, but the traditional method of force, violent and non-violent, on her side India is showing increased preparedness to face the test, and will not ultimately fight shy of it. But friends of India and England still hope that it is not too late to make England see the disastrous effect of this error. Any further negotiations between the two countries are only possible after this doctrine is unequivocally abandoned by those in authority in England, and when Parliament and people alike of England recognise the universally avowed and admitted rights of self-determination and self-government of the people of India.

II

I am now free to trace the development of the forces which have culminated in the present situation. To-day the visible embodiments of these forces are the Government on the one hand and Mahatma Gandhi on the other. But it would be wrong to ignore the vast interests that these two antagonists represent. The Government stands for the perpetuation of the implications of the Announcement of 1917, for the protection and development of Imperial interests in India, and for the controlling and checking of the efforts which a self-conscious nation is making to achieve its political emancipation, on the basis of her presumed rights of guardianship. On the other hand, Mahatmaji represents the revolt of renascent India against political subjection, and her grim resolve to come into her own politically and culturally true to the principle of self-determination, so often avowed and so generously applied to the white nations of Europe.

A brief history of the movement is easily told. The intelligentsia of India started over forty years ago the national political institution known as the Indian National Congress, for the purpose of bettering the political status of the country, which had come under the rule of England. Ample evidence is available to show that the pioneers of the movement were full of faith in the professions of the statesmen of England regarding their policy in India. The British Rule itself was established with the active assistance of the people of India, groaning under the misrule of decaying Moghul Raj and the countless number of petty chieftains who rose upon the ruins of that rule. The

people of the country handed over the government to the English who had proved their capacity for establishing organised institutions and whose history of freedom was the best in the world. It was with the willing consent of India that England became her Ruler. But this was necessarily a temporary phenomenon; as soon as the people were able to shake off traditions of anarchy and oppression, they were to resume the control over themselves. The object of the National Congress was to help the people to realise their duty to themselves in preparing themselves to assume government, and also to induce the powers that be to relax their control as the people of the country were becoming increasingly able to govern themselves. At first the institution was simply ignored by the authorities. Then its aims and activities were ridiculed. The Viceroy himself, Lord Dufferin, made the caustic and unique observation that the Indians who drank the water of the tank they bathed in, were not fit to exercise self-government; but curiously enough, as this viceroy was the virtual author of the idea of Provincial autonomy, it may be wondered by what subtle processes of thought, His Excellency drew the distinction between capacity to run provincial administrations, and that required to discharge a more synthesised jurisdiction. Notwithstanding such jokes and jeers from high quarters, the Congress made itself felt, and gradually reforms started coming in. Indians were admitted to higher services, and the councils were becoming enlarged to contain more and more representatives of the people for whom the laws were being made. They were however quite dissatisfied with the

merely consultative duties they were called upon to discharge, and they asked to be actively associated in the responsible duties of Government in all its branches.

The great war intervened. It liberated the forces of nationalism and ideals of self-determination as no other single event in history ever did. It quickened Indian nationalism itself into an immediate realisation of its strength and of its rights. The Allies gave every encouragement to this revival by making splendid declarations asserting the rights of nations. India, poor and ill prepared as she was, and unfamiliar with the conditions of modern warfare, poured out her men and money with a grace that astonished the world. More than the colonies, India was applauded, and the 'tale of monotonous heroism' of her soldiers stirred the world. In the generous impulse of the moment and urged by the peril of the situation, English statesman made free promises to secure and establish for India, an equal place in the Empire with other Dominions. But, when they had to put their professions to practice, they offered India, the extraordinary Announcement of 1917. In spite of widespread protests, terms of this Announcement were sanctified by their inclusion in the preamble of the Government of India Act of 1919.

The contempt thus expressed towards the inalienable rights, the opinion, sentiment and protests of India in defence of the avowed aims for fighting the Great War was colossal, the injustice was colossal, and the blunder in statesmanship was colossal. And here we are.

Now enters a historic figure on the scene of Indian politics. Renown-

ed as he was for the great ability and conscientiousness with which he carried on a successful struggle for securing the elementary rights of Indians in South Africa, Mahatmaji was not yet in the front rank of leadership in India, but the moment he entered Indian politics, in 1919, the saint of politicians took a foremost place and controlled the politics of the country. The policy and the programme which he advocated were taken to with an enthusiasm unknown in the country before. While things were about to come to a crisis, the outbreak of violence in a far away corner of the land left Gandhiji conscience-stricken, and he abandoned the movement, much to the disappointment of many of his colleagues and followers. His arrest and imprisonment followed, and there was a lull in the situation. It was at this time, that Mr. C. R. Das conceived the plan of 'non-cooperation from within' and he was supported by men like Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mr. Patel. But many of Gandhiji's followers remained loyal to the original creed of non-cooperation in its purity. The schism did much to weaken political activities for a number of years. The Punjab and the Khilafat wrongs which were the immediate cause of the movement also began to lose their potency as War cries. Time began to heal the Punjab wrong, and English diplomacy on the one hand and the abolition of the Khalifat on the other took the point of the Khilafat wrong. Hereafter, the struggle is all for the one issue which crystallises as the Swaraj issue.

When Mahatmaji was released before his term, he found himself in an atmosphere where his creed and his

methods were not much in favour, and where a considerable section of his following was frankly hostile to his ideas and plan of the action. He could have still pursued his own policy with the help of the many eminent men who were loyal to him, but he did not, to their grief and disappointment take to this course. His time did not arrive till the other day at Lahore, and we have the superb spectacle now of the struggle planned and directed by him.

Although the Assembly and the other legislatures were boycotted by a very influential section of the country, even those who entered them were insistent on the enlargement of the constitution so as to bring it more into line with the aspirations of the people. Several attempts were made to impress upon government the need for immediate action. The effort of Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar in 1924 was followed by the appointment of the Muddiman Committee, but its recommendations were hopelessly inadequate. It was in the course of the debate on Mr. Rangachari's motion that Sir Malcolm Hailey unfolded the startling theory that Responsible Government and Dominion Status were two different things, and that England's pledge by India only extended to the grant of Responsible Government. This piece of cleverness has been formally repudiated by the Declaration of Lord Irwin on November 1st last. In the following year, Pandit Motilal's motion for a Round Table Conference was passed, but the authorities did not take up this opportunity either. It is noticeable that on both these motions the Muslim members of the Assembly voted in large numbers,

in their favour. While the Government was allowing one opportunity after another to slip by unfriends of British Rule were urging the Congress to accept complete Independence as the goal of our political ambition.

The idea of complete independence was formally introduced to the consideration of the Congress for the first time by the Reception Committee of the Congress at Nagpur in 1920. It was taken up by an intrepid Muslim patriot, remarkable for his originality. His efforts encountered the opposition of Mahatma Gandhi, one of the best friends of Britain in India, paradoxical as this may appear. Year after year the motion for altering the objective of the Congress to complete independence was lost owing to the strenuous resistance of Gandhiji and the Congress generally. But the failure of the Government to take note of the popular feeling, and their apathy in the matter of constitutional and economic progress, increased the influence of the independence idea and deprived its opponents of their justification. At Madras in 1927, the congress changed to the ideal of Independence. At Calcutta the next year, the Congress allowed England a year's time to prove her bonafides, by recognising India's right to self-determination, and by allowing her a Dominion Constitution, and declared that if England failed to do so, the Congress had no alternative except to accept the Independence ideal and win it by recourse to mass civil disobedience. The youth of India of both sexes would not wait any longer, and the elders had no alternatives to restrain them with. By callous disregard of national feeling,

the government has thus permanently imperilled the good understanding between the two nations.

The present impasse is the result of these facts. An alien government disloyal to its origin and progress and by no means responsive to the wishes of the people it governs and a people with a revived sense of national solidarity, determined to establish self-governing institutions, are in conflict. The Government is backed by force, organisation and limitless resources in men and money. The people derive their strength from the justice of their cause and are ready to suffer for their ideals. The method that the people have chosen is voluntary suffering, and passive resistance to oppression. The method that government has adopted to fight this holy battle is *Lathi*, the promulgation of unlawful laws, for ordinances are nothing else, and the flouting of the elementary principles of civil government. Is there a way out of this impasse? I believe, yes. But, before I develop my argument, let me draw attention to one or two striking features of the campaign of civil disobedience.

The campaign is receiving unexpected sympathy and support everywhere in the country. Its very success is augmenting its strength every day. The ruthlessness with which the police are handling the volunteers is drawing the sympathy of all classes of people and of all opinions to the sufferers. The remarkable manner in which non-violence, the central idea of the movement, is kept up does honour to Mahatmaji and his followers, and shines by contrast. The savage sentences inflicted on India's noblest sons and daughters appal

even those who are not prepared to support the movement. What is the meaning of all this ruthlessness? A simple declaration that England will immediately establish a full dominion government in India will convert all this resistance into loyal and ready co-operation, and yet this is exactly what the Government will not do. What stands in the way of this simple declaration?

The spokesmen of Government are obsessed by the difficulties real and imaginary in the way of the immediate establishment of the Dominion Status. Defence, the minorities, social and religious differences, the Indian states and such other difficulties are suggested. If we are to wait for our political and economic freedom until all these difficulties are solved to the satisfaction of our 'guardians' we could wait till Doomsday and yet miss the boon. The whole of the Simon Proposals is vitiated by the perverse adherence to the theory of fitness, and the even more pernicious theory of difficulties. These are not the tests to apply for India. The Commissioners enjoy insulting this poor country by the jeering and mock sympathetic appeals to the impossible conditions in this country, "riven by sects and atomised by castes"—in the picturesque language of one of them, Lord Burnham—which justifies no more than the 'advance' they have recommended. Illiteracy may be more in India, but our people are no more ignorant of the essential facts of moral and social conduct, which alone justifies the enjoyment of political rights, than the British or any other people may be. The other day Sir Basil Blackett advanced the

curious argument that a people who believe in inexorable fate, could hardly conduct self-government. It would be too painful a process to educate dilettante Englishmen in the intricacies of our philosophy and our beliefs and it would be a waiting for centuries if the fulness of that education were to determine the time when our salvation is to arrive. No. The false and demoralising doctrine of fate is foreign to Hinduism but the very rational doctrine of "karma" is integral to it. Karma is only the statement of the law of cause and effect; and it is the Karma of India, the consequence of the misconduct of their ancestors which has brought on all this suffering to the people of the country, and the Karma of England, the direct consequence of her misconduct towards India that is creating for her a situation which may be the beginnings of the disruption of her vast Empire. But, we believe that these consequences are capable of being varied by free will, and is it too much to ask that for the preservation of civilisation, a sincere attempt should be made by the best men of both countries to soften the effects of their joint Karma by preferring justice and co-operation to coercion and oppression?

III

Such are some of the features of the present situation. The Report of the Statutory Commission has exceeded the expectations of the worst pessimists, and it can hardly be taken seriously by India. At a cost of about £200,000, and after inflicting untold sufferings and heaping insults on this country, the Commission has nothing more to show than treat us to misleading lectures on the unsuitability of

English Parliamentary Government for India, and the need for progress gradually and by means and processes novel and startling. So satisfied are they with their impartial work that they need to make the following highly interesting assurance; "some may think that the advance we propose is more than prudent statesmanship would commend, but we put our plan forward in the hope that after close examinations it may be found to be approved and justified." This takes one's breath away.

It is not the purpose of this article to examine the proposals made by the Commission. They are so patently worthless that it is a waste of time to do so. There is no other instance of a Royal Commission issuing a Report which was hopelessly obsolete long before the date of its publication. This is the lowest ebb of British genius for creative statesmanship, and a most complete triumph of reaction. We hope we do justice to England by believing that she could yet present a better type of statesmanship, and a more adequate sense of proportion and perspective.

But one question with which they have dealt at some length has to be discussed here, more because a section of our own countrymen have approached it from an altogether wrong point of view, and without adequate care. I refer to the ultimate form of our constitution. I have been sharing the general view that the form should be unitary parliamentary government after the type of the English constitution, but written and rigid. Some kind of federal union may become necessary eventually when the Indian States express a desire to come within the national policy. But, situated

as we are, we have absolutely no need to adopt the federal experiment. As early as in the Report of the Royal Commission on Decentralisation, this question was finally set at rest and is now *chose judge*. The decision then was in favour of the unitary type and decentralisation instead of federalism and sovereign provinces. The distinction is important and it is well to grasp it before we proceed further. A unitary government enjoys full national sovereignty and is the source, as representing the majesty of the people, of all national authority. It exercises ultimate control on every question and enjoys undisputed plenary jurisdiction throughout the land. It has the right not only to decentralise its powers and vest them in subordinate bodies for the more efficient or the less expensive exercise thereof, but it has also the valuable right of resuming the powers so decentralised. This is the normal type of national government. Federalism, on the other hand, is a creation of special imperious necessity that arose when the thirteen English colonies of America revolted and became independent. Union alone and not unity was possible. In this system no question arises of any encroachment on the jurisdictions assigned to the various authorities, except by the difficult and slow process of constitutional amendment. There is a watchful judiciary which keeps guard over the two sovereign powers and keeps them well within the bounds of their circumscribed sovereignty. This type is necessary if the component parts of the nation are unwilling to come together under one government, because they have not yet quite become a single nation. This is historically the only contingency in which federalism has been adopted. Its

disadvantages are many and patent. Every writer of note in politics has agreed that Federalism is weak government, that it is expensive, and that it is merely a half-way house towards completely homogenous national unity. There is no instance in history when a country which has already attained that complete homogenous national unity has been forced to go back to a federal constitution to work out its way to unity anew. Freeman says "A federal union to be of any value, must arise by the establishment of a closer tie between elements which were before distinct not by the division of members which have hitherto been more closely united. Federalism is out of place if it attempts either to break asunder what is already more closely united, to unite what is wholly incapable of union." Further it is worthy of remark that the federalism conceived by the Simon Commission is as novel as it is fantastic and unworkable.

I now cite the words which have fallen from the Simon Commissioners. "We recognise" say they "that the change from unitary to a federal system is unusual. The general tendency in Federations, once formed, has been towards increasing centralisation." The recent history of the U. S. A. and the report of the Royal Commission on the working of the Australian Constitution amply support this observation, one of the few which are justified by facts, in the whole report. To proceed "It may well be asked why the reverse process is recommended today. The answer is to be found in the peculiar features of the Indian problem." They proceed to elucidate the peculiarities which are, (1) the size of the country, (2) the need for trying the

system of representative democracy in political units of 'suitable size' and (3) to ensure close contact between the electorate and the elected, which failing, there is no real representation at all. As regards the first reason, let Alexander Hamilton speak. Says he in that Bible of the Constitution maker, the *Federalist*, "This at all events must be evident, that the very difficulty drawn from the extent of the country is the strongest argument in favour of an energetic government; or any other can never certainly preserve the union of so large an Empire.—" plausible as it may look, the argument about the size of the country has little relevance to the question. The test for the application of federalism, always reluctantly and under a compelling necessity, is whether the units, big or small, are or are not capable of perfect fusion. We have today in India a unitary Government, whose efficiency is beyond question, which deals with the entire country. The units have not shown themselves to be incapable of continuing the union. The Simon Commission have not laid down what are the suitable sizes for the application of representative government. Their second and third reasons are really one reason, and that is the observation about the contact between the electorate and the elected. After proposing the constitution of legislatures in the manner they have done, one would not expect to be guided by the Commissioners on a question like this. A small constituency may be a rich field for contacts of various kinds, but it has the tendency of promoting corruption and other election mal-practices. A large Constituency on the other hand, is too big to corrupt, and the candidate's

only asset will be his party's programme or his personal reputation. Such is the ideal of a constituency, and it is to be regretted that so much should be made of the sentiment about personal contact. Its importance is exaggerated and I have no doubt that we must look to other motives for this apparently guileless recommendation.

IV

The recommendation of the Simon Commission is only part of a policy, which was initiated long ago, of dividing India and of giving semblance of autonomy for the divided units, keeping intact the essential power at the centre for the benefit of British Imperialism. Once these provinces are made semi-independent, and problems are easily created in whose solution they could be kept engaged, the incentive for reforms at the centre, which is the really vital factor in swaraj, would be dulled, and the British would get a longer tenure of influence in All-India matters. I forecasted this recommendation of the Commission in 1927, in an Address I ventured to append to my Draft of a Swaraj Constitution, presented to the Delegates assembled in the Congress. We ought to refuse to agree to any kind of Federalism, or indeed any proposal which seeks to divide us after our hard found national unity. The subtle use which English statesmanship is making of the desire expressed by some Muslim friends must be a warning to us. I shall now examine the special reasons given by our Muslim brethren for a Federal system.

It is unfortunate that a section of the Muslims should be expressing so much fear of the Hindu majority in the event of the inauguration of

Swaraj, and that they should ask for fantastic safeguards against their apprehended dangers. Guarantees for the preservation and development of their cultural and religious rights, in so far as such guarantees can be given by the Constitutional instrument or the state, will be freely acquiesced in by the Hindus. We have the precedent of Minority Guarantees in Central and Eastern Europe, under the auspices of the League of Nations, and to some such settlement, not only on behalf of the Muslims but on behalf of every minority in India, the Hindus will not object in the least. But, if the Muslims, inspired by interested parties were to make fantastic claims which have the effect of disproportionately belittling the rights, status or just influence of the majority, it would be disastrous, demoralising and disgraceful for the majority to submit to them.

So far as the form of the future Government is concerned, the manner in which they have coupled the demand for federalism with the claim for Reform in a separated Sindh, Baluchistan and the North West Frontier Province, raises the gravest suspicions as to their capacity to handle complex national problems with care and justice to all interests. The idea of counter-balancing the Hindu Provinces by an adequate number of Muslim ones, as an insurance for the good behaviour of the majority, and the idea of making that insurance effective by postulating a federalism with residuary powers in the states, is conceived in hopeless distrust of the Hindus, and has no administrative or constitutional considerations at the back of it. It is a wholly futile fear that the Hindus could ever use their power in the Central Legislature

against the interests of a minority so numerous, as that of the Muslims. Much smaller minorities are impossible to misrule with the most deliberate and cruel will to do so, and it is not dignified or courageous for the Muslims to harp on the Hindu danger as they do. If we must enter the Swaraj era in an atmosphere of armed neutrality, and mutual guarantees of this description, our history is bound to record a failure of self-government in India. We have therefore to appeal to our Muslim friends to put aside suspicions, and discuss these questions with an unbiassed mind. My esteemed friends Sir Zulfikar Ali Khan and Dr. Abdullah Suhrawardy, in the course of their dissenting minute to the Report of the Indian Central Committee say "The past History of India, first during the purely Hindu period, and later during the Muslim domination lasting nearly eight hundred years, in the frequent changes of dynasties, except when the Mughals ruled the country, brings into prominence one unmistakable phenomenon that whether it was Hindu or Muslim ascendancy, the weakening of the central authority always brought into existence a congeries of states antagonistic and at feud with one another with the inevitable results that revolutions brought with them wars, bloodshed, dishonouring of women and destruction of families and property. After the happy and unique consolidation of India in the recent times under the auspices of the British Government it would be calamitous for all concerned except for those who have nothing to lose, if the solid and material results of two centuries of incessant labour are destroyed in a veritable reign of terror such as was witnessed during the Maharatta period and before that,

when a change of dynasties came about by violent methods. It is the duty of all patriotic Indians to prevent the recurrence of these horrors, else our condition in India would be similar to China and Afghanistan in these days. It is not a very simple method to govern a continent and keep its peace, and unless there is stability and strength in the Central Government the whole fabric of administration may crumble down." This is the most effective plea yet uttered in favour of a Unitary Government, and the wonder is that after summing up the reasons with such persuasive force, my friends have arrived at a conclusion exactly the opposite of what this unique and conclusive argument warrants. This only shows how the judgment of the best among us can be clouded by communal prejudice. I can only appeal to them to consider these questions with a mind free from prepossessions and keeping in view the lasting interest of our country.

It is unnecessary for me to strain this point any further. The English have every motive in recommending federalism for this country in their own interests, and it is unfortunately true that their interests are not ours. The Muslims are misguided enough to deliberately ask for a system which the experience of the world has rejected, and they would be cutting the nose to spite the face if they insisted on this course. That system of Government alone is the best for the country which secures for the citizen the effective exercise of his freedom every day without executive interference, and the type of Government which secures this first condition of political existence more than any other is the English Unitary and

Parliamentary type. Let us make a wise choice at the proper moment.

V

I may also refer to a few more provisions which should find a place in our Constitution. It must be a rigid one, and the method of amendment should be by the consent of at least $2/3$ of each chamber of the Indian Parliament, ratified by the electorate at the next election in which it will be a chief issue. This secures all the advantages of plebiscite without the confusion which in a large country should follow the submission of every amendment of Referendum individually. It is also clear that there should be two chambers in the central legislature. The election to these chambers must be direct, although a proportion of seats in the upper chamber may be filled by special methods such as indirect election or even nomination to redress any inequality or to afford any special interest or merit the opportunity of representation on it. The provincial councils, not being formed on the federal model may be unicameral. Sir John Simon's unique proposal for the composition of the Lower House in the Central Legislature by indirect election has no parallel in the world, and so novel a suggestion should be supported by more cogent reasons than Sir John has chosen to favour us with, if we should even consider it. The franchise must be on the widest basis, and although the Simon Commission's proposal to treble the existing electorates so as to include about ten per cent of adult population of the country, marks some advance, it is still too slender a foundation for a truly popular and democratic constitution. I would suggest that

every person competent in law to enter into contract should enjoy the franchise. Elections, it will be agreed, should be by the method of proportional representation and ballot. The body of the Constitution should also contain a declaration of the rights of citizens. This is easy enough to frame, by judicious selection from the constitutional instruments of the leading nations of the world who have all incorporated such a declaration in their Constitutions. Especially necessary it is to declare in the fundamental law, the fact that sovereignty belongs to the people and emanates from them. This is not merely an academic provision. This would be the standing repudiation of the claim in the preamble of the statute to which I have made allusion at the opening of this article. Ireland has also insisted on the inclusion of a similar principle which will be found enshrined in Article 2. of her constitution. The formal enthronement of popular sovereignty is more necessary for India than for Ireland.

There are two more important suggestions I wish to make. The law in India as to the criminal liability of the police and magistracy is unsatisfactory in the extreme. The provision that proceedings against them could be only instituted after sanction of the authorities is working unjustly. There is every reason why the law in this connection should be assimilated to that in England, by securing their liability equally with the citizens of the country in accordance with ordinary law and without any need for sanction. It is so difficult to expect that at times of stress, as at present, the executive could be expected to take a view different from that of the impeached subordinate, and in this

state of things, offences, at times amounting to murder, go unpunished. The approved method of protecting officials who have exceeded the law in bona fide discharge of their duties is by passing a suitable Act of Indemnity. Nextly, it seems advisable to create the offices of Director of Public Prosecutions and Director of Defence. At present in some cases of the charges of murder alone, the state undertakes the defence of the accused. But, the need is great in times like the present when much bad law is being administered by the courts because the accused have either pleaded guilty or refused to help the court with a plea or evidence. The policy of public defence should be to defend the accused even when he pleads guilty or expressed unwillingness to defend himself. This would, as Prof. Laski happily points out, prevent easy martyrdom, and give greater confidence in the judicial and impartial character of the judiciary. I need hardly add that these offices, even like that of the Controller and Auditor General's should be non-political and thoroughly independent.

The next question is the one concerning minorities. I have already dealt with this question, and would only add that separate electorates and reserved seats are altogether inconsistent with democracy, and the sooner our people give them up, the better. The creation of a cabinet whose responsibility to the legislature is secured by adequate constitutional provisions, and the creation of electorates which are not easily corruptible, and which by their very vastness will not be susceptible to the machinations of the wire-puller, are the best safeguards for the protection of the minorities. Of these minorities, "the one that exhibits

the greatest nervous anxiety, the Muslims, is also religiously and socially the best knit, and numerically inferior only to the Hindus. The claim for proportionate share in public services and for weightage in representation are both untenable in principle. The services should not be recruited and manned with reference to considerations other than the capacity of the candidate tested by suitable competitive examinations, and the requirements of the service itself. To fix a proportion to which we shall adhere for all time is illogical, and will impair the efficiency of the services without a doubt. If the Muslim themselves make such strides in education that in a few years they qualify for a greater share in the services than their strict proportion would warrant, it would be both unjust and foolish for the Hindus or any body else to deny them their opportunity. This is an extremely passing phase of inequality and it is unnecessary and improper to mould the constitution with reference to temporary difficulties. Similarly the doctrine of weightage is inherently unjust. If every minority in India is to be given weightage, and other minorities than the Muslim could claim the benefit of this doctrine with far greater reason, the vast Hindu majority would be reduced to a minority in effect, a result which is wholly opposed to common-sense, unjust and improper. A little patience and understanding will make all these anomalies patent and the Muslim will realise how absurd are all these claims and how unjust in principle. They "claimed the other day in a vast gathering of Muslims in Bombay, representing every section of the community from all over India, that the Administration of Palestine should be handed

over to its original inhabitants, the very vast majority of whom are the immigrant Arabs. If only the Indian Muslims would import into our political activities something like the spirit which animated this resolution, how thankful would the original Aryan inhabitants of India be? Anyhow if the Muslims are unwilling to come to a settlement with the Hindus on terms which appear to the latter to be sound and acceptable, and not involving too much sacrifice on their part, neither party can have any possible objection to the impartial and skilled arbitration by the League of Nations, a tribunal whose integrity and independence are above question, and whose standards of international justice are the most perfect yet conceived.

The help of the League of Nations has also to be sought for the solution of all those problems relating to special branches of administration and national economic reconstruction, in which the organised experience of the world would be of singular assistance to the young democracy of India.

The proposed Round Table conference is only necessary to explore the avenues of settlement of the question of Indian politics such as the minorities and the Indian States and general economic policy. It has nothing to do with the establishment of Dominion Status. The latter is a simple enough matter. The transference of power from the British Parliament to the Central legislature in India, the conversion of the status of the Governor-General into a constitutional one subject to the sovereignty of the Indian people and the conventions controlling the exercise of his powers in constitutionally free countries, and the reduc-

tion of the Secretary of State for India to the position of the Secretary of State for the Dominions are all that will be necessary to establish Swaraj in this country. This change can be effected immediately by the exercise of His Majesty's prerogative power without recourse to the cumbrous and dilatory procedure of an Act of Parliament. After the Swaraj constitution is established the atmosphere would be healthy for the discussion of the other problems in a Round Table Conference. If need be, we could thereafter call in the expert assistance or even the arbitration of the League of Nations. The ultimate form of the Government need not be a consideration for any delay in the immediate transference of power, because, the government as at present constituted is capable of functioning as responsible government with easy adjustments of the mechanism.

But unless the labour party in England is sincere in its affirmation of sympathy with Indian aspirations—despite the fact that Major Attlee and Mr. Vernon Hartshorn have signed the Simon Report without dissent which gives colour to some suspicion and fear on the point, and leads one to think that they are least likely to take advantage of the method herein indicated of relieving the present situation,—we have at once to decide our future course of conduct. It goes without saying that any constitution short of full dominion status must be rejected and boycotted. The talk of transitional arrangements is a little obscure. I only want to say a word on this. The Irish Free State constitution is the model which will serve us well in regard to this question. If by transitional arrangements my friends in India mean a long period

of time, I emphatically dissent from them. Six months should be about enough to transfer the powers and make over the administration to the Swaraj Government.

The only question of some apparent difficulty is the Army and defence. The Simon Commission have adopted the ingenious method of stressing the fact that this question should not be allowed to influence the pace of constitutional progress, but they have at the same time made full use of it to cut down their generosity. There is a difficult problem and both internal order and external defence have to be provided for. The phenomenal suggestion that only strong British element could sustain peace on the marches, north-western or north-eastern, is fallacious and misleading. During the war, was it the regular army that achieved all the victories of which the Allies are so proud? Mercenary Army is maintained only for the purpose of a sudden and temporary danger. When it is a war which is likely to last some time, the volunteer citizen Army, trained and equipped for the occasion is what saves the freedom of the country. The immediate establishment of a system of conscription, and the deflection of the vast expenditure of foreign units for the training and equipment of a citizen Army will solve the defence problem in India in less than five years. It is such an Army that won for France her glorious victories during the revolution; it is such an Army that won the Great War; and such an Army is going to save India. While the Regular Army, subject to bellicose traditions is likely to develop into a caste with interests of its own often adverse to those of the general society,

a citizen Army is the greatest security to the permanence of freedom in the state and will give better service on account of its superior patriotism and loyalty.

Here again the Simon Commission plays on the communal string. Internal defence, it is said, cannot be maintained by the 'impartial' British Army as against the warring communities. How much of the communal disorders is the consequence of the presence of the third party cannot yet be assessed accurately, but one does not take a big risk in attributing to that unfortunate fact the major share of responsibility for the trouble. To harp on these facts is to deny that India is a nation or even can become a nation. The leaders of India are quite willing to take up the challenge. If it comes to it, they prefer initial anarchy and a lasting peace which would be the natural issue of the same, to the prevailing peace of the enslaved. Again there is the remarkable fact that the development of the power and prestige of the great international institution, the League of Nations, are fast making problems of national defence less and less vital and important. Pre-war vast armies and navies and air forces are no longer needed. The Simon Commission has simply ignored this great fact and vital factor in re-building the national constitution.

One word about the Indian States. This is again a favourite argument for the denial of India's rights, and one which does not stand a moment's scrutiny. All kinds of legal quibbles, and every consideration of mutual distrust and jealousy is fomented to destroy the chances of harmonious

relations between the Indian States on the one hand and British India on the other. In itself the question is simple. To start with we could try the relation known as confederation politically, and enter into a Zollverein for economic relations with the major states. These adjustments are bound to undergo periodic revisions, and the time is not far off when the States would find it to their interest to come more fully within the body politic of the Dominion of India. If British diplomacy will only keep its hands off the question, the matter could be solved with incredible ease to the satisfaction of all concerned. I have myself elsewhere proposed that in the central legislature of British India, we should give representation to the states subjects, on the same basis as British Indians. These are many decisions taken by that legislature in which the states subjects are vitally interested, even though there is no reciprocal interest to the British Indian in the affairs of the state, as a measure of prudence the representation of the states subject is of the utmost value. Nothing would make for a quicker assimilation of the states into the political life of the rest of India.

The only other point is, on whom is the jurisdiction, now vested in the British Government in relation to the States, to devolve, after the establishment of Swaraj? Various schemes have been propounded, and it is said that the Round Table Conference would ultimately settle the question. Considerations historical and practical and of justice and expediency bristle in this major problem of statesmanship. Without a fuller examination of the nature of the jurisdiction claimed,

exercised or admitted, and without more intimate acquaintance with the fears and sentiments of the Indian States, the problem could not be solved. For the present we must defer the consideration of this aspect of India's future constitution. At the same time it is only fair to add that no amount of difficulty or delicacy in this matter ought to be allowed to postpone the consummation of British India's political aspirations. It is usually a sense of necessity that helps to find solutions to thorny problems like these.

I am also of the opinion that the Round Table Conference should be held in Delhi or Calcutta. I find that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji is of the same opinion. Besides saving the nation a great part of the huge expense, the atmosphere of India will help the delegates to enter more fully into the spirit of the problems with which they would be confronted. A delegation from England could come to India with much less expense, than what would cost a large number of Indians to go to London and remain there for months together. I need hardly add that it is not only necessary to proclaim Dominion Status immediately, but that a full and generous political amnesty should also be declared if the Conference should attract men who, in the language of the moment can 'deliver the goods'. Without such an amnesty, embracing all the prisoners vis-à-vis the civil disobedience movement, and without the leading personalities among them, including Mahatma Gandhi, being invited to participate in it the Conference would be worse than useless. This would be most tragic, and the spirit of Civil disobedience

will eternally operate on the minds of the people, much as the leaders might like and try to confine its scope to the needs of the movement.

It is worth while to call attention to two remarkable phases of the whole question, one negative and the other positive. The Simon Commission nowhere speaks and deals with the rights of the people of India to ordain their own mechanism of Government and is flagrantly disloyal to the pompously avowed principles and ideals of the Allied and Associated powers in fighting the Great War. On the other hand the best friends of India such as Lord Irwin always assume the rights and voice of the people and Parliaments of England in controlling and settling the constitution for India. Not a shadow of reason has been anywhere vouchsafed for these omissions and commissions. One is struck with amazement when His Excellency the Viceroy as well speaks of the *representatives of the people of England* at the coming Round Table Conference side by side with the representatives of India and of a scheme of constitution agreed upon between these two sets of representatives! He has not any more than the die-hards told us what is to be our fate if no such agreement is reached. If such a political doctrine had been applied to Canada and Australia when they desired and established Dominion Status for themselves, they would have followed the example of the United States of America.

The Simon Commission does not deny that the basis of true federalism is free consent of every one of the

component units. It has not told us what is to be the nature of the constitution if all the provinces of British India now existing, and to be hereafter carved out, do not consent and if all the Indian States do not respond. Nextly the Commission speaks of *responsible* Government for India under *federal* system ignoring the authoritative statement and historic lesson that responsibility and federalism cannot co-exist. The Commission has not apparently paid attention to the Australian evidence before the recent Royal Commission, disclosing the growing feeling against its federal system.

These are some of the features of our present complex political situation. It calls for the exercise of the highest statesmanship, and on its proper solution depends the future relations between the people of Europe and the populations of the East. The reclamation of the 'Lost Dominion' of India for the Empire as a free and equal partner is the surest guarantee against the conflict of the two continents, which seems to be nearer every day since the awakening in China, Persia, Turkey, and India. The assurance of world peace lies in the pacification of India by the recognition of her just rights. Mr. Ramsay Mac Donald returned to power with great ideals on his lips. He is a pacifist by nature, and has done during his short period of office signal services in the cause of Pacifism, especially by the conscientious endeavour he put forth to achieve general disarmament in the world. His party and he have now a glorious opportunity of furthering the prospects of permanent peace in the world. Will he rise to the supreme and historic occasion?

GANDHI AS I SAW HIM.

By DR. WILLIAM KIRK, Ph. D.

Professor of Social Economics, Pomona College

WHAT manner of man is Gandhi whom millions of human souls acknowledge to be their political and religious leader?

Everywhere in India, in cities and villages, among different races and religions, among different castes and cultures, I found the name of one native son universally revered and oftentimes worshipped—Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. Born in 1869, he has lived a life of singular devotion and self-sacrifice, until the people with one accord have proclaimed him the Mahatma, meaning Great Soul.

As a young lawyer, Gandhi had early shown independence of spirit and honesty of purpose. He never hesitated to change his course as soon as his conscience told him that he was going in the wrong direction. Naturally his legal associates had the utmost confidence in his integrity.

When he sailed for South Africa in the early nineties to continue the practice of law, he carried with him an intensely religious outlook and an earnest desire to live and work under the code according to the principles of the Christian religion. Much to his surprise, he discovered that his fellow countrymen, the South African Indians, were treated, not as equals, but as inferiors by those in control of affairs. He did find sympathy and a friendly feeling among the Christian missionaries, and he read many books on Christianity during his leisure

hours. His deep interest in religion led him to follow closely the services of the Christian Church, but he sought in vain to find there a genuine sincerity of worship or the spiritual uplift which his sensitive nature craved. Institutional Christianity disappointed him, and he turned his thoughts away from the organized church to other spiritual experiences. He still believes in the teachings of Jesus, but he remains a Hindu.

Scholarly Indians have told me that he is venerated for his saintliness as no other man has been in the memory of any one now living. Rabindranath Tagore has said that "the whole nation follows him implicitly and for one reason only, that they believe him to be a saint. To see a whole nation of different races, of differing temperaments and ideals, joining hands to follow a saint is a modern miracle and possible only in India. The worst and most deep-rooted passions are soothed by the words: 'Mahatama Gandhi forbids it' . . . He is not only the greatest man in India, he is the greatest man on earth today." One often hears his name linked with the Messiah, Buddha, St. Francis, and Tolstoi, and comparisons are inevitably made between his life and their.

II.

My Hindu friend, whom I had left behind in England when I sailed for India had told me, among other things, not to visit Gandhi on Monday as that

is the one day of the week during which Mahatma observes complete silence. I remembered this bit of advice when I reached Bombay and planned my itinerary accordingly. Ahmedabad proved usually hot, dusty and dirty. I carried a letter of introduction to a prominent Brahman who lives within a few miles of the Ashram, but he was not in the city at the time of my visit. Fortunately his sister, a woman of rare grace and charm, whose gentle courtesy I shall long remember, came to my rescue and volunteered to make the necessary arrangements. "Mahatma," said she, "is so good, he will see you, I know," and, thanks to this gentlewoman's interest in a stranger from afar, I soon found myself on the open road, leaving the unkempt city behind in a cloud of dust, and driving in the direction of Gandhi's home. My escort, a devoted disciple of the Mahatma, spoke and moved as though we were nearing sacred ground, and when we reached the path which leads to his home I, too, could feel the spirit of reverence in the air. I thrilled to the thought that I was about to meet a unique personality face to face, and may be to learn the secret of his tremendous power. But I also felt more humble than I have ever felt before, when I crossed the threshold of the lowly cottage and grasped to the hand of a puny, painfully emaciated man of the people who sat on the floor oriental fashion before the spinning wheel which means so much to India. At first, his peaked face, his large ears and nose, the heavy eyebrows, the closely clipped hair with the single Hindu lock left long, his oddly shaped skull, were very noticeable until Gandhi spoke, and then I thought no more of physical appearances or incongruities. He wore a loin

cloth of coarsely woven *khaddar* about his waist, and a "Hindu cord" around his neck—a simple man in a peasant's garb.

Somewhat embarrassed and ill at ease, I made an awkward attempt to open the conversation by saying "You have many friends in America, Mr. Gandhi, who admire you from afar." Without a moment's hesitation he looked up into my face with deep brown eyes sparkling with good humour, and replied "Distance lends enchantment to the view."

I was no longer a stranger in a strange abode. I was enjoying the precious privileges of friendship.

One or two simple incidents may serve to throw light upon the character of this friend among friends. One who addresses him in the usual occidental manner is apt to receive the mild rebuke "Don't call me 'Mr. Gandhi.' It sounds so unnatural and out of place. Just call me 'Gandhi.'" Much less does he like to hear the word Mahatma. "I am not Mahatma," he protests. "I am just an ordinary human being, with all the faults and failings of other mortals." And when any of his followers are guilty of wrong doing, instead of placing the blame upon their shoulders, he consistently blames his own shortcomings and resort to fasting and prayer to gain control over his own inner life.

Again, the visitor to the ashram, to the Abode of Peace, if he comes from Europe or America, will sit on a plain, home-made chair, while Gandhi crosses his legs on the floor beside the spinning wheel which hums busily as long as the conversation lasts. A fascinating picture! The one

man in all India whom Great Britain has good reason to fear the most, the acclaimed leader of 300,000,000 people, squats contentedly and serenely on the floor of the little cottage, bare of modern comforts or conveniences, and spins away by the hour, to all appearances without a care in the world. His self-conscious guest from across the seas, with his hands and feet in the way, occupies a chair expressly provided out of courtesy to him. A rare experience—to be in the presence of one of the greatest leaders and teachers of all time, who gladly sits at *your feet* and repeats for *you* alone, in a voice full of melody and power, his soul-stirring credo.

III

To understand Gandhi and his following in India we must be willing to see things through oriental eyes and not through eyes accustomed to the speed of New York or Chicago; to know the brown men of Asia one should look at life with the understanding mind of the Hindu.

The spinning wheel is at the center of Gandhi's economic and political philosophy. Around the spinning wheel revolves the whole campaign of non-violent non-cooperation which aims eventually to bring about the exclusive use of *khaddhar* and general boycott of foreign goods—not to injure British trade, primarily but to promote the peace and prosperity of India. "One hundred and fifty years ago," Gandhi explained in a speech before the Courts. "our women spun fine yarn in their cottages and supplemented their husbands' earnings. The village weavers wove that yarn and earned their living in that way.....Today our women have lost the cunning of

their hands and the enforced idleness of millions has impoverished the land."

The greatest suffering may be found in the villages where the peasants depend upon uncertain harvests and are idle several months each year under the most favorable conditions. From time immemorial the land has been divided among the sons at the death of the father, and this custom has resulted in a vast number of tiny farms, too small to support a family unit, it is not unusual to find five, six, eight, or even ten members of a single family living in a one room mud hut, burning cow dung for fuel and growing weaker and weaker on one poor meal a day. To add to the difficulty, the introverted Indian will too often shrug his shoulders in the face of disaster—as I had occasion to see for myself after a destructive rain in the vicinity of Benares—and calmly say, "It is so ordered, I can do nothing."

Gandhi would reintroduce the spinning wheel to give these men and women something useful to do with their hands in the long periods of enforced idleness when life becomes dull and dangerously monotonous. As long as native cotton is sent to England and returned to India in the form of machine-made cloth, the masses will remain dependent and poverty-stricken. The revival of the home industries of an earlier day will not only keep vast wealth within the country, but will give the Indian peasant, the tillers of the soil, a supplementary income of which they stand in sore need. Gandhi has succeeded in spreading this idea pretty generally among different classes. The villagers believe in the plan because "Mahatma" favors it, and I continued to meet influential Indians

in my travels from one state to the other who had taken vows to wear nothing but home-woven cotton and silk; to boycott all foreign-made goods; even to destroy the British-woven cloth which they had already bought.

To make enough *khaddar* cloth for India's needs, everyone should set aside a portion of each day for spinning and weaving. True to this doctrine, the disciples of Gandhi, who are members of the Ashram at Ahmedabad, consider it a part of their daily duty to make so much *khaddar*. His followers elsewhere are carrying the campaign into native schools where the young children learn to spin as a part of their daily routine. Gandhi handed me an illustrated pamphlet entitled "The Takli Teacher," which gives in simple, clear fashion all the instructions needed to spin cotton with a small portable contrivance called the *takli*—a cooper or iron disc about one inch or more in diameter, attached to a straight iron wire eight to ten inches in length.

"Once you have resolved to give all your spare time to spinning," the manual states, "you can no more afford to be without it than you can without walking, even though you have a cycle or a carriage." (A motor car is a *rara avis* in the village communities.) For even as you cannot move about your house on a cycle or in a carriage and must walk out, you may not carry about your *charkha* (spinning wheel) in railway trains or bullock carts, but you have often to waste your time in them unless you have armed yourself with this simple tool *takli*." The people are urged to spin with the *takli* while they talk with friends or fellow passengers. If one is tired of sitting, he may stand up and use the *takli* just as well. He

can even walk about to the "accompaniment of the willing *takli*. No doubt it spins slowly, but it is as sure and steady as the tortoise in the story."

IV

This habit of using spare time profitably will develop personal qualities which the Hindus prize most highly: patience, persistence, concentration, self-control, calmness, ability to do more than one thing at a time, self respect and self-reliance. After a couple of months' training, it is claimed, small boys in school can spin on the *takli* at the rate of fifty yards per hour. A school of 200 boys, working one hour each day, can produce about eighty pounds of yarn in school year averaging 280 days. From this yarn, 775 yards of shirting cloth, thirty-six inches wide can be woven. This total yardage divided among the 200 boys would give about three and three-quarter yards to each boy, enough material for two shirts. If the school buys the cotton and sells the yarn, there should be a profit of something like ninety rupees.

Gandhi regards the spinning wheel as a symbol of the "dignity of labor," and takes pains to answer the argument of the unbelievers who would ridicule his program as reactionary and futile. To his critics who wonder whether it will be possible to halt the onward rush of modern industrialism, Gandhi replies that he knows the Indian temperament better than his contemporaries of the West, who live at such high tension and plunge ahead in such nervous haste.

"The Indian peasants are not ready for the factory and the machine age,"

he pleads. "The workers in the mills of Bombay and Ahmedabad are little better than slaves now, and more factories and more machines will only end in disaster. By using Manchester cloth we would only waste our money, but by reproducing Manchester in India we shall keep our money at the price of our blood, because our moral being will be sapped."

Will Gandhi win? Americans are apt to say "No"—that his whole idea is wrong and that he must sooner or later bow to the might of the invading machine. As I watched the chimneys of the great Ahmedabad mills near Gandhi's cottage casting their ominous shadows over the spinning wheels and handlooms of his colony, I wondered how much longer could the feeble efforts of the hand compete with the tireless energy of the power-driven loom. The patient believers in non-violent non-cooperation are not disturbed. They have faith in the righteousness of their cause, and in the ultimate triumph of right over might.

Gandhi teaches that there can be no permanent political progress without economic and social reconstruction—a primary reason for making the spinning wheel not merely a symbol of the "dignity of labor," but likewise a symbol of India's freedom. He sees clearly that the many races, and castes can be united only by a resort to some one concept which will convey a definite, vital meaning to all classes and all faiths. He thinks that he has found what he has been looking for in the spinning wheel. "For me the spinning wheel and *khaddar* are the symbols of all Indian unity, therefore

I regard them as a national sacrament." This faith will lead to the free India that is to be—a self-respecting nation able to avoid starvation; to prevent epidemic disease; and to cope successfully with the problem of an ever increasing birth rate. Until India is capable of feeding her millions, Gandhi pleads for a wholesale limitation of births through rigorous self-discipline or *Brahmacharya*. "This is a hard thing to do," he writes in his book "*A Guide to health*," a copy of which he autographed for me, "but we have been born into this world that we might wrestle with difficulties and temptations and conquer them; and we who have not the will to do it can never enjoy the supreme blessing of true health."

V

What will happen if the British Government is not prepared to yield to the national demand for *Swaraj*? *The Indian Daily Telegraph* reported: "In pursuance of his view that the salvation of India lies in the *khaddar* program, Mr. Gandhi drew up an elaborate scheme to boycott foreign cloth. It requires the Congress volunteers to go from door to door in every village and town, to collect and burn foreign cloth, receive orders for *khaddar* and persuade foreign cloth dealers to stop further purchases. Congressmen are to picket foreign cloth shops provided there is no danger of violence, and cooperation of all political parties and other organizations is to be sought for the purpose. Members of the legislature are urged to call on the government to purchase their cloth requirements in *khaddar*, irrespective of its so-called costliness, and to demand

prohibitive import duty on foreign cloth."

When one questions the wisdom, for example, of advocating whole-sale destruction of valuable wearing apparel which happens to be made abroad, he is told that this policy should not be looked upon as a form of sabotage or a revengeful gesture, but as a proof that India has seen a great light and has repented of her own sins. Russia had made a fatal blunder when the communists tried to make the leap from the agricultural stage to industrialism overnight; why should India follow the same example and meet the same fate? No nation can afford to ignore one whole stage, the handicraft stage, in the normal economic development of a country. To industrialize India under the present political regime might bring riches to the few, but misery to the many.

Gandhi has not entered the political arena without many misgivings on the part of his best friends. Tagore himself has expressed keen regret that Gandhi should use up so much time and energy fighting political battles, when "we need all the moral fibre which Mahatma Gandhi represents and which he alone in the world can represent." Others have urged him to remember that the people all look upon him as a saint and a spiritual leader, but they might dispute his right to be a politician. To these anxious friends, Gandhi replies. "If I seem to take part in politics, it is only because politics today encircles us like the coils of a snake from which one cannot get out no matter how one tries. I am trying to introduce religion into politics."

In a word, Gandhi is a political leader through no wish of his own; he is primarily and essentially a moral and religious leader. In the course of one conversation in his cottage home, he remarked, "America is rich in gold and material resources,; is she equally rich in things of the mind and the spirit? Will America lead the nations toward world peace and human brotherhood? He seldom reads the daily newspapers for he mistrusts them. He relies on his friends to tell him the important world events. He is too much absorbed just now in India's affairs to pay much attention to world problems. "I am naturally an optimist," he explains, "and a believer in universal peace, but when I contemplate the world of affairs today and observe the forces of reaction at work everywhere, I must confess that I haven't much ground for my optimism."

When I asked him for a more personal message, he reminded me that his political views and interests were of passing importance and not to be taken too seriously—in fact subject to change at any time to meet new conditions. "See my workshops, read my books. There you will find my message. My real life is in my social teachings—in non-resistance, in self-control, and in *khaddar*, the emblem of freedom."

VI

Gandhi believes in the faith of his fathers, it is true—in Hinduism—but he is also keenly alive to the good in other religions. Although he has dedicated his life to the service of India through the principle of non-violence which he regards as the root of Hinduism, he is ever seeking truth in the writings of the great religious teachers, Mohammed, Buddha, and

Christ. He refuses to make a fetish of any belief or condone wrong doing in its name, and he holds himself free to reject any interpretation of the Hindu scriptures which does not appeal to his reason or his moral sense.

Hinduism is to him the religion of his childhood and mature years, but it is not the only religion. The Vedas are sacred, but they are not any more divinely inspired than the Bible, the Koran, and the Zend-Avesta. Hinduism is tolerant toward all other beliefs; it urges everyone to worship God according to his own faith, and strives to live at peace with all religions.

In Gandhi's credo, we find a familiar doctrine, "I believe implicitly in the Hindu aphorism that no one truly knows the Shastras (the ancient holy books) who has not attained perfection in Innocence, Truth and self-control and who has not renounced all acquisition or possession of wealth. In the endeavor to live a more perfect life, those who stay with Gandhi in his Ashram are expected to follow a daily routine, rising at 4 a. m. and scheduling prayers, bath, work, meals, rest recreation, spinning and periods of conversation at regular hours throughout the day which ends at 8 p. m.

We are not surprised to learn that the New Testament has played a vital part in shaping Gandhi's career. In his "*Ethical Religion*" he refers to the passage "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and his righteousness and all these things shall be added unto you," and traces the inspiration of his doctrine "passive resistance" which came to him as a revelation in 1893, to the direct influence of the Sermon on the Mount. Ruskin and

Tolstoi, particularly the latter have also aided him greatly in his efforts to clarify his views and formulate his social philosophy. And today, whenever his followers betray him, he refuses to blame their shortcomings, but tries to find wherein he himself has failed to measure up to his responsibility. He is apt to impose several days of fasting and prayer upon himself in the hope and belief that purity of heart and personal power will come to him who overcomes the desires of the flesh by prolonged self-denial.

When the Hindus and Mohammedans, on one historic occasion at Delhi, were wrangling among themselves, unwilling to reach any workable agreement, Gandhi saw clearly that *Swaraj*, self-government for India, would be impracticable as long as his followers of different faiths insisted upon fighting among themselves. He resolved to give his people an impressive lesson in non-resistance, and instead of growing angry and scolding them for their faults, he resorted to the "great fast" which he anticipated would give his neglected teachings greater weight among the warring factions. On the twenty-first day of the fast, the leaders of the opposing parties gathered penitently about the shrunken body of "Mahatma," and with bowed heads pledged renewed loyalty to their leader and their common cause. Gandhi's utter sacrifice of self had brought the spirit of peace when other methods had failed. His remarkable devotion to principle had inspired one time enemies to sit down together and prepare a protocol which curiously enough will serve to record for all time the personal triumph of a frail man is his singlehanded

struggle against bigotry and intolerance.

"The leaders here present," the strange document reads, "are impressed by the decision of Mahatma Gandhi to fast twenty-one days and are profoundly moved by it. We empower the President personally to communicate to Mahatma Gandhi the solemn resolution of all those taking part to preserve peace, and to announce to him our unanimous desire that he should break his fast immediately, so that he may be present at the meeting and favor us with his cooperation, his advice, and his leadership."

VII

Wherein lies the secret of a life capable of calling forth such a tribute of devotion? His physical appearance is anything but prepossessing, although an ardent admirer exclaims, "In this trivial lantern of the flesh there burns a light that never was on land or sea." And it may be true as another writer has suggested, "When Nature is making geniuses she has a habit of paying more attention to the contents than to the container."

His power does not lie in the sweep of his mental life, for there are men in India who are more than a match for him in intellectual vigor. In fact, he seems to lack in some respects the scientific outlook which differentiates the modern mind from the mediaeval. He seldom manifests an artist's love for the beautiful in nature, in poetry, or in song; nor has he the eloquence of voice or pen to sway the multitudes who sit reverently at his feet.

His one claim to greatness and perhaps the real secret of his power lies in his Christlike willingness to sacrifice

self for others. In a letter to Tagore who had intimated that Gandhi had left little place in his life for the beauty of the flowers and the fields, he wrote: "True to his poetic instinct, the poet lives for the morrow, and would have us do likewise. He presents to our admiring gaze the beautiful picture of the birds in the early morning singing hymns of praise as they soar into the sky. The human bird under the Indian sky gets up weaker than when he pretended to retire. For millions it is an eternal vigil or an eternal trance. It is an indescribably painful state which has to be experienced to be realized. I have found it impossible to sooth suffering patients with a song. The hungry millions ask for one poem, invigorating food."

And even in this desperate struggle to escape from hunger and starvation, he tells us not to apply the principle of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, but to follow the teachings of the Nazarene and the deified Buddha—overcome anger with love, return good for evil, temper justice with mercy, conquer avarice with generosity, confront falsehood with truth.

In other words, Gandhi has indeed a rare gift—the gift of goodness—which the Indian temperament universally accepts as the essence I have heard more than one thoughtful Hindu say that the East will continue to worship Gandhi regardless of his ideas and his theories, and in spite of his worldly defeats and failures. He is to trusting millions a holy man and a great soul, whom the Universal Spirit has singularly favored.

Whatever the West may eventually think of Gandhi as a politician,

economist, social reformer, or religious leader, no one who has recently journeyed through India with an open mind can fail to note how reverently the high and low, the weak and the strong, speak the name of the meek and lowly man of Ahmedabad. All classes seem to unite in hailing him "Mahatma," their hope in time of trouble, their apostle of peace, and goodwill among men.

No one who has talked with him in his Ashram on the banks of the

Sabarmati, as he sits upon the floor spinning and shaping the future destiny of India, can leave his physical presence without feeling the impact of a saintly character and a dauntless spirit. As I walked slowly away from his simple little cottage, passed the *khaddar* workshops where his followers were busily spinning, along the path leading to the dusty, bullock-trodden highway, I found myself repeating, after the manner of the orientals, "Mahatma, great leader of a suffering people, I salute you!"

HISTORY IN A NUTSHELL.

By DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE, M. A., Ph. D.

(*Lecturer in Political Science, State University of Iowa, U. S. A.*)

WHEN a President of the United States lays down the office he is supposed to be finished and shelved for the rest of his natural days, so far as public life is concerned. The retirement from the White House is supposed to spell retirement from active life. It is now reported that Mr. Calvin Coolidge, who it may be remembered by some was once the President of this Federal Republic, is writing the History of the United States in 500 words. It will be a real public service.

Ex-President Coolidge's History of the United States, though limited to only 500 words, will be comprehensive enough to include the full sweep of the four hundred years of development of this nation. His history will be carved upon the face of a mountain in letters large enough to be read

from a distance of several miles and cut deep enough to prevent effacement by erosion.

Five hundred words are not enough. Indeed, they are too few for the extraordinary events of the last four hundred years. The history will probably be forced to mention the Red Indians, the discovery of Columbus, the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers, Colonial America, the war of American Independence, George Washington, the Constitution, the Civil war (war of Slavery), Abraham Lincoln, the emancipation of slaves, the new Union after the Civil War, the Mexican War, the Spanish-American war, the World War, President Wilson's fight for the League of Nations, Lindbergh's flight across the Atlantic.

Very little can be said in a few sentences about each of the important events shaping the present United States. A dismissal of the war of Independence in twenty words, for instance, would seem amusing when we know that the French Revolution is dealt with in some hundreds of thick volumes.

Coolidge's difficulties will lie in what he does not include, as well as what he does. The history of the great American newspapers and magazines and their influence in moulding the opinion of people is a part of the History of United States, as much as the struggles of the various political parties. What can Coolidge say of the slow evolution of American laws? How can he describe the present financial structures in a few words? What of the history of American agriculture, of naval history, of military history, of industrial history, of the history of great leaders of America, of the identification of the Diet with the triumphant dollar? One could easily devote a fat volume or two to each of these topics. But Doctor Calvin Coolidge, who is nicknamed "Silent Cal", is a master in the art of brevity. He ought to be able to do the job on one pencil and two sheets of paper. He may even choose to make history snappy, without sacrificing its intrinsic worth.

The effort of ex-President Coolidge to condense the History of the United States in 500 words, which could be read in about three minutes, has stirred nation-wide interest. Taking advantage of this, the *Chicago Daily Tribune* has just announced a contest among its readers to produce the best History of the United States in 500 words, and will award six thousand

rupees in prizes for the ten best histories. Coolidge will not be in this competition.

The purpose of the *Chicago Tribune* history contest is to stimulate interest of the public, especially of the young people, in American History. The paper says that style is less a consideration in competition than clarity, accuracy, and brevity. "You may follow your own inclinations as to form, but you may not exceed the 500-word limit. You can do it. The story of creation was written in Genesis in ten words."

The story in Genesis mentioned above runs: "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." There is of course great dispute as to the accuracy of the account, but none as to the magnitude of its content or the brevity of its composition. It has been written with astonishing economy of words.

What is history? Rousseau defines history as "the art of choosing, from among many lies, that one which most resembles the truth." History, declares Voltaire with more witticism than truth, is "but a pack of tricks which we play upon the dead." But like most witty remarks, it does not always hit the mark. Perhaps it is more correct to say that history is a record of past events in the life of a nation and in which man has participated. A competent historian would write a history as the mirror of man. Just what material should produce that effect, each should decide for himself.

Returning to the history contest of the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, it has offered no specific suggestions. The Chicago paper has simply pointed

out that the history, to be complete, must cover in some manner the full story of the growth of the United States from its inception down to the present. What that complete story is must be settled by the contestants themselves. They must decide what is worthy of record among the multitude of events which have contributed to the rise of the nation from a group of thirteen little disjointed colonies to a united Republic foremost in the world's affairs.

The problem will be chiefly one of elimination, wherein the amateur historian must choose whether a battle is a more important factor in the development of the Republic than an amendment to the Constitution granting suffrage to the Negroes; whether a certain Presidential election had a greater influence in the destiny of the nation than an industrial reform; whether some legislative enactment is of more moment in the life of Americans than some literary or artistic achievement. It is left entirely to the writer himself to come to a decision if the history is to be one of wars, of politics, of industry, of art, or of literature, or if it is to be a combination of all of these. He must hit on the solution himself. But the winner will be selected from those whose manuscripts tell in 500 words, and no more, the true, comprehensive story of the United States, giving an adequate picture of the entire history of the country.

Some of the critics have said that a 500-word history is impractical. It cannot be done. If a man can compress the history of the United States within such a brief space, he will be regarded a miracle worker.

Others, more optimistic, have held that the task can be done, but not satisfactorily. Such an essay must necessarily be an interpretation, rather than a narration of facts. One may sit down and comment on the central and most important ideas, which have made the United States what it is. One such approach may be the democratic idea, another the idea of union, and still another commercial industrial development.

Anatole France tells a story of the king who insisted on a simple history of his country and himself. A man was selected to do the job. He worked furiously upon it. The King was not satisfied. The history was too long. He wanted it more succinct. Succinctness his royal highness finally had. The history was condensed into a single sentence: "He was born, he lived, and he died." The real history, it seems to me, was omitted: It was the struggle of love and hate, hope and despair, passion and peace.

Can a History of India, say from the Mogul period down to the last Indian Congress at Lahore, be written in a thousand words? What will be the proper method of procedure? How will one go about writing it? Such a history could be composed only by some one thoroughly at home in factual background and capable of doing it in six volumes. Even then his interpretation would only be a thread running through the material.

It may not be entirely satisfactory to boil down the Indian History in three or four pages of the size of an ordinary book; but the time has come

when the essential facts of our history, the spirit of the nation, should be set forth in terms that all literate people could understand. History in India has become the specialized province of a few esoteric pedants, and frequently their lengthy, lugubrious products are so deadly dull as to bore one to tears. Why multiply the boredom? Whether this sad state of affairs is due to crass stupidity or worse, I am not able to say. But it is my understanding that in India history is written by historians for historians. Laymen flee from their performance as if it were an attack of diabetes or cancer. Our professional historians have apparently little faith in democratization of knowledge. Moreover, they do not seem to realize that brevity and clarity are not incompatible with scholarship.

There are many signs visible today that India, including even its college professors, is history-minded and is

history-hungry. There is an immense curiosity about the past and hospitality to new ideas. It is the business of the philosophy of history to make the transition from the old easy.

As an instrument of democratic culture, a popular but accurate knowledge of history should be disseminated far and wide passionately. Let our exclusive devotees of history and philosophy emerge from their lonely closets, and help combat ignorance by presenting their works in a way that is clear and understandable. They would be our new illuminators. Let them, for once, shed their obscure technical erudition and give the people the fundamental facts of life and history in simple form, divested as far as possible of its professional and abstract character. Obscurity and verbosity, they must know, are too often the cloaks of ignorance. I plead indeed not for vulgarization, but for humanization of knowledge.*

* As effective illustrations of the humanizing of history and Philosophy, the reader is referred to *The Outline of History* by H. G. Wells, *The Human Adventure* by Robinson and Beard, *The Story of Mankind* by Hendrik Van Loon, *The Story of Philosophy* by Will Durant. For a layman to read these books actively is to have an adventure with gods.

RURAL RECONSTRUCTION IN NEGRO AMERICA

By Prof. KRISHNAYYA, M. A. (*MADRAS*), M. A., Ph. D. (*Columbia*)
(*Professor of Education, Mysore University*).

THAT the Negro has made the most remarkable progress in the last fifty odd years that history records of any people in a similar length of time is not sufficiently realized outside America. This estimate does not overrate the Negro's capacity for absorbing the white man's civilization nor yet does it ignore the fact that the race has had the advantage of intimate contact with the world's most progressive civilization. Suffice it to mention a few significant facts along the lines of measurable evidence. Illiteracy among Negro has been reduced from 90 per cent in 1863 to less than 20 per cent in 1920. Starting as slaves the Negroes now about ten millions have an estimated wealth of ten billion dollars (£ 200,000,000). When the Negro obtained this freedom there were in the whole United States a few farms controlled by a very small number of previously "free Negroes". Today they operate in the South alone some 900,000 farms and cultivate some 100,000,000 acres of land. The Negroes in America now own more than 20,000,000 acres of land. In this article an attempt will be made to describe some of the Negro agencies which have contributed to this marvellous change in rural America.

Much of this rural betterment has been effected by the Agricultural Extension Service among Negroes, but up to the year 1905 there was practically no machinery with which to carry on the work. At that time it was rather

doubtful experiment. Certainly it was a new idea sprung on southern Negro education—that of sending out teachers without text books or school rooms, but instead, treating the rural farmers, home as a class room, and his family as students. Many said "It cannot be done"; others said it was not based on the fundamental principles of teaching. However there was such an incessant demand upon the Federal and State Departments, that it was deemed necessary to develop in most of these states an auxiliary extension force composed of Negro men and women agents who would work exclusively among people of their own race.

The first Negro agent was appointed in November 1905, in cooperation with Tuskegee Institute, Alabama. A few months later, a similar agent was appointed to work in Virginia in close association with Hampton Institute. The cooperating institutions are two of the leading Negro agricultural and industrial schools of the South. Because of their interest and influence, Negro demonstration work in the beginning developed most rapidly in these states. In most states, the first Negro agent was employed for general work in a district comprising a number of counties, and the employment of workers in individual counties followed only where the agent had succeeded in arousing interest in the work and in obtaining sufficient local cooperation.

Negro agents are engaged in the general cooperative extension work carried on according to the provisions of the Smith-Lever Law, under the general supervision of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, and the direct supervision of the State Agricultural colleges through the extension director. Two Negro field agents represent the United States Department of Agriculture in contact with Negro extension leaders of their race, in their respective territories which cover fifteen states. Their duties are to cooperate with the State directors and other white supervisory agents, organisations and individuals outside their territory in developing Negro extension work; to assist Negro State supervisory agents in planning work, preparing reports, establishing relationships, and generally in getting more uniform and efficient service from the local agents; and to study the best methods of doing extension work among Negroes as developed anywhere in their domain and to take such information to agents in other states. Generally, all supervisory agents are located in the State Negro agricultural and mechanical colleges, Negro agents receiving subject-matter assistance from specialists on the extension staff of the white and Negro agricultural and mechanical colleges.

Besides these definite extension organisations, many cooperating organisations assist in carrying out programmes of work in the counties. Leading among these have been the Negro Chambers of Commerce school officials and teachers, lodges, Federation of Women's Clubs, health societies, and Negro farmers' unions. Religious institutions, the rural Negro Churches, however, were first

of all in the extent of support and encouragement given to extension work in the countries. Few agents from any state fail to mention the church as one of their best co-operators in carrying out their programmes of work.

The ideal of the Extension Work among Negroes is to reach Negro farmers and their families and to influence them to adopt better farm practices; to help them to increase their earning capacity; to improve their living conditions; to interest Negro boys and girls in farm activities, and to train them in the use of improved methods in farming and home-making. It is undoubtedly one of the best means discovered recently for proving to the people generally that they can improve their own condition.

The Tuskegee school on wheels

Speaking of the problems of his people, Booker T. Washington is recorded to have said, "We shall prosper in proportion as we learn to dignify and glorify labour, and put brains and skill into the common occupations of life." Entirely in keeping with this ideal is the Movable school of Tuskegee which is one phase of that practical programme called the Agricultural Extension service.

Its history goes back some twenty-five or thirty years when Washington was Principal of Tuskegee. Today, "The Booker T. Washington School on Wheels" carries a complete stock of farm implements and home conveniences, such as the average farmer would be able to purchase or construct and operate, also a phonograph, a lighting system and a complete motion

picture outfit. Accompanying are three workers, a man to demonstrate the use of farm equipment and teach improved methods of farming; a woman to show how to make and use the home conveniences, and how to conduct the home on a more healthful and economical basis; and a nurse to give demonstrations in simple practices of hygiene, home sanitation and care of the sick. The motor truck makes it possible for the force to reach the out-of-the-way places where people do not have the advantage of any kind of instruction, agricultural or otherwise.

Such a school, then by prearrangement, is staged at some Negro farmer's home. Men, women, boys, and girls are grouped in separate

classes and given instruction in practical subjects. The programme embraces demonstrations and lectures on health and sanitation, farm and home betterment, care of poultry, and improvement of live stock.

The Movable school of Agriculture and Home Economics aims to place before the farmers concrete illustrations, calculated to prove to them that they can do better work, raise more produce on a smaller number of acres, at less expense, and at the same time, have an attractive comfortable home. The object is to impress on the community the value of these improvements and also to teach the farmers themselves how to do the work.

THE CIVIL SERVICE AND PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY.

By MR. NARESH CHANDRA ROY, M. A.

(Lecturer, City College, Calcutta).

THE permanent Civil Service is an indispensable factor of the modern Government. Administration is no longer a simple business as it was in the ancient and medieval days. It has become for the last one century and more increasingly complex and intricate. As in the private, so in the public field also, human activities have increased four-fold during this period. Public functions were confined before to the management of the foreign policy and the organisation of the internal order. The state was thus a purely police state. It was concerned only with external and internal defence. But the growth of the modern industry

and in some countries, the development of the imperial policy have revolutionised the attitude of the people towards the Government. They have now lived down the old individualist prejudices and, far from dreading any addition to the activities of the Government, they now welcome it with outstretched arms. As a result, the Government have been compelled to intrude upon grounds that were not long ago looked upon as strictly private. The functions of the Government are hence quite innumerable at present. Nor are they simple in the least. Most of them are technical in character and all of them are intricate

in nature. It is not possible to discharge these varied and complex duties without expert help. There must be now-a-days a thoroughly trained and experienced body of civil servants to carry on the routine work from day to day. Their advice and help are indispensable also in introducing a new measure and chalking out a new programme of work. The Government Departments are now vast establishments which cannot be run except by people who have been specially trained in them and who have been accustomed for years to their activities. Neither in an autocracy nor in a democracy, it is possible to-day to carry on the government with the least semblance of efficiency without this permanent expert assistance. The American democracy tried for a long time to resist the creation of this bureaucracy. The American people were dead against the installation of a permanent civil service. They accepted a system by which men were taken into the Government Departments only for a temporary period of four years. They could not develop the skill and experience which the Government hands possessed elsewhere. Before they could pick up the necessary threads of information, they were cashiered and replaced by another set of men. This was of course quite in line with the ancient principle of rotation in office. This principle is not intrinsically bad. It has rather much to commend itself to us. It gives an opportunity to most of the people to participate in the public administration. It also makes impossible the creation of an exclusive official caste. But whatever be the merits of this system, the fact remains that it is unsuitable to the modern conditions. And the Ameri-

can people paid heavily the penalty of this unsuitability. Amateurs may administer the affairs of a country to-day with expert help. But if the so called experts themselves are nothing but inexperienced and untrained novices, the administration must certainly be lax and inefficient if it does not completely break down. The American people have now learnt that "a democracy, like every other community, needs the best tools that it can find, and the expert of high grade is the best living tool of modern civilization."

A well-trained permanent Civil Service is thus an indispensable factor of every modern Government, democratic or autocratic. In Democracies, of course, these permanent experts are tolerated only as tools. They have not the supreme voice in the administration of the country. It is the representatives of the people who formulate the policy of the Government and chalk out the lines of action. The supreme and final voice rests with them. The permanent civil service has to assist these popular representatives in promulgating this fundamental policy of the Government. Their help and expert advice are essential in settling the lines of a measure and determining the attitude of a government towards a particular public question. Their duty is to tender this advice, but the responsibility for accepting or rejecting all or any part of it lies with the people's representatives. It is not the civil service but these politicians who are accountable to the public for any measure they undertake and any attitude they adopt with regard to a public question. The civil service has only to help them in formulating

the policy and implicitly carry it out once it is so formulated.

In democracies in which the Executive is responsible to the Legislature, it is the Cabinet Ministers who are held accountable by the representatives of the people for everything that comes off in a Government Department. The Minister in charge of a particular portfolio has to bear all the brunt of attack for anything that may happen within his jurisdiction. To the Parliament and the public, he represents the department, and for all with which it is concerned, he is responsible. The day to day administration, every body knows, is carried on by the permanent civil service. But if anything untoward or unsatisfactory happens, it is not the civil service but the Minister who incurs the blame. The responsibility for running the department is thus fastened on him. The public and the Parliament have no direct concern with the permanent civil service. They are not supposed to know it, it works anonymously. It has no direct access to the people or the Parliament. It has to work under the sole control and superintendence of the Minister at the head of the department. Its access is limited to him and its loyalty is also due to him alone. Its duty is to tender him all the expert advice of which it is capable and carry out all his orders and measures with implicit loyalty and ungrudging enthusiasm. The Minister is responsible for the working of the department, he is consequently invested also with all the powers over that department. The permanent civil servants derive their authority from him and have to work only in subordination to him. Beyond him they acknowledge no master and excepting

his they accept no orders. They are his tools and instruments ; they work under his authority and take shelter under his wings.

The Indian Civil Service which was organised first by Lord Cornwallis has had an altogether different set of traditions and ideals. The scope of its work has been far wider and the nature of its duties different in some vital aspects. The authority it has wielded and the powers it has exercised have been also correspondingly larger and greater. The members of the Indian Civil Service have not had merely to discharge the functions which their British compeers have to perform from day to day. Their task has not been simply to assist the Government with expert advice and carry out its decisions with promptitude and vigour. They have not been merely the tools in the hands of the Government. They themselves have constituted the Government in India. As early as the year 1800, Lord Wellesley wrote out in a Despatch to the Court of Directors that the Indian Civilian "are in fact, the ministers and officers of a powerful sovereign... They are required to discharge the functions of Magistrates, Judges, Ambassadors, and Governors of provinces... Their duties are those of statesmen in every other part of the world. More than one century later, the Right Hon'ble Mr. Herbert Fisher could not discover any change in the functions and position of the Indian Civil Service. It still constituted "that wonderful bureaucracy which is expected to turn out judges, revenue officers, heads of administrative departments, pro-consuls, legislators, political officers, and... parliamentarians as well." It was still "the political, the governing service of the

country." "The Indian Councils cannot turn out a Government and cannot make a Government. The Indian Civil Service is the Government." So the Indian Civil Service has not been a civil service proper. It has been a governing corporation in the true sense of the phrase. It has laid down the policy of the Government and supervised its execution. The attitude of the Indian Civil Service towards public questions has been the attitude of the Government of India. The civil service in England has to work under the leadership and control of the Government. In India, the Civil service and the Government have been synonymous terms.

The introduction of the Reforms in 1919 was expected to modify the position of the Indian Civil Service at least in some departments of public administration. It was announced in the British House of Commons on August 20, 1917, by the Secretary of State for India that it would be hence forward the policy of his Majesty's Government to introduce gradually responsible government in this country. In pursuance of this policy, the first instalment of responsible government was granted to the Indian people by the Government of India Act, 1919. This measure transferred some of the administrative departments in the provinces to the hands of the Representatives of the newly created electorates. These transferred subjects were to be administered under the responsibility of the popular representatives. The other public departments would continue to be run as hitherto on the final responsibility of the Secretary of State and the

British parliament. In other words, the Indian Civil Service would continue to be the Government so far as these 'reserved' departments were concerned. But the transferred functions would be worked under the leadership and supervision of some Ministers to be chosen from among the elected members of the Legislative Council. For the proper administration of these subjects, it would not be the Indian Civil Service which would be responsible to the Secretary of State, but it would be the Ministers who would be responsible to the Legislature and, through it, to the people. In fact for the working of these nation-building functions, a cabinet form of government was introduced and the Ministers were expected to be jointly and severally responsible to the Legislative Council for all that happened in their departments.

Now in order to fulfil his responsibility to the Legislature and ultimately to the electorate, the Minister should have been invested with all the authority over his departments. The permanent staff should have looked to him alone for inspiration and guidance. They should have given him all the necessary help and cooperation and carried out his order and policy loyally and ungrudgingly. As experienced officers, it is not unexpected that they might have definite opinions of their own upon many important questions of the day. But as subordinate officers working under the Minister, theirs is not a function to formulate policy according to their lead and light. Theirs is the duty to help the Minister to frame one according to his ideas and then to carry out that policy in all its details. Unfortunately however, the past traditions and many

of the present rights and privileges of the higher permanent services militate against their loyalty to the Minister in charge of the department. The Secretaries of the different departments transferred to the care of the Ministers are generally recruited from the Indian Civil Service. The other superior officers also who are responsible for carrying out the policy of the Ministers are either members of this Service or belong to some other All-India Service. These officers are recruited by the Secretary of State for India in Council and can be dismissed only by that authority. Even the little disciplinary powers over them which have been given to the Provincial Governments are exercised not by the Ministers but by the Governor in Council. On the contrary, lest the Ministers should ever dare to do anything that might prejudice the interests of any such officer, he has been given direct access to the Governor who is to overrule the Minister and satisfy the officer. If in case he does not get the satisfaction at the hands of the Governor, he has of course the ultimate appeal to the Secretary of State in Council. The authority of the Ministers over the permanent Staff is thus shadowy beyond doubt. They can neither reward any officer for his efficiency, nor punish any for recalcitrancy. They are harmless figure-heads of the departments concerned.

The I.C.S. Secretary of the department can never fail to be imbued with the traditions of his Service. He can never forget that it was the civil service that determined the policy of the Government a decade ago. In the reserved half of the provincial government he finds the Indian Civil Service still ruling. It is not very easy there-

fore for him to give up the pretensions of independence and adapt himself all at once to the weals of silent industry, complete anonymity and implicit loyalty to the political Chief which are the attributes of the permanent Under-Secretary of a public department in England. He refuses to accept that the Reforms have brought about a change in his position at least in the transferred departments. His angle of vision has in fact not changed at all. In the older regime, the responsibility was fastened upon the Civil Service. Under the Reforms, however, it is the Minister who is responsible to legislature for the working of his department. The Secretaries are not expected to act independently of the Minister. They should be in every sense of the term his subordinates helping him to the best of their ability in discharging his responsibility. But the I. C. S. Secretary of a transferred department is not willing to play such an unpretentious part. The departmental rules that have been framed have also not helped at all in checking his pretensions, and developing his loyalty and subordination to the Minister. These rules have rather given him carte blanche to rebel against the ministerial authority and violate his orders with impunity.

The Governor of a province was expected to play the part of a constitutional ruler with regard to the transferred subjects. Both the Joint Parliamentary Committee and the Instrument of Instructions exhorted the Governors to help the Ministers with advice but not to override their decisions if after due warning they still stuck to them. But in most cases the Governors have consistently

overlooked this exhortation and as in the reserved half so also in the transferred departments they have throughout interfered with the work of the Ministers. They have formed an unholy alliance with the departmental Secretaries, heads of departments, and even district and divisional officers against the Ministers in charge of the transferred subjects. These latter have thus found themselves between the devil and the deep sea. They have been practically pressed to nothingness between the upper mill-stone of the Governor and the lower mill-stone of the Secretaries and the heads of departments. The Governor as the head of the province must be acquainted with everything important that happens in a transferred department. He must be familiarised with all the steps which the department contemplates. But he should have got all these pieces of information through the Minister alone. The Minister as the political head of the department should alone have the access to the Governor and the Governor as the friend, philosopher, and guide of the Minister should have supported his undertaking or issued a solemn warning against it after being influenced by the views and the opinions of the Minister alone. But this arrangement, which seems to be the only rational and reasonable relationship between the Governor and the minister, could not be acceptable to the authorities who framed the departmental rules in 1919. They could not forget the position of the Indian Civil Service and other All-India Services. It could not be brought home to them that in the transferred departments, there was practically going to be a political and administrative revolution.

The old principle of Civil Service responsibility was being replaced by the new Ministerial responsibility to the Legislative Council. Instead of the Civil Servants looking to White Hall for support and guidance, the Ministers were now to look to the Legislature and the electorate for inspiration and support. In this altered state of things, the old privileges and rights of the Civil Services would be only an anomaly. But it was not in the least appreciated by those in charge of framing the rules. They maintained all the old powers and privileges of the Secretaries, departmental heads, and other permanent officers even though the basic administration had been changed. Under the rules framed by them, the I. C. S. Secretaries instead of being loyal subordinates to the Minister, are his jealous rivals, powerful antagonists. In case the minister and the Secretary disagree on a subject, it may be carried over the head of the Minister to the Governor by the Secretary. It is for the Governor now to decide whom to support. The Legislative Council may demand a measure, and the Minister may be quite willing to initiate one, but the Secretary may at this moment raise his objection. Now in case the Governor inclines to the side of the Secretary, the measure either drops out altogether or comes out in a shape not at all to the liking of the Legislature and the people. The departmental head also like the Surgeon-General, Director of Public Instruction, etc., may disagree with his political chief and carry the matter to the Governor. The Secretary has fixed days of interview with the Governor. The departmental head has no such fixed time, he may, how-

ever, see the Governor whenever he solicits an interview. Thus over the head of the Minister, his subordinates may go to the provincial Governor and place their points of view before him. Lala Herkishen Lal, an ex-Minister of the Punjab, complained before the Reform Enquiry Committee of 1924 that the Secretary "enjoyed pre-audience of the Governor." "We had fixed days," he explains, "for seeing the Governor. The Secretary went first and the Minister went afterwards.....A file was waiting on my table. The Secretary was instructing the Governor. Then I took the file and the Governor knew all about it and he had formed an opinion before I took the paper to him." Some Ministers even experienced cases in which without their knowledge the Secretaries and the heads of departments were having a brisk discussion and correspondence with the Governor on an important public question. The responsible Ministers were not taken into the least confidence in these matters. Naturally Rao Bahadur N.K. Kelkar, an ex-minister of the Central Provinces, protested bitterly before the Muddiman Committee that "there is no reason why the heads of the departments should be at liberty to send recommendations directly to the Governor and ignore the Ministers altogether." Not only with regard to the fundamental policy of the department, the permanent officers have leagued with the Governor against the Ministers but in mere administrative orders also they, in conspiracy with the Governor, have placed the Ministers on many occasions in a false and awkward position. The Minister might have issued an order with regard to a particular

subject. The head of the department might not like it for one reason or another. He would now approach the Minister for withdrawing the order. On the Minister's refusing to do so, he would go straight to the Governor who would quash the order at once over the head of the Minister. There are again innumerable instances of permanent officers in the districts refusing to carry out the orders and policy of the Ministers. The department of Local Self-Government is a transferred subject in charge of a Minister. But much of the work in this field is discharged by the district and divisional officers who mostly belong to the Indian Civil Service. They have got specific powers in the administration of the local bodies, and no proposal of the Commissioner touching this subject can be rejected by the Minister without the concurrence of the Governor. The Minister is thus responsible to the Legislature for the efficient working of the department of which he is supposed to be the political head. But actually, he has no voice in the administration of his portfolio. He is only an ornamental wax-doll either pulled by the leg or cast aside altogether by the permanent Services under him. He has no voice, no real authority in the department over which he seems to preside. The intentions of the framers of the Government of India Act, 1919, have thus been completely frustrated. They wanted to transfer the nation building departments to popular control. They wanted that these subjects should be administered by the accredited representatives of the people according to their own powers. The Civil Service, however, has stood as a stumbling-block against the experiment of responsible govern-

ment in this limited sphere. The powers of the Governors are no doubt unnecessarily and unduly large. They have been given, indeed, too much authority in the transferred subjects. But if the Ministers were his sole advisers, if they were his only channels of information, by conventions many of his powers might have been transferred to the hands of the Ministers. But the Civil Service which is a rival to the ministerial authority keeps these powers of the Governor constantly alive. Thus the Civil Servants instead of being the servants of the Minister, are his masters. Their rights and privileges have chiefly contributed to the complete failure of the reforms. They have made responsible government in the transferred subjects a sham and a mockery. Without a complete reconstitution of the Civil Service, democracy and provincial autonomy can only be a delusion.

The Royal Commission on the Superior Services which was presided over by Lord Lee gave the definite verdict that Ministerial responsibility to the Legislature was vitally inconsistent with the rights and privileges of the All-India Services. It accordingly recommended in 1924 that in the transferred departments the recruitment of the officers on an All-India basis should be discontinued. The Lee Commission thus recognised the anomaly of the permanent Services looking beyond their political chief for leadership and guidance: By recommending their provincialisation, it wanted to take away many of their rights and powers which do not fit in with the altered state of things. In view of the expected transference of all the provincial subjects to popular

control in the near future, the Lee Commission might have wisely advocated the provincialisation of the Services working now under the reserved departments as well. That by 1931 or thereabouts these reserved subjects would also be transferred might be taken for granted. But by continuing the recruitment of the officers in these departments on an All-India basis, only some vested interests have been allowed to be created which will militate against the principle of provincial autonomy. The officers who have come into the services during these few years will continue in work for about thirty years to come. The basic principle of government will certainly be totally changed in course of a year or two, but the conditions of service of these officers will remain as they are at present. Their position naturally in the future scheme of things will be incongruous and their powers and privileges will be a source of embarrassment and irritation to the responsible executive.

It is not simply the officers already recruited on this basis who will constitute an anomalous factor of the future constitution of India. The Simon Commission has laid down certain proposals which, if accepted, will perpetuate this incongruous element in the administration of the country. This wise body of seven has on the one hand chalked out a rough scheme of provincial autonomy which provides for all the provincial subjects being administered on the responsibility of the executive to the legislature, and on the other hand it has proposed to maintain in tact the present status of the security services. It does not want that the powers and

privileges of the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police Service should be any way modified. It is surprising that it was not brought home to the Commission that the two recommendations which it made in the same breath were altogether inconsistent and even antagonistic in character. The powers which a member of the Indian Civil Service or of the Indian Police Service enjoy at present are a relic of an administrative epoch that is fast drawing to a close. Their continuance in the future scheme of administration will only be an anachronism. If the reforms of 1919 have been proved to be hollow sham during the last ten years of their experiment, the All-India Services are mostly responsible for this result. With their extra-Indian recruitment, their right of appeal to the Secretary of State, their direct access to the Governor, their wide powers, and extensive rights, they have kept the Ministers completely under their thumb. In appearance, there has been

some change in the departments transferred to popular control. But in actual working, this change cannot be perceived at all. The old bureaucratic spirit has been maintained in tact even in these so called transferred subjects. Nor is it in any way surprising. The departments are run not according to the ideals of the people's representatives but of the All-India Services. If the present constitution of the I. C. S. and the I. P. S. is to continue as the Simon Commission wants, the provincial autonomy which the Indians desire and the Commission concedes will be equally a mockery. Between the Governor, and the Civil Services they will divide all the political and administrative powers and the popular Ministers will find themselves as now between the devil and the deep sea. The complete overhauling of the two security services is an indispensable preliminary to any further democratisation of the Government.

"THE POISON OF PRUDERY" EXAMINED*

By Mr. Harnandan Lall Nandkeolyar, Bar-at-Law.

MR. Walter Gallichan whose *Psychology of Marriage* received so much popularity when it was published and whose *Chapters on Human Love* (published under the pen-name of "Geoffery Martiner") was "banned" as long ago as 1898, returns to an allied theme in the book under notice. He has made "prudery" the target of his attack only with a view to put forward a well-reasoned and earnest expostulation in favour of imparting knowledge in sexual physiology and hygiene to the young, with a view to bring about what he calls "the most essential moral and hygienic reform of our age". Whatever be its value as a commercial 'puff', the publishers do the book less than justice by blazoning forth on the cover that it is the outcome of the suppression of "The well of Loveliness" whose proscription last year caused so much controversy. Mr Gallichan has a much deeper purpose in view and, as a matter of fact, that book is referred to by him but incidentally in one of the concluding chapters headed "The banning of books", wherein he discusses with admirable lucidity and force the arbitrary and futile suppression of book by the Home Secretary in England.

The author defines "Prudery" as "denial of any interest in sexuality", and proceeds to rummage from a mass

of medical and scientific opinions, both European and American, materials which help him in showing how prudery, by exclusion of knowledge, defeats "true modesty", "fosters sex vice" and "threatens the well-being of mind and body". In successive chapters "Prudery" is examined in its relations to the child, the adolescent, matrimony and health. An interesting chapter is devoted to the discussion of the idea of "sinfulness" of Sex. Unlike India, where the true significance of sex in the scheme of nature was appreciated from the earliest times, and the female was exalted to the dignity of "shakti", Europe regarded sex as symbol of sin. Says Mr. Gallichan: "with the utmost energy and vituperative eloquence, a number of early fathers of the Church sought to impress on the multitude that shame and contempt for the body was a primary virtue." St. Bernard in his *Meditations* told his disciples that "Man is nothing else than fetid sperm" and "you have never seen a viler dunghill". The result was that matrimony was regarded as sin, and a total annihilation of the sexual impulse was the object to be aimed at. In India, asceticism, with a view to extirpate sexual sense, was advocated after a certain period in life, when the claims of Nature had been adequately satisfied, and it was advocated not because sex was sinful, but as bodily discipline for attain-

* *The Poison of Prudery—An Historical Survey.*—By Walter M. Gallichan (T. Werner Laurie Ltd., Cobham House, 24 and 26 Water Lane, E. C. 4 London) 1929.

ment of higher knowledge, or as a means of higher human development. But in Europe, the starting basis being that 'sex' was sinful, the church (at least during the scholastic period) demanded of its followers strict compliance with the rules that it had framed. All desire, licit or illicit, was condemned rather vehemently, and it is a historical fact that a number of early Christians practised castration in order to escape the "lure of flesh". Says Mr. Gallichan: "There was no effort to establish the idealism and the knowledge which can alone preserve sex morality but merely a fierce denunciation of everything pertaining to the second great human instinct". The result of such blind opposition to the law of Nature was as can well be easily imagined. Mr. Gallichan recounts, "The exaggerated estimate of the sanctity of the celibate state and of inviolable chastity produced violent reactions. We read of the grossest practices and perversions among the avowedly ascetic communities. Sexual mortifications and sexual excesses—these were the two poles between which the life of the ascetic oscillated, so that we see in each case a marked sexual intermixture. The enforced depreciations of a normal gratification of love led invariably to abnormalities, perversions, vice and mental disturbance." When evil had been so created, remedies came to be prescribed in the usual course. Augustine, Salvian, and Thomas Aquinas (we are told by Mr. Gallichan) tolerated houses of ill-fame as necessary! The Reformation period followed and Luther took a more humane view of sexual impulse and "was even bold enough to recommend that the wives of impotent husbands should have intimate

relations with other men, preferably the husbands' 'brother'. Europe, as history records, enthusiastically backed up the reforming zeal of Luther in many matters and it is but right to say that it took no notice of the dictum mentioned above and regarded it merely as an angry fulmination of the Reformer's against the prevailing constricting notions of sexual morality. A juster appreciation of the sexual laws was, however, the result, and there can be no doubt that thenceforward there was a marked tendency to guide and control sexual impulses rather than attempt to stifle them. It was not without much fight that priests who were condemned to life-long celibacy were ultimately allowed to enter wedlock without raising the ire of the entire Christendom. But Mr. Gallichan deplores that "Prudery" is still in the ascendant, and is responsible for the stoppage of propagation of useful 'sex' knowledge which alone would have led to the exercise of healthy, hygienic, and vigorous manhood and womanhood. And Mr. Gallichan's present book is a valiant onslaught against such a state of things, and merits careful consideration.

There is no gainsaying that "Prudery", such as Mr. Gallichan contemplates, did prevail in England up to the time which is known as the Victorian period. But the progress of socialism, and the Women's Movement, comprehensively described as feminism, created new economic values, and new social categories which were profoundly influenced by individualistic, as contra-distinguished from feudal theories of life. This emphasised the economic as well as

the social independence of women, and could not but profoundly affect the then current ideas of 'sex'. Quickly on the heels of this social revolution followed the Great War which created new 'moral' values, mainly because women, for the first time in history bore a part therein which during Victorian period would have been absolutely impossible even to imagine. All this gave a rude shock to the snug ideas of sexual morality which had hitherto prevailed. It would have been exceedingly desirable if Mr. Gallichan had devoted a chapter to his study of Prudery in relation to the War. As it is, his book seems to have ignored the effect that the War has had upon ideas of sexual relations in Europe. The omission is all the more glaring, because his notion of 'Prudery' seems to be altogether incongruous with the actualities of sexual life as we have existing in Europe at present as an aftermath of the Great War. The result, therefore, is, that not only thereby his historical survey of Prudery, which is the claim that he makes for his book, is rendered incomplete, but his perspective, in consequence, is thrown out of focus and he is landed into generalizations which would seem to be exaggerated. Mr. Gallichan asserts: "The enormous increase of nervous and psychic disturbance among the cultured races has unquestionably kept pace with the growth of the prohibition of thought upon the forbidden theme of sex." Again: "Whenever in a society thought upon sexual topics is repressed and interdicted, there is a reaction and gross levity." And further: "Neurosis is the price we pay for our hypocrisy". Similar quotations from the book could be

multiplied to fill considerable space. Indeed, the various chapters of the book strike one as containing tiresome repetition of the same argument. Yet judging from the prevailing conditions, do these asseverations represent the whole truth? Is it not a fact that during the War, and after it, grown up men and women, due to exigencies of the situation and without the slightest hinderance of Prudery met on terms of unqualified freedom?—and what has been the result? The courts have been flooded with divorce cases and the state had to tackle the problem of "War babies." It is no use soothing oneself with the thought—as Mr. Gallichan would appear to have done—that the war was an abnormal phenomenon which has come and gone, and need no longer be taken into account. It has left results which have shaken the foundation of western society out of its bases, and it would be dangerous for a reformer to slur them ever. A Home Secretary, subject to a particular idiosyncrasy, may dutifully attempt to save his people an imagined blush by proscribing literature in an out of date fashion. But can a serious student pretend that the mentality of the European people as a whole in regard to 'sex' has not undergone a 'forward' change and that it still remains static as before. And if that be so, is "Prudery" still enthroned on the same high pedestal as before?—and is "prudery" alone responsible for the conditions that Mr. Gallichan so much deplures? Are there not other factors which have also contributed their quota to the result? Has not the case against "Prudery" been, therefore, overstated?

Mr. Gallichan, however, not only

preaches the propagation of hygienic and scientific knowledge of 'sex', but he also advocates the cultivation of a "sex idealism" which would enable men and women tied in wedlock to live a life of so-to-say continuous honeymoon. This ecstatic state, as well as healthy sexual selection, can be achieved, the author argues, by unfettered and unhampered discussion of sexual science. Says Mr. Gallichan: "The average 'civilized' husband and wife generally cease courtship after consummation of marriage and 'settle down' to domestic life with a certain pride in having outgrown 'romantic nonsense' and sentimentality. In this way, wedlock often becomes 'the tomb of love'. The flame of passion flickers for lack of oil in the lamp. Caresses and embraces become almost mechanical and meaningless between these married couples who adhere to the *conventional principle that wooing is appropriate only in the betrothal prelude to the physical act of intercourse*. Thus an immense number of husbands and wives never realize the exquisite joy of a true love-mating". (Italics ours) Does "courtship" really cease because married couple act up to a "*conventional*" principle". Is not the lessening of the demonstrative ardour due to natural psychological reaction? If, as the author says, prohibition excites desires, does not familiarity breed contempt? Much as one would regard Mr. Gallichan's "Ecstatic state" as a consummation devoutly to be wished for one cannot easily subscribe to the view that such a state can be produced by the artificial means that he recommends. Nor is it possible to agree to the view that without continued and ardent courtship "married people never realize the exquisite joy of a true love-mating". Once parties join hands in true marital

selection, "Courtship" comes to be regarded as a superfluous and contemptible artificiality, the existence of which rather retards than helps true 'love-mating'.

Mr. Gallichan's plea, however, for the abandonment of the present policy of suppression of books, will find much sympathy. Says the author "We are so concerned with suppressing impure books that we fail to define purity to the young. For the constant cry of '*suppression*' we might well substitute '*direction*', and no one can dictate to people what they shall read". The law as adumbrated by Lord Cockburn as to obscenity and which is regarded as good law even to-day is now out of date. There are lines in Shakespeare, and Milton and even in the old Testament that are liable to be suppressed if Lord Cockburn's test be applied to them. Rightly argues the author: "it is impossible to suppress all suspected books without a total extinction of the world's classic books." The suppression of so-called 'obscene' book has always led to quickening of morbid and demoralizing curiosity which not only succeeds in defeating the alleged object of suppression but is, in fact, productive of greater harm than the proscribed book itself. It may be that there should be some way found of protecting people against what is evil, since in all countries there are writers who would pander to the lowest feeling in man, if not interfered with. But such protection should be found in means other than that of censorship. Obscenity and impropriety are matters too subjective and indefinite to serve as a basis for sound practical legislation. The efforts of society and state should rather be concerned to so educate the individual that he may decide

for himself what he should avoid or real remedy would appear to be not reject as obscene and vulgar. The censorship but rational education.

A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE SIMON REPORT

By Mr. HASAN, B. A., B. Sc. (Econ)., Bar-at-Law.

THE Simon Report is out. No Public Document, within living memory, was more eagerly awaited nor more coldly received. The Government of India has given thought to the problem by meeting representatives of different interests so that a genuine effort may be made in a sympathetic atmosphere for a satisfactory solution of Indian problem at the Round Table Conference to be held in London at the end of October.

The Report consists of two parts. Part first is a simple, succinct and satisfactory summary of the conditions of life at present prevailing in the Indian society and of the existing administrative system. It is subdivided into a number of sections each section dealing with a particular aspect of the problem. For instance one section deals with the position of women, another with the problem of education, another with the question of defence and so forth. This summary satisfies a long felt want of that section of the British Public which wants to know something about the Indian life. For an Indian student of affairs, or even for a moderately educated Indian who is in touch with the practical side of Indian life, most of the things mentioned in the first volume are matters

of common knowledge and every day experience. But the credit certainly goes to the commissioners for having put the materials at their disposal in a clear, lucid and readable style. As a piece of literature on the Indian situation the report ranks high.

Now we come to the second and more important part of the report which contains recommendations of the commissioners for modelling the future constitution of India. It may be observed that the report is unanimous and that is its greatest merit. The first great departure from the present policy is the organisation of the Indian constitution on a federal basis. It is as it should be. Not even the warmest nationalist will find fault with this suggestion of the commission. India must, by the nature of its problem, have some sort of federation whether that federation is based upon the American, the Swiss, the German, the Australian, or the Canadian model will be left for the constitutionalist to decide.

The proposed Simon Constitution

The Government of India will consist of, just as at present, the Secretary of State in Council at Whitehall with general powers of superin-

tendence, direction and control. The Secretary of State will be responsible for Indian affairs to Parliament and ultimately to the British people, for the sovereignty of India, in theory, rests with the British people. The India Council will have fewer members and men of more recent Indian experience. The authority of the Secretary of State in Council to a greater extent will be delegated to the Viceroy and Governor-General in India and the latter will be assisted by an executive council consisting of six members, and a legislative body consisting of two houses the Federal Assembly and the Council of state comprising of representatives from different provinces. The method of indirect election suggested for the legislative body has almost always proved to be the 'nurse of corruption' and as such it is undesirable for India.

The Commander-in-chief will not be a member of the Governor-General's Executive Council and will not be present in the assembly even to answer questions regarding the army in India but the Governor-General will be assisted by a member instead, who will be in charge of Military matters. The new executive council will therefore consist of only six members and it will be supported by a larger number of secretaries for every Government department.

The Viceroy's power to over-ride the authority of the Council and certify measures which he deems necessary for the safety, tranquility and good Government of India will remain just as they are at present. The army affairs are to remain primarily and almost exclusively under the control of the Commander-in-Chief who is to occupy the position of a

virtual autocrat. The British army is to remain in India for an indefinite period. There is also provision for the creation of a council for greater India on which the Indian princes will be represented and the present Chamber of Princes will go.

The High Courts of British India will be placed directly under the control of the Central Government and revenues derived from the High courts will be treated as Central revenue.

Provincial Autonomy in Practice

It is in the provinces, however, that we find seemingly great changes. Provincial Autonomy, the abolition of Dyarchy and the transference of the portfolio of Law and Order to the Provincial Cabinet all seem exceedingly interesting and genuinely alluring. But on a closer analysis they all fall to pieces like a house of cards. There will be no more members of a Governor's executive council. The Governor of a province will be assisted by a cabinet of four or five ministers who will be further assisted by a legislative council elected on a more representative basis of franchise. The ministers who are to be selected by the Governor need not necessarily be members of the legislative council. They may just as well be officials and may be given charge of more important portfolios. The Cabinet is to have a Secretary, member of the I. C. S., who will have free access to the Governor and will report matters to him (Governor) impartially. Thus the ministers are placed in a very uncomfortable position. The secretary instead of being only a faithful recorder of the minutes of the cabinet will further act as an agent of the Governor and keep him informed of

the activities of his trusted ministers. Does the secretary of the British cabinet have free access to His Majesty the King or even to the Prime Minister of Great Britain and does he keep them informed of the doings of the cabinet ministers? No parallel of such control is found in the world. This is certainly an insult to the honesty, integrity, impartiality and the sense of fair dealing of the ministers. The Governor is to have complete power to override the authority of the cabinet and to certify measures of importance on which he is not in agreement with the council. Is this Provincial Autonomy? Is this Responsible Government? It is only a mockery, a shadow of a name, a device to detract the attention of the politically-minded, a rather ingenious toy placed in the hands of inexperienced Indian Politicians. It is sometimes said that these emergency powers are of very great importance for the present in the Indian Constitution and checks and balances are to be found in almost every other constitution in the world. Do they only act as checks and balances? Obviously they do not because there are only checks and hardly any thing to balance them. The Cabinet will have absolutely no control over the I. C. S. and the I. P. S. In other words the cabinet cannot touch even the rawest assistant magistrate or assistant Superintendent of Police for ever so gross and blatant a blunder. Wherein lies Provincial Autonomy then? It lies only in this that in the Provincial Legislative councils the elected as well as the nominated members will indulge in sweet nothings and spend their time in discussions and debates in a spirit of sweet reasonableness. Most of the members are there and will be

there for the glamour of the show and the dignity of the place and not for taking a keen, active and intelligent part in the administrative and legislative activities of their province. Another suggestion is not to give special representation to the landholders who in the opinion of the commissioners are already over represented. The provinces are to have their own public service Commissions which means a further expenditure of money with hardly adequate return. The North West Frontier Province is to have a measure of reforms. The Muhammadans are to have their separate electorate so that the differences between the Hindus and the Muhammadans may be perpetuated. What good does Communal representation serve? In a democratic state the interests of the minorities can never be safeguarded by treating them on a footing of inequality. The main suggestions in the financial sphere are the abolition of the Permanent Settlement and the removal of the agricultural incomes from income tax exemption. A "Boundaries Commission" is to be set up to separate such parts as Bihar from Orissa and Sindh from Bombay where there is no homogeneity between the constituent parts. Burma is to be separated from India and is to have her own constitution. These suggestions and plans are of immense value and highly satisfactory. Another very useful and important recommendation of the commissioners is that there will not be any more Commissions appointed by the authority of Parliament to inquire into the working of the Indian Constitution and to propose such changes as they think desirable. They rightly observe that a tree will not have a fair chance of free growth if its roots are taken

out from the earth and examined from time to time to find out how the root is flourishing. This is undoubtedly a very wise decision on the part of the commissioners. A poor country like India can ill afford to spare (£146,000 on the commission alone) huge sums of money for recommendations which only touch the fringe of the problem and do not go deep enough in their inquiry to find out a solution of the real Indian problem.

Conclusion.

To sum up this brief survey it may be observed that there is absolutely no ground for complaint and no reason for disappointment whatever. Those who have only a nodding acquaintance with British History will at once see in it yet another example of the British policy of muddling through their difficulties. Even the

Indians need not lose heart because the British in all their troubles (the most recent example is the general Strike of 1926) seem to steer through their difficulties even in a blinding blundering way with unequalled success. A ray of hope is shedding its glimmer on the Indian horizon and the glimmer has become a glow, if words at all signify any thing, in the announcement of the Viceroy of July 9th. The situation and the future is not quite as dark and dismal as it appears at first sight. There is yet time and if wiser counsels prevail on both sides the whole constitutional problem of India may still be solved to the satisfaction of all concerned. All lovers of India and admirers of Great Britain look forward to that hope and to that future with interest and enthusiasm.

THE POLITICAL APPRENTICESHIP OF INDIA.

By Mr. Vasudev Rao (Joint Editor, Daily News, Madras).

IN view of the momentous changes contemplated to be introduced into the Indian constitution, and in view also of the fissiparous tendencies that have been characterising the policies and programmes of the political parties since the establishment of the Diarchic Dispensation embodied in the Reform Act 1919, it is incumbent on the public leaders in the country, to whatever political party they may belong, to see that exuberance of imagination, sancti-

monious adherence to political faddisms, the incomprehensible readiness with which a party leader or a public worker rushes to speak or write about a subject, even the hem of whose thought he has not either the industrious application or the comprehensive culture to touch, are eradicated out of the public life of the country. I intend no disrespect to those prodigious intellects who have consecrated their energies to the service of the country. I am

again not one of those who enunciate, with pontifical wisdom, that dry intellectuality and erudition are the only sheet-anchor of a country's political salvation. I hold that the soul-energising enthusiasm born of conviction formed after an exhaustive study of the pros and cons of a public question is a renovating and resurrecting force in the political life of a country. But the morbid emotionality caused by ill-understood political theories and hypothetical dogmas is a disruptive force in the public life of a country. In a country where this emotionality is the determining factor in the decision of paramount public questions, differences of opinion are poohpoohed and flouted and political opponents are hunted after with an implacability of hatred and a morbidity of temper that remind us of the Star Chamber and the inquisition of the European countries. Propositions in politics, Sociology, Ethnology, History, or Science, which are so transparent as to be clear to the meanest intellect, are reputed with a pose, pontifical sapience, and acrimony, that knowledge and culture become an anathema to these political friends. Anyone who has the audacity or the effrontery to point out the irrelevancy of the position taken up by the political leader is sought to be rigorously ostracised from the arena of public discussion. The net result of these fulminations and emotional outbursts is that public life becomes a welter of personal impeachments and implications; and the inarticulate masses of the population fed on the mental pabulum provided by this welter of warring creeds and personalities are left to wallow in blissful ignorance of the truth of the questions agitating the

public mind. The propagandist or the party leader, who, with a promiscuous collection of ill-assorted extracts from a daily newspaper, deals out judgments by the bushel to the unenlightened rural audiences, does greater disservice to the public cause than the average worker of the rank and file of the political party, who addresses a rural audience on the distinct understanding that his judgments of men and things are either hypothetical or subject to radical revision on maturer consideration.

I stated at the outset of this article that I regard the political leaders of the country with the greatest reverence and admiration and that the observations set forth above should not be understood to be the result of any fastidious or irreverent spirit on the part of the writer. They are the result of a dispassionate and unbiassed study of the public life in the country since the inauguration of the non-cooperation movement. With a view to clarify what may appear to some to be lazy an enigmatic generalizations, I give below a succinct retrospect of the salient features of the Indian public life for the last one decade in its special bearing on the subject of this article.

In the present stage of India's political evolution, it is preposterous to hazard any definite opinion regarding the policies and programmes of the political parties in the country. The impact of the Western thought has had a stupendous repercussion on the thought and ideals of the people of the country. The problems of public life have had to be looked at from a totally new perspective. Nebulous or hypothetical dogmas and faddisms have had to give place to

stem tangible realities. The impulse to cut one's self off from the old moorings in every walk of life became overpowering. Ante-deluvian standards of thought and conception had to give place to reasoned data and arguable premises. These adjustments in the intellectual, moral and political life of a people are integrally bound up with the transitional stage in the political evolution of any country in the world. The angularities and obsessions, the overhauls and re-adjustments, incidental to this transitional stage, produce a condition of political life in which the formation of stereotyped and consolidated political parties and programmes is an impossibility and the rehabilitation of political equipoise becomes problematical, in the sense in which this equipoise is understood in the self-governing countries of the West.

This is the transitional stage through which India is now passing. Whether the British advent is a providential dispensation, whether the English education has literally made the dead-bones of the valley instinct with a new life, whether the English language and literature have been responsible for galvanising an atrophied social organism into astounding intellectual virility and political upheaval unparalleled in the history of any other country in the world, are subjects too stale and hackneyed to need reiteration or discussion. Further, they are outside the scope of the present article and the readers of the "Hindustan Review" have been treated to a masterly exposition of the these by its present talented editor in the retrospect of the thirty years work of the "Review" given in one of its recent issues. I shall, for the purposes

of this article, assume that the present day India is, in the words of Pandit Motilal Nehru, wholly a British product and I may incidentally also observe that, if complete self-autonomy is not immediately granted to this "British Product", it will automatically transform itself into a nerveless and sinewi-less political entity verging on political and economic extinction. This is, of course, by the way.

If, to-day, every nook and corner throughout the length and breadth of India is literally reverberating with the ideas of self-government and self-determination, if the Indian National Congress, the premier political organisation in the country, has been transformed from being "a Saturnalia of uncouth oratory and superficial bombast" into a powerful and potential instrument of National expression and solidarity, making strongly entrenched bureaucracies quake and the protagonists of political stage-thunder like Lord Birkenhead shriek and gasp for breath, it is decidedly due to Mahatma Gandhi's advent into the political life of India. I will be indulging in conventional platitudes if I attempt to give any estimate of the unique virtues and talents of the consecrated Sabarmati saint. Mahatmaji's speeches and writings indicate his spiritual and moral supremacy. They are a "well of English undefiled". The altitudes of ethical perception and intellectual virility to which Mahatmaji is capable of rising are writ large in every syllable of his writings and speeches. Mahatmaji is an artist. It may appear to be a paradox to some. But the marmoreal clarity of his ideas and expression unmistakably indicate a consummate literary artist.

Having said this much in appreciation of one who is in reality the world's resurrecting spiritual force, I will be prevaricating with my own conscience and understanding, if I fail to point out that the Non-cooperation movement has been responsible for producing the intellectual inanity referred to at the outset of this article. Political leaders have been trained to realise that politics is a plastic and malleable affair, that the study of a public question is the work of the literary dilettante and the philistine pedant, and that rigid intellectuality and discipline are a futile thing.

If the late Mr. Gokhale was universally acclaimed as the prince of patriots and public workers, it was due to the rigorous and the austere discipline to which he was subjected under his great task-master, the late Mahadev Govind Ranade. The sledge-hammer strokes of the late Mr. Gokhale's trenchant criticism of public events, absolutely free from mawkish sentimentality and rhetorical eccentricity, is the direct and the logical result of his profound knowledge and astounding mastery over detail.

Let me take a concrete illustration of what is stated above from among the living political leaders of the country. Very recently, the present talented editor of the 'Hindu,' Mr. A. Rungaswami Iyengar, delivered a masterly address at Kumbakonam on the subject of the Indian Provincial and Central Finance and another, at a meeting of the Madras Branch of the European Association, on the economic policy of the Indian National Congress. The toughest

and the driest of public questions have been expounded by Mr. Aiyangar with a clarity of presentment, cogency of argument, and compactness of expression, that are not possible to the political amateurs or to improvised and bolstered-up propagandists. This clarity and cogency are in their turn due to the exhaustive knowledge of the subject which Mr. Aiyangar possesses.

Let me take the case of Mr. C. R. Reddy, the present Vice Chancellor of the Andhra University. The avalanches of snow in the icy Alps, the thunderous roar of a wintry cataract, give a faint indication of the depth and width of erudition writ large in every page of Reddy's speeches and writings. The deeper depth and the higher height are perceptible in every observation of Mr. Reddy. Now, what is this eminence of Mr. Reddy due to? It is due to his knowledge and knowledge alone.

In the light of what is stated above, it is incumbent upon the political leaders of the country to single out as party propagandists only those people who have consecrated their intellects and brains to the study of the public questions unswervingly. Differences of opinion, there will be and there ought to be. What is more, they are welcome. They indicate intellectual virility. Drab uniformity is sometimes the indication of intellectual imbecility and servitude. But the puerile pertinacity with which a party leader or propagandist fulminates against principles which he has not the leisure or the industry to study is fatal to the integrity and solidarity of public life in India.

FITTER FAMILIES IN INDIA.

By Mr. VINAYAK ROY, M. A.

ON January 1930 the National Congress of India declared complete Independance as the ultimate goal of India, instead of being harnessed under British reins in the shape of an Imperial Dominion. This broadly interpreted implies that every movement and activity that so far is being undertaken for the welfare of the people by our alien rulers—socially, politically and culturally—should henceforward, in preparation of the prospective realization of the ideal thus set forth, be initiated and carried on by the people themselves; and that India is determined to attain self-realization in all spheres of life and to stand on her own legs. She thus intends no more to allow her conquerors to take charge of her under guise of providential will, but really for material exploitation in their own interests, not unoften as has been found from past experience, at the sacrifice as well as in opposition to the interests of the children of the soil.

It is my purpose in this article to present the physical and the cultural sides of the issue, as both are interdependent of each other. Sound, well developed faculties, as the saying goes, are impossible of attainment without a robust development of physical health, essential in a nation that resolves capably to discharge the multifarious responsibilities that will thus fall on its shoulders in national existence and prosperity.

It cannot be denied that for the last six centuries or so that India has

been under foreign domination physically and culturally, she has been in a decadent stage of civilization. During the earliest Hindu sovereignty when the country was visited by the foreign invaders (e.g. the Scythians and the Huns), the latter were in inescapably absorbed by the higher civilization prevailing in the country. The experience of History teaches us, however, that whenever, a nation is in a decadent stage of civilization it falls an easy prey to aggressive, invading races; and if timely precautions are not taken, it goes to extinction. The history of Egypt, Assyria and ancient China may be cited in support of this natural process. Indeed if the condition of India is not properly studied at this critical stage, like any of those ancient, historic races, in contact with a powerful, virile race she will grow, and no doubt is growing anæmic by degrees physically as well as culturally, and will ultimately wear out of existence, thus a correct prognosis alone can help in making a just estimate of our present condition with a view to apply specifics, so to say, for the amelioration of the present state of her affairs.

The question that offers itself immediately to our view is this: now that India intends to shake off that decadent somnolence of ages and worship at the altar of self-help and self-realization, for such alone is the ambition of that unprecedented declaration made by the Indian National Congress, does it

possess the capacity of attaining that ideal? If not, what efforts should be made to rejuvenate the spirit in order to enable her to bear the responsibility of conducting her own affairs?

The population of India at present is about 320 millions, and as we study the census reports for the last few decades, since census operations have been started, we find that it has been growing, and very perceptibly. But the example of India (and to a certain extent of China as well) bears ample testimony to the fact that quantity and number themselves do not call for the prestige of political independence. There should simultaneously be in existence quality, spirit and willingness to make sacrifices which such an ideal calls forth from the children of the soil for its attainment. And, primarily in order to enable the nation to bear this political responsibility, the people will have to be fit physically, because, to all appearance, of the protection the country will need from foreign onslaughts which are a favourite pastime in modern days of sturdier nations in order to find gleeful pleasure in the national thought of ownership and conquest as well as to extend commercial exploitation. Considering the backwardness of this country in this respect at present as compared with the European and the American nations, and even Japan, there is no doubt that India will have to make a great headway in order to reach the necessary modern level; failing which as history repeats itself, she will again be the subject of further conquest and exploitation till, her resources and manhood totally exhausted, she will succumb to complete extinction, unless as are the cases of some countries today, national rivalry and balance of

power keep the wolves from the door. The manhood power indeed has to be derived in this country at any cost.

II

From a study of eugenics as applied to India it is apparent that though the population has been steadily increasing, the virility of the race is tending towards a downward course. Notwithstanding the fact that the birthrate in India is more than the death-rate on the average, the latter shows, however, an abnormally high percentage compared with the conditions prevailing in Europe and America. Diseases which were practically unknown to this country half a century ago are working in full blasts; malaria and tuberculosis and other tropical diseases are taking increasing tolls year after year from among the population; lunacy and leprosy are making common cause with other diseases in this fertile breeding ground. And to add to it, moral degeneration in the shape of criminal proclivities has been making a remarkable progress in populations where poverty lends additional weight to it. It may be that for want of accurate statistics the records in previous years were meagre, nevertheless it cannot be denied from the general impression that is gaining ground that such infirmities mental and physical, as have been described above are alarmingly on the increase. The conclusion is thus obvious that the apparent increase of birthrate over the deathrate is no indication of the increase of manhood power in the country. On the other hand the increase of criminals as well as infirmities offer an increasing burden on the society in order to house and maintain them in goals or hospitals and to a great extent cripples.

its onward progress in the march of civilization.

One explanation of this deplorable state of affairs is the outstanding poverty of the country with a languishing power of resistance. For this the blame is usually laid at the indifference shown by the Government. But the objective responsibility, namely, that of the people as well cannot be overlooked in the interest of self-preservation. So far it may be stated with justifiable truth that nothing but feeble attempts have been made for the amelioration of the present unhappy state. There is no doubt that the efforts that have been made of late to instil military spirit or training to the youthful population of the country are a commendable move for the recuperation for the lost virility of the nation.

Indeed in Europe and the United States of America efforts are being made to inculcate ideas of increasing individual fitness. This individual fitness can come only as a result of family fitness. If the parents, in their sense of family and national responsibility are fit, mentally and physically, there are five hundred chances, according to Galton, the father of Eugenic science, that the succeeding individual will also be correspondingly fit. For eugenics teaches us that children receive most of their characteristics from heredity. According to Mendil's Law (of 1900) each parent transmits half of his or her inheritance factors to the children. There is no doubt that environment also goes a great way in the building up of the individual issues. In India environment has not been so far towards a fuller development of manhood as the atmosphere of sub-

jugation and subjugation in itself causes a most appreciable deterioration in the manhood of the individual, no less than in the development of national robustiousness.

Our first aim therefore in the realization of the new pulverising ideal that has been set up before us should be the attainment of physical fitness; and in the task that is thus placed before us the society of the present generation should see that only healthful and optimistic couples forward as their dues to the future generation robust and healthy children, able to shoulder the responsibilities in the different spheres of life. Indeed some of the advanced European countries and American efforts are being made to encourage healthful families, and prevent the weak or diseased from leaving legacies of physical and moral cripples on the shoulders of the forthcoming generation. It has been definitely established that even when in normal health man to man the Indian has less capacity for manual work, and possesses less brain contents as compared to a European. To a certain extent the climate and the outstanding poverty of the country are responsible, but it cannot be denied that other superficial causes also are at work which can be eliminated in order to enable a fitter generation to succeed. The most notable cause is obviously the appalling ignorance prevailing in the country. Education on proper lines is lacking. Even where poverty does not stand in the way, absence of proper education does not lend encouragement towards the growth and development of proper ideals. It may be stated here with justice that

the present system of education, in addition to being only meagre, does not tend to that robustious outlook of life that is concomittant with the development of national instinct. The social system that prevails is also a clog in the wheel of progress. The rigidity of caste system, for example, left by our forefathers is responsible in many ways for the stunted growth of the race. The dietary of the average Indian is restricted in choice, and lends soon for considerable expansion; in not insignificant cases health-giving dietary is banned by the society. The choice of marital relationship is also so limited, particularly among the Hindus, that chances for healthy children are considerably minimised. Indeed in the country biological process is lending hand to social and physical causes, resulting in the deterioration of the race. And if India, out of sheer negligence or lethergy or self-conceit, for she has much of unjustifiable self-conceit, neglects its many-sided problems now, and refuses to face them squarely, who knows like many another historic races of the world, the country will be extinct in course of time, and like Africa and the Americas, will be a cradle of the white civilization of the west.

III

The great World War brought to an end the youthful and virile populations of the most advanced nations of the West which were engaged in it. The depletion of man power was a very great problem which faced European statesmen who were then engaged in the rehabilitation of the lost prestige. Every effort was first of all made to replenish the lost stock, and encouraging programmes

were set up by governments as well as leaders of society. It was indeed as part of this programme that child welfare associations were formed at every centre to encourage the re-plantation of steady manhood. Every encouragement was given to the families which could bring forth to those exhibitions healthy and well-developed children. This idea of child exhibition, it may be stated here was originally formulated by one Mrs. Mary T. Watts of Iowa (U.S. A.) in 1920 when she in conjunction with Dr. Florence Brown Sherbon opened what she called Better Baby Contests. This novel conception caught the imagination of the public, and soon spread not only over the United States, but also in all other parts of the world. It was this same lady who started the Fitter Families Contest as well intended to offer encouragement to healthy families. At present in practically every state in the American union exhibitions are organised in this line periodically and along with many encouraging and instructional lessons on the subject prizes are awarded to the families which are found to possess ideal healths mixed with normal mental developments.

In fact the United States of America possesses many problems, social, economical as well as political similar to those of India. In the social and political race of the world in spite of severe handicaps she is maintaining a most important position in the country of nations. Within the country the juxtaposition of the white population, dominant and overbearing, and the coloured, yet remembering its former days of slavery on the plane of equal citizenship, is a great race problem

yet unsolved. Its solution will undoubtedly stand as a landmark in the conflict of races in view of the increasing clash that has been finding its way day after day in the other parts of the world between the white and the coloured races. Then again the yearly immigration of non-descript undesirables of the European countries has to be kept under watchful training in order to enable them to take a worthy place as citizens of the great Re-public. Unhappily, however, the legislators of the country, against all common sense and decency, have been keeping back the Asiatic from the rights of civic settlement, however worthy and fit they may be found in the test of ethnological fitness. The manifold task of wielding a homogeneity in the forge of their national upbringing is a huge and complex one with trials and tribulations national and international that the States are still confronting and in its effective solution will depend many similar problems that are facing many other nations of the world in a more or less degree.

IV

And India is also faced with problems of no less magnitude. This country with a noble tradition, in spite of inestimable resources, is not only in the depth of poverty, but also in the agony of apparently inescapable bondage. Her political problems are faced with such internal heterogeneities of which no parallel has so far been found in the annals of history. Considering the heritage of her great civilization and her glorious past the solution of India's problems may aptly be considered as a world issue and in that task she needs the assistance of the whole world

offered out of perfectly disinterested motives.

Education in its real significance, as has been stated already, is the primary need of the country. It is said that in the programme of Eugenics education is the hope and promise of human progress. This in itself will bring about a self-consciousness, and self-consciousness is only a step to national self-realization. As a matter of fact little sparks of national awakening are already visible in the horizon which when grown into a flame will assuredly bring back a healthy regeneration of the country. The truth is that at the present moment for inspiration as well as guidance the country looks mainly to the British rulers in every sphere of its activities. Even in child welfare Exhibitions and anti-malaria or anti-tuberculosis associations she has imbibed, owing to long tutelage, the habit of looking up for the patronage of British officials, failing which such movements usually suffer from anaemia, and often unceremoniously crash down. This is undoubtedly allowing a peep into our home and proclaiming an incapacity to manage our domestic affairs without esoteric stilts. At present the general feeling exists among the Indian, high and low, of comparative incapacity and lack of moral fibre. By instinct, as it were, he feels that he is not up to the mark in the march of progress. It cannot be gainsaid, however, that this feeling is gradually waning today as compared with what was in existence a quarter of a century ago. Such an "inferiority complex", truly said to be a heritage of Asia, should be completely eradicated, and make room for sturdy manhood of life which is the imperative need of today. But how?

The outstanding thought in politics in Europe in the latter part of the nineteenth century was individualism. Economists and politicians of the day gave stress to individual liberty and individual action. This led to the conclusion drawn by the current leaders of thought known as the Law of Malthus. According to this Law nature tries to eliminate the poor, the incapable and the weak, making room for the strongest and the best. The emergence of modern Socialism, however, tends through co-operation and co-ordinate action towards the protection of those who are incapable of taking care of themselves. Socialism wants to discard the theory of natural selection. But though in natural economic and political existence, it has been able to make marked impression, in nature as well as international selection, the process has been working with ruthless and punctilious severity. If India cannot attain that virility to withstand the onslaughts of stronger races and more vigorous and enterprising nations that are knocking at the door, without doubt she will ultimately succumb in order to make room for others.

For the purpose of this regeneration, the task has primarily to be undertaken by the children of the soil. Both the mind and the body have to be developed to a greater extent than has hitherto been the case. Education, both literary and cultural, should be carried to the remotest corners of the country. The leaders of society have a heavy responsibility before them. By the process of continuous elimination, the sturdiness of the race will have to be cultivated again. Fitter families in the first place should spring up where mere vegetation in human existence has so far prevailed. Those families should give birth to a generation whose sacrifice, stamina and vitality will awaken in India the rejuvenated song of national self-realization. Failing which the Declaration will be a mere parrot's talk borrowed from many another nation in happier circumstances. The call is a big one, but quite a natural one, for a nation: the task is indeed heavy. Let those on whom has devolved the leadership realize the responsibility, and work accordingly.

BHAI KARAM SINGH : THE SAINT OF HOTI

(*The Biography of a breath*)

By SIRDAR PURAN SINGH.

THE religion of a disciple, a sikh, if he is informed of it at all, is the rapture of soul. In the rapture of soul, the sikh breathes saying "Glory! Glory!". Every such sikh is a saint whose face is lit up by the glow of the invisible angels hovering around his head. The Sikh believes, he is not alone, never, at no time. He has his home in the Infinite, his family is of the innumerable beings of light. He may not be able to explain it to others, but he lives this rapture of faith: he hears in his own voice a thousand voices mingling and chanting the Song of the Guru. The Sikh melts himself into a simple feeling of Glory to the Highest: he loves. Hearing at times the *Unheard*, he passes into the Infinite, above his body and mind: there lies he with his head reclining against a wall, his hands dropped below, his eyes closed, his heart almost stopped, one like dead, only his head is full of light, his eyes have turned inward and his soul flies like a bird in the luminous blue within, floating in the endless song.

Every Sikh man and woman recites the Guru's watch words to catch that hidden pass word which suddenly gives a passage to the soul, from under the eyelids, on to the leaping light of the temple within the forehead, and then entrance in to the Wonder of the Rapture of the Invisible society of the celestials. It is concentration in the Glory of the Highest through

the chant of Praise and there lies the man dead and there flies the Man made alive with the Inspiration of God. Great are the wonders of this super-state of rapture: it is super-consciousness where the supernatural becomes natural. The Sikh knows not what follows in his holy shadow: but blessings flow from him. Peace is in his presence: the desire-scorched are calmed and cooled. His Trance is infectious, the very air and rocks steal from him his joy. The biography of a Sikh is the biography of a breath that breathes the spirit of God.

II

Bhai Karamsingh was a sepoy in a regiment that had had its engagement in the Afghan war. The regiment was stationed in an outpost near Peshawar, and great was the danger always of a sudden night attack from the tribesmen. Strict were the orders for the night watch and Bhai Karam Singh was on night duty. The Commander of the regiment was of the type of the old kindly sympathetic Englishmen, who used to come to India in the near long ago, and endeared every one, by their personal qualities, to themselves, and through themselves, to the whole English race.

Bhai Karam Singh was a soldier, but also a Sikh, a disciple, who was informed of the Guru's religion. He would spend hours and hours after his duty, by the side of the little

pebbly hill streamlet, that flowed by the camp, and lie joy-dead on a rock in deep Sikh-rapture, in the vision of the invisible. He lived from day to day, breath to breath, singing the glory of the Great Guru, and he was being drawn to the great magnet like a piece of iron that felt not its own magnetisation till it was separated from its magnet. This had been Bhai Karam Singh's life for years, then, he used to feel the attraction and he gave himself up to it and there lay he at times, on the rillet bank, or at times by the wall of his barrack room *all-attracted inward*. And in those days of the out post duty, Bhai Karam Singh was already immersed in deep waters of inward beatitude.

III

Much was forgiven him both by his officers and his comrades, and for years Bhai Karam Singh served as a soldier. But as time went on his attendance to duty became fitful: he could not keep his engagements with the outside world, as he had to keep them with the inner world. Some who were hostile to Bhai Karam Singh being pleased and self-satisfied with their own performance in the matter of adherence to the routine of duty began lodging complaints with the officer Commanding that Bhai Karam Singh was seldom to be found at his post by night; but the officer Commanding paid no heed to such complaints as he knew the saintly man, his good soldier Bhai Karam Singh. They told him that he was wont to go to the river side, and sunk in God-thoughts forgot to return to his post. But when sought for he was always found at his post and so confounded his accusers.

One night, at about three in the morning, Bhai Karam Singh returned to his barrack from the river, and began to open his box to get out his uniform, to put it on for going to the Officer Commanding, to present himself for any punishment that might be meted out to him for not having been able to attend to his duty that night. He knew he was at fault and like a good soldier decided to go and report against himself. But he was again lost in his God and when he came to himself, it was almost day-break. The soldiers sleeping next to his place remonstrated with Bhai Karam Singh saying that he neither sleeps himself, nor lets others take any rest, as all night long he disturbs them opening and shutting his boxes. But Bhai Karam Singh put on his uniform, and went straight to the tent of the Officer Commanding fully resolved to suffer for his failure to do his duty.

IV

The Officer Commanding greeted Bhai Karam Singh with a kindly smile, and after accepting his military salute, said:

"Well! Bhai Karam Singh! *Ham bahut khush hai* (I am very pleased with you). People complained that you have grown too religious to attend to your duty as a soldier, but they are all wrong. I have never seen you absent. Late last night the report came that you were absent from your post. I myself went round and found you there. I called you out thrice and three times you replied. *Ham bahut khush hua* (I was thus very pleased). All complaints against you were false". Bhai Karam Singh was certainly not at his post that night, yet the Officer Commanding found him

at his post : Bhai Karam Singh felt in his heart of hearts that his Great Guru comes to do duty for him, while he himself was lying enraptured at His Holy Feet by the side of the little streamlet. Bhai Karam Singh knew it was He !

" Sahib ! " said Bhai Karam Singh, " it was not I. I was not on duty last night and I have come to report against myself and, am ready to take any punishment you might please to give me. "

" No, Karam Singh ! No ! " said the Officer Commanding, " I saw you on the sentinel post myself on my night rounds. I heard your voice distinctly three times : I purposely went on the night round to see if every one was at his post and I found you at yours ! "

" Sir ! then it was not I ! You saw my Guru. It was my God who kept my post for me to save me from disgrace. From this hour my post now, sir, is at His Doors ! I have been called to duty sir. Good bye, Sir, I am going. You have been so good to me. God be merciful to you, sir. " said Karam Singh, and laid down his rifle forever.

V

Bhai Karam Singh went and lived in a cave near Hoti and his fame as a Sikh Saint soon spread far and wide like the delicate perfume of the orange in flower. He lived as heretofore *pulled inward*, attaching himself again and again to his magnet unseen by anyone else but himself.

The Hindu and the Sikh country round about Hoti worshipped him and even the Pathan and the tribesmen respected him as a great *Va'iz*, a mystic, in whose presence one's desires are fulfilled. Crowds of men and women would gather, later on, in the presence of Bhai Karam Singh, and free and an unending distribution of bread began in the presence of the saint. People came with various desires, looked at the saint, said nothing and went back to their homes ; what they had come for and wished somehow came to pass. They again returned to the saint with mules laden with grateful offerings for Bhai Karam Singh's kitchen.

The Master's kitchen was thus replenished by the people, and it fed the people. They thronged round the saint, who lived for most of the time in a solitary cave, a silent, quiet man who claimed nothing for himself ; but the very wilderness was peopled with the song of joyous humanity, it was a place of pilgrime for a decade.

All was over, when he died. People then wondered what was there while Bhai Karam Singh lived and what was not there when he had gone, for the old bustle of joy had gone, the radiant people gathered there no more, the free kitchen could not be maintained, things quieted down from that Vibrant Simplicity of life to the common dullness of a humdrum routine. The blossoming miracle of the place had vanished.

THE INDIAN PRINCES : A SCATHING INDICTMENT.*

By Mr. C. L. R. SASTRI, B.Sc.

" Nothing can be as it has before—
Better-so call-it only not the same."

I

IT is only fair to give Mr. Chudgar his due. He has written a most valuable book on the Indian Princes and their States. He has, as any page of it will testify, taken immense trouble in compiling it. To say that he has thoroughly mastered his subject is but to mete out thin praise. He has, to do him full justice, more than mastered his subject : he has made it a part of himself. Indeed, he is full of it : one cannot, it seems to us, dictate to him, however much one may try, in his own chosen field of study. On nearly all the important points raised in his book he may be taken as authoritative—or almost so. At any rate, in honest endeavour to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the problems facing him, we may, we feel, say, without any fear of contradiction, that he has no superior—perhaps not even an equal. Not only is Mr. Chudgar a specialist in his own branch of work : many worthy persons are that—in *their* branches of work—yet they do not make our pulses beat any the faster on that account. Mr. Chudgar deserves our gratitude also for the *impulse* that set him working at his self-imposed task. That impulse, it need hardly be pointed out, is nothing less than the unbounded love he bears towards the suffering

subjects of the Princes. There are, as he takes care to inform us, nearly seventy millions of them ; and none would be happier than himself if as a direct result of his book, their lot could be made a little more bearable. In fact, this is evident from his very dedication. It runs : "To the millions of people of the Indian States suffering under the autocratic rule of their princes, I dedicate this book as a humble effort at their emancipation."

Mr. Chudgar's book gets added value from Colonel Wedgwood's preface to it. Everyone knows the distinguished Colonel is a true friend of India. He writes :

"This book by Mr. Chudgar needed writing. The case of the Indian of the Indian States has not been known ; it has vanished in the cloud of normal nationalist activity. When the British rulers think at all of the Indian States the problems they see are the relations of the Rajahs with the Suzerain, while one-sixth of the Indian people suffer a continued exclusion from civilized human rights. All this part of India is like the Germany of the eighteenth century—a quantity of little princelings with absolute power and a patient peasantry. Jew Suss and his

* *Indian Princes Under British Protection*. By Mr. P. L. Chudgar. Williams and Norgate, 1929.
(Obtainable from D. B. Taraporevala Son and Co., Bombay.)

master are multiplied all over India, Napoleon has not shaken them yet, and mighty arm of Great Britain protects them, preserves them, and perpetuates conditions of servitude which are a disgrace to our democracy."

Mr. Chudgar has divided his book into two parts: the first dealing with what he calls "present conditions," the second with the "constitutional position and the Future." We shall, as is only proper consider the first part first.

II

The most important justification of Mr. Chudgar's book is that it deals exhaustively with that branch of the subject that has been most systematically ignored uptill recently, viz., the relations of the Indian Princes to their people. Mr. Chudgar confesses in so many words that this is his only excuse for writing it. One would have carried away the impression, from a perusal of the previous books and speeches on Indian States, that there were no such people as the *people* of the Indian States; that only the States and the Princes and the British Agents existed. This view, perhaps, was tenable some years ago. But now it is so no more. The people of the States, like their brethren *outside* the States, have come to realise their full heritage, and are not going to put up with their beggars' lot a minute longer than is absolutely necessary. The wind of freedom has wafted, despite almost unscaleable barriers, even into these States, and they have ceased to regard their fate as in any way unalterable. They passionately want it altered and, God granting, they will see to it that it is altered. The very atmosphere is sur-

charged with freedom just now. "There is," in the words of that veteran publicist, Mr. K. Natarajan, "a new spirit aboard"*; and it would be well if both the Government of India and the Indian Princes realised it: the sooner the better. If evidence is needed for this awakening of the people of the Indian States, Mr. Chudgar is quite ready to supply it. He says, in his penultimate chapter, "Intensity of public feeling in the States":

"The people have long tolerated the arbitrary rule of the Princes and its dire consequences. Under its dead weight their soul was almost killed, but there is now a new stirring of life. Within the last ten years they have organised themselves well, and their organisations are gathering immense strength from day to day as the numerous conferences of the people of the various States show. Within the last two years there have been conferences of All-India States' people, South Indian States' people, Rajputana States' people, Kathiawar States' people and the Punjab States' people. The resolutions passed at these conferences are identical and demand immediate introduction of full responsible Government in the States and an association with British India on some form of federal basis. They resolutely oppose the division of India into two halves, and condemn the suggestion of the Butler Committee to that effect." (pp.217—218.)

III

That all is not as it should be in the Indian Princes' rule over their subjects was well-known—long before Mr. Chudgar planned the writing of his book. It was, if we may use a hackneyed phrase, an "open" secret:

* *The Indian Social Reformer*: May 10, 1930. P.582. Article headed: "Mahatma Gandhi's Arrest."

the sort of thing that even the man in the street knew, or was supposed to have known. But not even the most inquisitive man in the street could have guessed that the lot of the people of the Indian States is, and has been, as miserable as Mr. Chudgar convincingly shows it to be. The worst, in fact, was not known: what *was* known was "nothing," as Johnson said of Dr. Dodd's sermons, compared with what we now know, thanks chiefly to Mr. Chudgar. There are, it would seem, as many as *seven* circles of the region popularly known as Hell, and poetically (and therefore ponderously) known as the "Inferno". In the matter of the Indian States' subjects none of us, it is clear, penetrated, anterior to the publication of the book under review, even to the fourth or fifth circle of *their* inferno; which only shows that the depths of human misery cannot be sufficiently plumbed, that in short, in the lowest deep there is always a deeper still. "Man's inhumanity to man" has, indeed, no limits: however far one may go on that way, the horizon proportionately recedes; and one can never catch up with the latest discovery or invention in that science.

Mr. Chudgar is unsparing in his denunciation of the Indian Princes. Well may he be. God, it has been said, made man "in his own image." In that case, none, we dare to suggest, have slandered God more outrageously than some of these same Indian Princes. Immorality alone, or immorality in moderation, may be excused; but some of these Indian Princes are vicious in almost all ways—are *uniformly* vicious, in fact—are vicious, if we may say so, "to the right of them," and vicious "to the left of them," and, no doubt, vicious

in front of them as well as behind them. And even if we take into consideration their immorality only, how can we excuse it, seeing that they have carried it to the farthest possible limits? They have actually made a fine art of it. Immorality with them is no mere pastime, no mere king in their character; it is their *whole* business in life, the sole purpose for which they were born into this world. Indeed, it is, in a manner of speaking, a full-time job with them, the least deviation from which entails heavy retribution from their deceased and abnormal consciences. What have so many of them to live for but for marrying wives and more wives (Indian or foreign), and for procuring mistresses, and more mistresses, and still more mistresses? Mr. Chudgar rightly says:

"Marriage in the life of many an individual is an inspiration for good and an impetus in the right direction. It is Fate's irony that in the case of a Prince it is invariably an added jolt to the already unevenly running and ill-gear'd machinery of his life. He soon tires of his chosen bride. Probably the first rift in the lute may be caused by some form of the ever imminent palace intrigue. At all events, within a year or two the prince tires of his wife and yearns for variety." (p. 21.)

It is, no doubt, a case of

"Enjoyed no sooner, but despised
straight,

Past reason hunted, but no sooner
had

Past reason hated."

Mr. Chudgar goes on:—

"In addition to these lawfully married and much-wronged wives, many Princes have mistresses and

concubines, chosen from the ranks of low-class dancing and singing-girls. Often, indeed, European travels result in further additions to the nuptial board. Reference has already been made to the Maharajah of Indore and Nancy Millar. The Maharajah of Kapurthala found a spouse in Spain, while the Maharajah of Pudukotta married an Australian. Also there is Mr. "A," who earned an unenviable notoriety in England."

Of course, many of the Princes, in this their sexual pilgrimage through the world, cost their subjects a very great deal indeed. But what of that? The people can bear the cost, and if they can't, then they ought to, and there is an end of the matter. A systematic life of sexual debauchery spoils the man for all walks of life; makes him unfit for everything. The poet Burns, a profligate if ever there was one, was acute enough to note this. "I waive the quantum of the sin," he says :

"I waive the quantum o' the sin,
The hazard of concealing;
*But, ooh! it hardens a' within,
And petrifies the feeling."*

In practice it does indeed appear to be so: too much philandering with women "hardens a' within and petrifies the feeling." It is no wonder, therefore, that many of the Princes behave so savagely towards their subjects. They live for themselves alone, and care not how the rest thrive. And in running after their pleasures, they majestically ignore all geographical and racial barriers: they make none of your silly distinctions between one part of the world and another, and if money alone can procure their wishes, of money they see that there shall be

no stint. And for this purpose, not being satisfied with their indigenous *zenanas* they, the pilgrims that they are, travel all the way, not, indeed, with cockle-hat and shoon, but in the most up-to-date Jaegar clothing, to London and Paris and even beyond; and return, if not wiser, at least considerably poorer. (Sometimes they return wiser also: as, e.g. in the "Mr. A" case.) Not that, once they are out of their States, they would like to come back thither soon. Far from it. Returning to their duties is the last thing they desiderate; and when they do return, it is only in order to mature plans for a repetition of the same journey. They would have said, with Locker-Lampson,

"Whatever my mood is, I love Piccadilly";

and so they come back at regular intervals to their favorite places in the capitals of Europe and America. Indeed, these places have the wonderful power, as some one has said, of translating their spirits east of the sun and west of the moon. As Rt. Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri delivered himself in the course of a lecture he gave at Cochin in October, 1926:

"But let me point to this one fact, that during the last ten or twelve years when the policy of the Government of India has been, as far as possible, to leave the Durbars of our Native States free and untrammelled, political officers have, as a rule, not interfered unless gross misrule prevailed. That policy of relaxing the control almost suddenly over a set of people who have long grown accustomed to rigid and indeterminate discipline has had a very unfortunate effect. *A great many of the Princes are not to be seen in their palaces. They are to be seen*

anywhere where enjoyment can be bought with their people's money. You go to London, you go to Paris, you go to all fashionable cities and you meet some Indian Rajah or other, dazzling the people of Europe and corrupting those who go near him."

This disease, however, is not confined to one particular Prince, or one particular house of Princes, or one particular generation of that house: it runs, in varying degrees, through all, or almost all, the generations of such a house. Like the page of King Wenceslaus each Prince can say: "I but followed in my father's footsteps, treading the holes he had kicked in the snow." And this continues to the end of the chapter. It is a pity such Princes are not deposed as often as they deserve to be. Babu Ramananda Chatterjee, in an article in the April number of the *Modern Review*, pertinently remarks, in drawing a comparison, or rather, a contrast, between Britain and the Indian States:

"A time there was when British Monarchs could be tyrants, and history records the acts of tyranny of many of them. They could also be profligates and debauchees, and the lives of such among them have blackened the pages of history. But the British constitution and constitutional conventions, backed by strong public opinion, have, for some generations past, made it impossible for British monarchs to be tyrannical, even if they were inclined so to be. It is, no doubt, still possible for them to be immoral in their private lives, but the exemplary sensitiveness of the present British King to the least breath of slander and British public opinion combine to keep the

atmosphere of the Royal Court in Britain pure in our day."*

His implication, of course, is that in the Indian States there are no such checks. But it is high time they were made to exist.

IV

Mr. Chudgar, in the earlier portion of the book, devotes himself to relating the development and life-history of a typical Indian Prince from child-hood till the time when he ascends the *gadi*. All these pages afford very interesting reading. The life of the princely child is not, after all, very enviable. For one thing it is not always safe. That is why, no doubt, he is guarded so safely—"he is kept like a jewel within its velvet case," says our author. (p. 7.) The Prince's father having more than one wife, his journey through this world at that tender age may be cut short any moment, as some of these wives may take it into their heads to poison him, or to do away with him in any other way. "There have been cases in which," says Mr. Chudgar, "a baby Prince has been poisoned or otherwise murdered, but these, being almost impossible to prove never become known to the public." (p. 7.) Readers of Mr. Kipling's *The Naulakha* will easily corroborate this statement.

Then the time comes when he is sent to school, but these schools are very exclusive and are known as "Princes' Colleges." The progress of the Princes in these colleges is very slow indeed; if, that is to say, progress is achieved at all. As Mr. Chudgar scathingly observes: "None of

*The Modern Review: April, 1930, p. 461.

the Prince is qualified to pass even an Entrance Examination of an Indian University." (P.11.) The most he learns is in the departments of sports and drinking. Mr. Chudgar quotes from a speech of Lord Curzon delivered some twenty years ago:

"We desire to raise up a vigorous and intelligent race of young men who will be in touch with modern progress but not out of touch with old traditions, who will be liberally educated in sympathy with their own families and people, who will be manly, not effeminate, strong-minded but not strong-willed, acknowledging a duty to others instead of a law unto themselves, and will be fit to do something in the world instead of settling down into *fops* or *spendthrifts* or *drones*."

How far his lordship's "desire" has been fulfilled we leave our readers to judge.

Fortunately, College days do not last for ever, and the Prince, after a few years spent in, as someone has wittily but none the less truly remarked, diversifying sports with a little learning, finally forsakes the academic life and returns to his palace where, in due course, he succeeds to the throne. A great Durbar is held to do honour to the occasion, and, after the usual merriments, speeches are delivered by the Political Agent and the Prince himself. The Prince's speech, of course, is full of solicitude for his people's welfare: he is full of the milk and cream of human kindness and he would not, if he could, leave any stone unturned to make them happy and contented. He is, in fact, the *incarnation* of justice. Lastly, there is the inevitable display of fireworks. Mr. Chudgar happily remarks:

"The fireworks strike one as an appropriate finale. For do we not all know that both the speech and the reply are but verbal pyrotechnics, which, like the sparkling, hissing sky-rockets, after dazzling us for a moment, fade away into darkness and silence?" (p.15.)

V

Now, let us see how far the Prince's protestations of good will towards his subjects are translated into actual fact. But, seriously, there is no question of "how far". It is only when one begins a journey that that question arises. The Princes, however, are wise in their generation and do not begin at all. In short, their protestations are *not* translated into acts. They are sublimely indifferent to their people's happiness: it does not affect them in the least. As for their arbitrary acts the following quotations will speak for themselves:

"Under our Princes neither personal liberty nor private property is considered safe. For at any moment a subject can be deprived of his liberty, and his private property can be confiscated with little more than the semblance of a trial, and in some cases in its entire absence." (p p. 28-29.) Again :

"No subject has a right to seek redress for infringement of his rights by the Prince, the Prime Minister, or State. The Prince can arbitrarily order the confiscation or forfeiture of the rights or property of any subject. He may impose fines to any amount, and may adopt every conceivable means of extorting payment. He can throw anyone into prison for an indefinite period without charge or trial. He can deport or banish from his native land any subject at any time."

He can forbid the holding of meetings, suppress printed and published matter, and stop the opening of even private schools. In a word, he can pass any order he chooses, no matter how detrimental to the rights and liberties of his subjects, and with regard to these orders there is no superior authority to which they can appeal." (p p. 72-73.)

We shall now deal with the expenses of some of these princes. For personal extravagance no one in the world excels our Indian Princes: they are so many human peacocks. But extravagance in regard to themselves goes hand in hand with meanness and thrift towards their subjects. One would think, from the glaring contrast between the two, that the Princes and their subjects belonged to two entirely different species, or genera. Certainly, the former do not regard the latter as fellow-men: though, of course, we know that there is no essential difference. Are we not told that

"The rank is but the guinea-stamp,
A man's a man for a' that?"

May not the people say, in the manner of Shylock:

"Have we not eyes? have we not hands, organs, dimensions, sense, affections, passions? If you prick us, do we not bleed? if you tickle us, do we not laugh? if you poison us do we not die? and if you wrong us, shall we not revenge?"

The Princes, of course, do not need all these wise sayings: they go merrily on their own selfish way. The money they spend on themselves would be incredible if we were not actually told so in cold print. Here is an account of the Maharajah of Bikaner's expenses:

"Out of a total revenue of £1,000,000 the Assembly provided £15,000 for education, £12,000 for medical relief, and £2000 for works of public utility. The entire provision for works of public utility amounted to 3.6 per cent of the total revenues. As against this the sum of £100,000 was provided for the palace, £6000 for preliminaries of a Prince's marriage, £20,000 for "Bikaner House" at Delhi, £50,000 for the purpose of building an extension to another palace, and £170,000 for the maintenance of the Maharajah and his family. Now all these figures amount to 22.6 per cent of the total revenues of the State." (p. 57.)

This is about the Maharajah of Jamnagar:—

"The personal expenditure of the Maharajah of this State, according to the budget of 1926-27, including Palace expenses, Public Works Department (for motor roads for the exclusive use of himself and his guests), repairs, and building of new palaces, guest departments, minor departments, and unforeseen expenses amounts to £700,000. And this out of a total revenue of £1,000,000. As against all this personal extravagance the expenditure on education and medical relief in that same year was 1.5 per cent and 0.9 per cent respectively. This Maharajah is a great pet of the British people, probably on account of his fame as a sportsman, a fact that enables him to defy, with impunity and even contempt, the public opinion of India." (p. 99.)

Speaking of money grants for education, Mr. Chudgar says:—

"The Education Department of the State is regarded by the Princes

as a useless burden which they are forced to carry for purposes of advertisement and show. The Princes have no interest in and no sympathy with this course. Education, the princes find, produces people who are a "menace" and a "pestilence" that must be avoided at all costs. Besides, consider the expense. The Princes cannot possibly spare more than 2 per cent out of the revenues for such a frivolous and superfluous thing as education. They require fleets of motor-cars and more and more modern palaces, not only in their State capitals but also in Hill Stations, such as Simla and other places. H. H. The Maharajah of Alwar built only the year before last a palace at Mount Abu at a cost, it was said, of £350,000. This palace, according to the Political Agent, is in richness and splendour not remotely reminiscent of a scene in *The Arabian Nights*." (pp.87-88.)

Of course, before such palaces, even the stately pleasure-dome which Kubla Khan decreed by the River Alph pales into complete insignificance. But contrast them with the houses of the village folk in the States of the same Princes :

"Mud walls covered over with bamboo and straw roofings form the homes. To have roofings covered over with mud-baked tiles is a sign of comparative opulence. There are perhaps two rooms, each about twelve feet square. A four-foot verandah runs outside the walls. Windows are absent; sun and rain are carefully shut out, and with them, of course, all light and air. Together these two rooms comprehensively serve as kitchen, dining-room, bedroom, and indeed answer every domestic purpose,

according to the time and occasion." (p. 30.)

Now, look here, upon this picture and on this, the counterfeit presentment, not, indeed, of two brothers, but of two orders of human beings; and say whether the heart does not revolt at the very sight of it. But such is the world, and we must not despair even in the face of any number of the like monstrosities.

VI

Have the public of the States any remedy? The answer is: "Almost none." Except in three or four of these, there are no Legislative Councils worth speaking of. The Prince, with a few of his high officials, is everything, is all in all, and he and they may do whatever they like. There is practically no scope for the people to represent their grievances in person before the prince. For one thing, the Princes, as we have observed a few pages before, are rarely to be seen in their palaces: they may be seen anywhere else except there: sport (of whatever kind) calls to them with a voice too peremptory to be ignored. For another, even when the particular Prince is to be seen in his palace, his personal staff, or the officials against whom complaints are to be made, prevent the petitioners from approaching him. And even on the rare occasions when all such obstacles are overcome and they succeed in approaching him, they often find to their consternation that the officials concerned have stolen a march over them and are there already, poisoning the ears of the Prince against them. In such circumstances, what hope is there for redress? The wronged people have simply to go back, long

distances, it may be, with their minds full of bitterness against those in authority: only let the masters (whoever they may be, whether the British Government or the Indian Princes) beware that the curses of the weak and helpless will ultimately work to their destruction. Retribution may, indeed, come with leaden feet, but it almost always strikes with an iron hand; and the sooner they realise it the better it will be for them. For, nothing can prevent their abject downfall if they refuse to profit from lessons of history and continue gaily in their wrong-headedness.

As for complaints against the Prince himself, well, they, as often as not, do not reach him at all: they are held up midway by officious busybodies, and the prince is allowed to fancy himself a benignant ruler, with his people as happy and contented as it is possible for them to be in an admittedly imperfect world. But he does not know that a lot of preparation had had to be gone through before the said impression could have been created in his mind. Mr. Chudgar asks:

"Does the village know its ruler?"
And he replies:

"As a rule the poetry of the Prince's life affords no leisure or inclination for this prose. He may perhaps go once in three or four years, stop for an hour or two, and ask the villagers if they have anything to say. Days beforehand these villagers have been tutored to reply that they have no complaint, that they are perfectly happy and contented and so on. They offer "nazar"—a present of a rupee (which is about 1s. 6d.)—as a tribute of respect and gratitude. The Prince graciously accepts the rupee and goes off to countries beyond the seas to tell

everybody that his people are happy, prosperous and devoted." (pp. 31-32.)

Indeed, on every possible occasion the Prince's ministers flatter him on his extremely beneficent rule, shutting his eyes to all facts that they do not wish him to see: and how can he perceive, amid this tithe-paying of mint, and anise, and cummin, that all is *not* as it should be in his State and that, in fact, most things are absolutely wrong? So, for one reason or another, this hell on earth is continued, and where happiness should exist, tragedy prevails—with unabated vigour.

VII

From what has been written above our readers will have gathered that there is quite a lot of misrule in the Indian States. The only recourse left to the people of the States is to appeal to the Paramount Power. But the Paramount Power, except in very, very exceptional circumstances, does not intervene. It continues to leave them to the tender mercies of the Princes. It is clear that, look at them how you may, the States' subjects are some of the most unfortunate people imaginable. They are ground down between the upper and the nether millstones of the Government of India and their own Princes; and they are the only persons that are *not* taken into account in any deliberation. The time for thus taking them into account is, perhaps, not yet ripe. Perhaps, also, they have only *just* started on their journey—towards responsible government. And remembering that the present Viceroy—a man lauded everywhere, even in these days of the most ruthless repression, as a sincere well-wisher of India—not long ago made his now famous distinction

between the beginning of a journey and the end of it, it almost looks as if the Paramount Power will consent to intervene only when they have reached the end of their journey : just as it will consent to granting Dominion Status to India (*with* the necessary safeguards, of course, as our Indian Liberal or Moderate friends are never tired of repeating)—just as, we say, it will consent to granting Dominion Status to India only when we, the British Indian subjects, have reached the end of *our* journey. But, however that may be, the fact remains that the Paramount Power does not care to intercede on behalf of the peoples of the Indian States. Only the other day we had revealed to us the condition of affairs that exists, and has been existing these many years, in the State of Patiala, the ruler of which, curiously enough, has been re-elected to the position of Chancellor of the "Chamber of Princes". This man (if we are to believe the Report of the Patiala Enquiry Committee, and no reason for *not* believing it has as yet come to light) has done things which even the most case-hardened criminal would have been ashamed of doing. As Mr. C. Y. Chintamani has justly remarked : "Even if five per cent of what is written here is true, the man deserves a sack from his *gadi*". But a "sack from his *gadi*" is not such a terrifying thing, after all : as Mr. Chudgar shows somewhere it only means the same licentious life *plus* immunity from responsibility. Such Princes deserve much more than a mere sack from the *gadi*. They must be punished in such a way that they will provide an example to all others that may have a temptation to follow in their footsteps. It is true that, at long last, the Government of India have appointed a Committee, but it is

idle to pretend that it will be very helpful, its personnel not being satisfactory. As Mr. Amrithlal Seth, a member of the Patiala Enquiry Committee, and now, like so many other genuine patriots, in the Subarmati Jail, says in a message to the Provincial Secretary, Indian States' People's Conference : "I object both to the form and personnel of the Enquiry as announced." (*The Hindu*, May 23, 1930.)

Our whole point is that, except in very rare cases, the Paramount Power does not see its way to interfere in the internal administration of an Indian State; and when it *is* roused from its slumber and made to interfere, it is only in a half-hearted, spasmodic way. That is the tragedy of the situation. If, however, it were unconstitutional for the said Power to interfere we could bring ourselves to put up with the existing state of things, be the tax on our patience what it might. But such interference is *not* unconstitutional. Mr. Chudgar disposes this misconception of in his own masterly way. The following is his contribution to the problem :

"It is often assumed by the British public, and sometimes even by responsible statesmen, that the British Government and Parliament have no responsibility in the matter of the internal administration of Indian States, and that their right and duty, if any, is intervention only in a case of what is restricted to vaguely termed "gross misrule." This assumption is based on absolute ignorance, or at any rate on imperfect understanding of the real position. Boardly speaking the responsibility arises from four sources :

(1) By virtue of the British Government's position as Paramount Power.

(2) From terms of treaties, engagements, and sanads made with and issued to various States from time to time.

(3) By reason of the obligation of the Paramount Power to ensure the progress and prosperity of India as a whole.

(4) From a variety of other reasons." (p. 110.)

But the recent policy of the Government of India has been on the lines of leaving the Princes to their own devices, of giving them too much rope, as it were; and especially has this been so ever since the Great War. The Princes, of course, have made merry over it: *now* they are the rulers in their own houses, and may do almost anything they like; and, in the process, they have lost their heads completely. An unhopèd-for joy works like wine upon the human spirit: the latter becomes intoxicated with its sudden success and does not know what to do, or what not to do, in sheer ecstasy. Each prince may, indeed, in the hour of his freedom and rejoicing, repeat the lines that Pericles spoke when he found Marina, his daughter, whom he gave up for dead long ago;

"O Helicanus, strike me, honor'd
Sir ;

Give me a gash, put me to present
pain ;

Lest this great sea of joys rushing
upon me

O ' erbear the shores of my mortali-
lity,

And drown' me with their sweet-
ness."

And, as is only natural, this happiness of the Princes has wrought untold misery upon their people.

The only remedy lies in the Paramount Power asserting its paramountcy and in putting the Princes in their places. It owes a duty to the people of the States no less than to the princes. The Butler Committee recognise this, they say :

"The guarantee to protect a Prince against insurrection carries with it an obligation to enquire into the causes of the insurrection and to demand that the Prince shall remedy legitimate grievances and an obligation to prescribe the measure necessary to this result." (p. 159.)

VIII

The second part of Mr. Chudgar's book ("Constitutional position and the Future") need not detain us long. For our purpose only the chapter on the Indian States' Enquiry Committee and the last two or three chapters are important. We are sorry that Mr. Chudgar, refreshingly outspoken as he is in regard to the Princes, is rather less so in regard to the Butler Committee's recommendations. We do not imply that faults should be found where there are none; that simply because it was a Committee made up purely of Englishmen it should be criticised just for the sake of criticising. We do not suggest to Mr. Chudgar that, in the absence of any more solid difference of opinion, he should, in Hamlet's words,

"Find quarrel in a straw,
When honor's at the stake."

We mean none of these things. But it strikes us, all the same, that after his fierce (but just) onslaught on the Princes, his analysis of the said Committee's recommendations

is a trifle tame and middling.

For instance, the statement that "Politically there are thus two Indias: British India governed by the Crown according to the statutes of Parliament and enactments of the Indian Legislature, and Indian States under the Suzerainty of the Crown and still for the most part under the personal rule of their Princes," (p. 145.) has given much offence to most Indians, but Mr. Chadgar finds it hard to understand where the offence lies. He says:

"This is quite a correct statement of the position, and much misapprehension appears to have been caused in India by the statement that "politically there are two Indias," but this is a bare statement of fact and need cause no alarm that it is an attempt to divide India permanently." (p. 145.)

But, really, are there two Indias? Except that a part of India is directly under the British Government, and another part under the Indian Princes, what essential differences are there between the two?

Are there not the same people in both? If you go to the seashore and take a quantity of sea-water, one part in an earthenware vessel and another in a metal vessel, does that make two different kinds of sea-water? It is only the enveloping walls, so to speak, that are different; and they do not, of themselves, produce any alteration in the substance they enclose. Similarly with British India and Indian India. The distinction sought to be drawn

between the two is merely artificial: it does not go deep down into the roots of things. As Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao, in an article he contributed to the July number of the *Hindustan Review*, pertinently points out:

"Sir Harcourt Butler and his colleagues refer to the existence of the two Indias as if it is a new discovery that they have made, and the attempt made to keep these two parts of India as far apart as possible and to isolate the States from British India is obvious. The basic fact of the situation in India is not so much the existence of the two administrative systems, as the identity of interests between the people of British India and the people of Indian States. The people of both the Indias are already held together by immemorial ties and by a fundamental unity of thought and culture and race and civilisation and they have the same social and economic problems. The National movement in British India is having its repercussions in the Indian States and the people of the Indian States have a desire to take their legitimate part in an all-India polity. These are really the fundamentals of the situation which the Committee has ignored."*

We whole-heartedly agree with this statement of the position.

IX

In conclusion, we should like to draw attention to a few points. The whole of British India is in the throes of a huge political renaissance. There is, as anyone who is not wilfully blind can see for himself, a country-wide demonstration for freedom. We do

* See Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao's article "The Report of the Butler Committee" in the *Hindustan Review*, July, 1929, p. 50.

not want the old dispensation to continue—not if we can help it: we have found out that it does not agree with our constitutions. The old days of kow-towing to everything that the reigning power did or said have disappeared—never to return; and even British gaols, and British birches (such as were used on the lads at Dharsana), and British guns have lost their terror for us. It is, indeed, a question of “now or never”. Freedom will be ours to-morrow if we but persist in our recently-shown courage. But now, as well as after our winning it, we require the help of the Indian Princes. The Indian Princes have shut their eyes to facts and have been deluding themselves that, come what may, *their* position will remain just as it is and just as it has remained all these years. No greater error, we believe, has ever been made. The force of public opinion can do wonders: already it has done remarkable things in Russia and in Germany, to take only two countries. We, therefore, strongly advise the Indian Princes to march with the times. The days of the Romanoffs and the Hohenzollerns are over. It does not *pay* to be autocratic just now. Let our Indian Princes hearken to good counsels and begin to democratize their States. If agitation does not prevail in their States to the same extent as it does in British India, it is not because discontent does not exist there: only, in the States, it runs underground: which is, in our opinion, much worse than if it were to manifest itself openly. The Indian Princes have shut all doors and windows for the ventilation of the legitimate grievances of their subjects; and fancy they have done a good day’s work and, thereafter,

go to sleep unconcernedly. But they have not really suppressed ill-feeling: they have only postponed its manifestation to a later day: and they will find that, by then, like the seed mentioned in Scripture that fell on good ground, it has multiplied a thousandfold. Who are these Princes to put down free speech and to curtail the liberties of their people in the manner they are, and have been, doing? “Who hath gathered the wind in his fists? Who hath bound the waters in a garment?”—the Princes cannot hinder what is doomed to happen, and they might just as well have been liberal in their outlook at the very beginning. For, unless they radically alter their habits and conduct, certain things are bound to happen; and, on the day of their happening, who will come to their help? We dare to answer: “None.”

Not only should the Princes set about democratizing their States: they should begin to regard their fellow-Indians in British India as their brothers and friends. They should give up their attitude of suspicion and enmity. Say what they may, their interests are bound up with those of British India; and let there be no mistake about it. From what has transpired up to now, it is clear that, wherever possible, they prefer an European to an Indian—that is, to one of themselves. As Mr. Ramachandra Rao puts it in the article from which we have already quoted: “It is commonly believed that the Indian Princes would prefer a European to an Indian, however eminent, just and patriotic the latter may be, to sit in judgment over them. They have an inordinate respect for any Dick, Tom or Hary and would prefer him to an Indian of the highest social

standing. It has been stated that the Indian Princes raised objections to the entertainment of Indians in the Political Department and the proposals of the Butler Committee for the recruitment of a separate Political service from the British Universities has been designed to prevent the Indian element from the getting into this service. Until the Indian Princes give up this kind of snobbery and learn to respect their own countrymen the situation is not hopeful." (*Hindustan Review*: July 1929. p. 49.)

This attitude of theirs must now cease—for good and all. Whether they like it or not they have to set some store by their British Indian countrymen in the near future. They will do well to remember that what does not bend will ultimately break; and in their own interest, if not in ours, they should take stock of affairs and adjust their conduct accordingly. The British Government will not, however much they may deceive themselves, come to their rescue on *all* occasions and till the end of time.

As the Manchester Guardian, quoted by Mr. Ramachandra Rao in his article, says appositely:

"No lawer can deny us the right to say to the Princes who entered into certain engagements with us because of our position as rulers of British India: 'The time is coming when we must hand over the rule of British India to its inhabitants. We give you notice now, so that you may make new engagements with our successors. We will help you as far as we can to get fair terms, but your future must depend chiefly on your success in securing the good-will of your subjects.' The Indian Princes will do well to follow this advice."

In short, the old order is fast changing, yielding place to new. Nothing remains for ever in its pristine condition: change, change, and ever more change—that is the law of nature. To quote again the lines that we have put at the top of our article:

"Nothing can be as it has been
before—
Better—so call it—only not the
same."

References to Architecture and Geography in the Buddhist Literature.

By, Dr. Bimala Churu Law, M. A., Ph. D.

THE description of the thupas, viharas and vapis in the Mahavamsa sheds much light upon the development of architecture and sculpture in Ceylon.

The dagobas are semi-circular domes of earth covered over with bricks or stones. The whole thing used to be surrounded by a railing generally of stone and the top of the dome is to be ornamented with umbrellas. There used to be four gates corresponding to the four cardinal points of the compass and within the railing there was space for going round the thupa. In the centre of the *mound* there used to be a relic chamber in which relics were placed. In the opinion of Coomaraswamy "somewhat later than the earliest thupas and railings are the great stone-gateways, of which the finest and most perfectly preserved examples are at Sanchi. No such gateways are found in Ceylon. But some of the dagobas have, on the other hand, elaborate altars on four-sides flanked with carved monolithic pillars of moderate height."

The number of dagobas in Ceylon is quite large. We shall here mention a few important ones. The first historical notice of the erection of this kind of dagobas in Ceylon belongs to the reign of Devanam Piyatissa who is said to have built the Thuparama dagoba and the Pathama cetiya (the expression cetiya is used in the Mahovamsa mostly as a synonym for thupa). Dutthagamani built

two large dagobas at Anuradhapura, namely, the Sonnamali or the Mahathupa and the Marica-Vattithupa. The former is described as having the walls covered with paintings.

Still another early type of building is the Vihara or monastery. In Anuradhapura there existed elaborate structural monasteries of many stories, of which only the foundations now remain. There is a Satttha-Thumaka-Pasada of later date still standing at Pulastopura in Ceylon. The thousand stone pillars on which another was erected in the 2nd century B.C. at Anuradhapura form one of the most interesting monuments of the same island. Among the Viharas may be mentioned the Mahavihara, the Abhayagirivihara and the Dakkhinagirivihara.

A few words must also be said of the subject of reservoir construction. The reservoirs constructed are the Panduvapi, Gamanivapi and Dighavapi. It has been remarked by Parker in his 'Ancient Ceylon' that "what is even more remarkable than the amount of labour devoted to these works, is the evidence they afford of early skill in engineering, particularly in the building of the sluices: those of the 2nd or 3rd century B.C. forming the type of all later examples in Ceylon, and anticipating some of the most important developments of modern construction." There was also an open air bathing tank at

Anuradhapura with flights of steps leading down it.

As regards the subject of Ceylon sculpture we must say something. In the opinion of Parker, "the earliest specimen of the Ceylon sculpture is represented by the mud images for bali ceremonies." The reign of Dutthagamani indeed marks the remarkable development of Ceylon sculpture. The splendid Lohapasada was adorned with the jewelled pillars, on which were figures of lions, tigers, and other animals and shapes of deities. (Cf. *Sihavyagghadirupehi devatarupakehica Ahuratanamayehesa thambhehi Ca. Vibhusita-Maha-vamsa*, p. 216)

The relic chamber in the Mahathupa also testifies to the highest perfection which the Ceylon sculpture attained in the reign of Dutthagamani. The figures of the Sun, the Moon and stars and lotus-flowers, made of jewels, were fastened to the canopy which was in the relic-chamber in the Mahathupa. The events during the seven weeks (the time immediately after the Sambodhi which the Buddha spent near the Bodhi tree) were depicted duly here and there in the relic-chamber, and also the prayer of Brahma, the setting in motion of the wheel of the doctrine, the visit of Bimbisara and the entry into Rajagaha, the accepting of the Veluvana and the Jetavana, the Mahaparinibbana itself, and the funeral rites and the distributing of the relics by Dona, and Jataka also especially the Vessantara Jataka—which are fitted to awaken faith in the Buddhist Triad (*Mahavamsa*, pp. 241-242).

References to architecture and sculpture of Ceylon in the *Mahavamsa*

before the reign of King Devanampiyatissa are rare. The *Mahavamsa* only relates that the Pandu king of Madhura (now Madura, Madras, Presidency) sent his craftsmen and 'a thousand families of the eighteen guilds' to Vejaya of Ceylon. This proves beyond doubt that the first Indian influence on the artist of Ceylon is from Southern India.

Asoka made a cultural conquest of Ceylon through Buddhism, and the relation between continental India and Ceylon became closer than before. With the introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon in the reign of King Devanampiyatissa who was a contemporary of the Indian king Asoka, Indian thoughts and culture found their way into Ceylon and with these Indian architecture and sculpture. It has been remarked by Parker that it was from India, in the 3rd century B.C. that the idea of the dagoba was first directly borrowed in Ceylon, and the earliest ones of which we have any record were constructed during the reign of the famous Indian Emperor, Asoka.

In ancient times there were several important towns (Sixteen great cities) in northern India. Each city was surrounded by a strong wall with watch tower and gates, the number of which was generally four corresponding to the four cardinal points of the compass. The wall used to be surrounded by a deep moat. Within the town and just behind the wall there used to be a road surrounding the city. Within the space enclosed by the wall there were the palaces and houses of noblemen. There were high roads with regular lines of open shops. There were parks, gardens, lakes, lotus-ponds, and wells. There

were many kinds of temple to the gods (The Milindapanho P. 1; pp. 330-331).

The houses were generally made of wood. In the Dhammapada-Atthakatha Vol. IV (p. 211) we are told that King Bimbisara of Magadha dwelt in a house of wood. The recent excavations at Kumrahar made by Dr. Spooner testify to the fact that the stone was used for preparing the pavement.

In the Vinaya Pitaka mention is made of hot air baths (Jantaghara). Rhys Davids says that they were built on an elevated basement faced with brick or stone, with stone stairs up to it, and a railing round the verandah. The roof and walls were of wood, covered first with skins, and then with plaster the lower part of the wall was faced with bricks. There was an ante-chamber and a hot room and a pool to bathe in (Buddhist India, p. 74).

From the Brahman period we find evidence of a fivefold division of India, namely the middle region, the eastern region, the southern region, the western region and the northern region. This division is known not only to the Brahmanical writers but also to the Buddhist writers including the Chinese Pilgrims.

The Middle region is the Majjhimadesa of the Vinaya texts; the Madhyadesa of Manu, the Aryavarta of Patanjali and the Sistadesa of Baudhayana.

The ancient texts do not agree in giving the eastern boundary of the Madhyadesa. The Madhyadesa of the Aitareya Brahmana embraced only the tract between the Sarasvati and the Drsadvati. It included the Kurus

of the Delhi region, the pancalas of the Central Doab, the Usinaras near the source of the Ganges and the Vasas (Vatsyas near Allahabad). In the time of Manu the eastern boundary was extended to Prayaga or Allahabad, the northern boundary to the Himalayas, the southern boundary to Vinasan, the place of disappearance of the river Sarasvati. In the time of Rajasekhara the eastern boundary was further extended to Varanasi or Benares, but the western boundary is still the Sarasvati, Prthudaka or Pehoa on that river being mentioned instead of Manu's Vinasan. According to the Buddhists the middle country was bounded on the east by Mahasala beyond Kajangala (Rajmahal) according to the Vinaya texts, and Punnavaddhana according to the Divyavadana.

In the Manorathapurani (pp. 97-98) we are told of the boundary of the Majjhima-desā. It was bounded on the north by the Usiragiri or Usiradhaja, on the west by the Brahmana village of Thuna (Thanesvar on the Sarasvati), on the south by Setakanika (nigama), on the south-east by the river Sallavatti or Salilavati, and on the east by Kajangala (nigama), beyond which was Mahasala. It is further stated that the Majjhimadesa was three hundred Yojanas in length, two hundred and fifty Yojanas in width, and nine hundred Yojanas in circumference (cf. ayamato tiyojana sate Vittharato addhatiyojanasate Parikkhepatō navayojanasate).

In the Mahagovinda Suttanta (Digha, Vol. II) we find reference to the seven divisions of Bharata or Bharatvarsa or India (Cf. Satta Bharata). We are told that King Renu's kingdom was divided into seven

equal portions. They are as follows; (1) Dantapura of the Kalingas, (2) Pctana of the Assakas, (3) Mahissati of the Avantis, (4) Rovuka of the Soviras, (5) Mithila of the Videhas, (6) Campa of the Angas, and (7) Baranasi of the Kasis.

In the *Anguttara Nikaya* (Vol. I. *Mahavagga* p. 213) we find evidence of the existence of the sixteen Mahajanapadas, e.g., Anga, Magadha, Kasi, Kosala, Vajji, Malla, Vamsa, Kuru, Pancala, Maccha, Surasena, Assaka, Avanti, Gandhara, and Kamboja. In the *Janavasabha Suttanta* (*Digha*, Vol. II) Kasi and Kosala, Vajji and Malla, Ceti and Vamsa, Kuru and Pancala, and Maccha, and Surasena have also been mentioned as Janapadas. In the *Indriya Jataka* (*Jataka*, Vol. III) there is also a reference to certain other janapadas. They are: Surattha, Lambaculaka, Atavi, Avanti Dakkhinapatha, Dandakaranno, Khumbhavatinagara, Majjhimapadesa Aranjara, Pabbata-Jalantare (the mountainous country of Aranjara in the Central Region).

In the *Mahavamsa* (p. 94) we are told of countries where Moggaliputta Tissa-thera sent Buddhist missionaries to propagate Buddhism. They are as follows: Kasmira and Gandhara, Mahisamandala, Vanavasa, Aparantaka, Maharattha, the country of the Yona, the Himalaya country, Suvannathumi, and Lanka. In the same great epic we find reference to Vanga, Kalinga and Lata countries (p. 56).

In the *Milinda-panho* we find reference to the lands of the Sakas (Scythians) and the Yavanas (the Bactrian Greeks), to China or Vilata (Tastary), Alexandria (Alasanda),

Nikumba, Benares, Kosala, Kashmir and Gandhara.

We also find reference to some chief cities in northern India from the *Dipavamsa* (pp. 26-28). They are Kusavati Rajagaha, Mithila, Pakula, Ayujjhanagara, Baranasi, Kapilanagara, Hatthipura, Ekacakku, Vajira, Madhura, Aritthapura, Indapatta, Kosambi, Kannagocha, Rajanagara, Campakanagara, Takkasila, Kusinara, Malitthiya (Tambalithi). In the *Paramatthajotika* (Vol. I. p. 69) we find reference to the city of sagala in the Madda country, and in the *Therigatha* commentary (p. 127) we find reference to another Sagala nagara in the Magadharattha. In the *Milinda Panho* (p. 1) there is another Sagala city which was in the extreme north-west.

In the *Mahaparinibbana Sutta* (*Digha*, Vol. II) we find reference to the great cities like Campa, Rajagaha Savatthi, Saketa, Kosambi, and Benares.

In the *cetiya Jataka* (*Jataka*, Vol. III) we are told of the foundation of five cities all in northern India, viz. Hatthipura, Assapura, Sihapura, Uttara-Pancala, and Daddarapura.

In the *Majjhima Nikaya* (Vol. I p. 39) we find reference to the rivers Bahuka, Sundarika, Sarassati, and Bahumati. In the *Anguttara Nikaya* (Vol. II *Mahavagga*) we find reference to other great rivers, e. g., Ganga, Yamuna, Aciravati Sarabhu, Mahi, Anotatta, Siha Papata, Rathakara, Kannamunda, Kunala, Chaddanta and Mandakini. In the *Milinda Panha* we also find reference to the rivers Sindhu, tho Sarassati, the Vetravati, the Vitamsa and the Candathaga*

* 1. For identifications of the above, see Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India* (Ed. by S.N. Majumdar) and the *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India* by N. L. Dey, M. A. B. Ta., Second Edition, 1927.

'THE PROBLEM OF PALESTINE'

By Prof. B. N. SHARMA

PALESTINE has figured prominently in the history of the world from the days of antiquity. It has been called by several names, Canaan, Holy Land, Palestine and Judea. It was to this land of promise that Moses conducted the Israelites from Egypt. They lived and, but for a short break, ruled in this country for fifteen hundred years. In the days of Emperor Vespasian the Roman general Titus was sent to suppress a Jewish rising. He met with a heroic resistance but the country was subjugated. The magnificent temple at Jerusalem was demolished and the Jewish nation suffered a blow from which it never recovered, eleven lacs of men are said to have perished during the siege of Jerusalem and about a lac were sold as slaves in distant lands. Since that time the descendants of those who survived the dissolution of the Jewish nation have been wandering from country to country living more on the sufferance of the majority populations than on their birth-rights. Being the most persecuted people in the whole of Europe their eyes were always cast towards the land where their ancestors lived a free life under Hebrew laws. The movement for Jewish emigration to Palestine began as early as the 15th century but it could not become general as the Holy Land passed into the hands of the Ottomon Turks.

To the Christians also Palestine is sacred as the land has been hallowed

by the footsteps and sanctified by the sufferings of Jesus Christ. During the days of Saracen supremacy, Christian pilgrims to Palestine were not molested but with the subjugation of the country by the Seljukian Turks these pilgrims began to suffer from all sorts of harassments.

To deliver the whole country from the hands of the infidels, Christians from all over Europe enlisted in thousands and expeditions were sent to the East. For nearly two hundred years Europe continued to send her legions to conquer or die upon the plains of Asia. Two millions of Christian warriors were buried in the East in their heroic but fruitless attempt to clear Palestine of the Moslems.

To the Moslems the land is sacred because of its being the field of work of the prophets that preceded Moham-mad who, as we all know, was the last of the prophets. Thirteen hundred years of occupation have made the Moslems all over the world to look upon Palestine as a land second in sanctity only to that part of Arabia which contains Mecca and Medina.

With the developement of aerial communications between Europe and the East, the opening of the Arabian desert to Motor transport, and the

loosening of British control in Egypt, Palestine has become an important link in the chain that connects Great Britain with India and Australia. Its port of Haifa can be an important outpost for the defence of the Suez Canal in the event of the outbreak of hostilities among the principal Mediterranean powers.

II.

The British are there in Palestine in pursuance of a certain definite imperial policy. In 1915 during the Great War Sheriff Hussain of Mecca opened negotiations with the British and the British authorities on behalf of the allies promised complete independence for the Arabs in case they deserted to the allies. They did so and by their defection materially contributed to the collapse of Turkish resistance on the Mesopotamian and Syrian fronts.

The exigencies of war made the allies seek the good will of the Jewish people also. In 1916 we had the Balfour Declaration whereby the British Government expressed its approval of the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people and pledged Great Britain to make its best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object. The policy underlying the Declaration received in due course the approval of the League of Nations. In making this categorical promise to Jewry throughout the world the allied statesmen might have thought of breaking the long chain of Moslem states from North-West Africa to Central Asia by creating in Palestine a Jewish state with a Jewish population

bound to Great Britain by ties of interest and gratitude.

III

In July, 1922, Great Britain accepted the mandate for Palestine and undertook by article two of the said mandate 'to place the country under such political, administrative, and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home.'

The terms of the mandate were severely criticised at the time by some of the European statesmen. The House of Lords condemned these terms on the ground that the said mandate was contrary to the wishes of the majority of the people of Palestine and violated the promises that had been made to them. The Pope denounced the mandate on the ground that it gave the Jew 'a privileged and preponderating position vis à vis other sections of the population and also inadequately safeguarded the rights of Christians.' The Arab population of Palestine expressed its indignation at the provision of the mandate by sending telegrams to the rulers of Turkey, Afghanistan, Persia, Egypt, Hedjaz, and Mesopotamia asking them to protest against the creation of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. A week later under the auspices of the Christian Moslem Association of Palestine a peaceful hartal was celebrated throughout the country. On the day the British High Commissioner took the oath of office in Jerusalem all the Arab drivers of carriages and taxicabs decided to strike. It would have been a very effective way of expressing

the feelings of the Arab population to the incoming guests and the world at large had it succeeded but the authorities cowed down the drivers by threatening to cancel their licences.

IV

It was amid such scenes that the British mandate for Palestine began to work. Then for six years there was a calm. It looked as if the people were becoming reconciled to the new situation. Palestine remained quiet when troubles broke out among the population across the Syrian frontiers. Even in 1925 when the Syrians rose against their French masters and proclaimed a National Government after they had forced the Mandatory power to abandon practically the whole of Syria except Damascus, Lebanon, and Beyrout, the Arabs of Palestine did not rise either for themselves or in sympathy with their neighbours. The world regarded their inactivity at the time to be a proof of the success of the British mandate in Palestine.

But it was only a lull before a storm. Trouble was slowly brewing in the country. In September 1928 on the day of Atonement the Jews introduced a screen on the pavement in front of the Wailing Wall, the only place in Jerusalem in which both the Jews and the Moslems have a direct concern. This was regarded by the Moslems to be an assertion of superior Jewish claims over the place. In retaliation the Moslems introduced several innovations in the neighbourhood of the Wailing Wall.

The relations between the two communities were further strained by the provocative demonstration which the Jewish youth were allowed to make on the 15th August, 1929. This greatly excited the Moslems and they held a counter demonstration on the following day. On the 17th a private quarrel between an Arab and some Jews took a communal turn, and the Jews attacked the Arabs found in Jew's quarters of the town. This infuriated the Arabs and they commenced attacking the Jews and destroying their property. Thus began the fateful disturbances of August last. In this orgy of massacre and destruction 478 Jews and 268 Arabs lost their lives.

For some days the situation was out of control. From the beginning no reliance could be placed upon the C. I. D. and the Palestine constabulary. The British Gendarmerie had been disbanded long before in 1925. British forces had to be hurried from the neighbouring countries and it was some days before the situation was well in hand.

On 13th September, 1929, the Colonial Secretary appointed a commission 'to inquire into the immediate causes of the recent outbreak in Palestine, and to make recommendations as to the steps necessary to avoid a recurrence.'

The Commission consisting of Sir Walter Shaw, a prominent Ceylon Judge (chairman), Sir Henry Betterton, Mr. R. Hopkin Morris and Mr. H. Snell submitted its report on March 31, 1930. The report is unanimous subject to a long

note by Mr. Snell which amounts almost to a minority report.

V

Regarding the immediate causes of the disturbances the Commission points out that the trouble started immediately after the provocative Jewish demonstration before the Wailing Wall on 15th. August 1929. But the outbreak of 23rd August and the following days took the form of a vicious attack by Arabs on Jews accompanied by wanton destruction of Jewish property.

To avoid the recurrence of the disturbances the commissioners recommend the appointment of an International Commission to clearly define the rights and claims of the Moslems and the Jews in connection with the Wailing Wall. To enable the authorities to keep a firm control over the situation the commissioners recommended the re-organization of the intelligence service and the Police. The Press Law should also be amended so as to make it easy for the Government to obtain from the courts a conviction in a case where a newspaper may be found to have published a seditious article. The question of the most suitable form of garrison for Palestine, in the opinion of the Commission, should be referred to the War Office.

VI

But this is only treating the symptoms and not the real disease and the Commissioners rightly point out that the fundamental cause of these disturbances is the Arab feeling of hostility towards the Jews consequent upon the fear that by Jewish immigration and land purchase they may be deprived of

their livelihood and in time pass under the political domination of the Jews.

Let us examine the position in the light of the working of the Mandate during these eight years and see if Arab fears are justified. Here is an analysis of the population of Palestine obtained from the Census figures for 1922.

Community	Population	Ratio to the total
Moslems	5,90,890	78'03 %
Christians	73,074	9'64 %
Jews	83,794	11'06 %
Others	9,474	1'25 %
Total	7,57,182	

In 1928 the position was as follows:—

Community	Population	Ratio to the population
Moslems	6,60,000	73'55 %
Christians	79,000	8'79 %
Jews	1,50,000	16'7 %
Others	9,000	1 %
Total	8,98,000	

These figures would tell their own tale particularly when we bear in mind that Palestine is a small country with an area of only 9,000 miles (Square). In size it is slightly smaller than the state of Indore, just double the size of an average district in British India. Thus we find that in a country with a total population of less than nine lacs Jews have increased their number during the period under review by about seventy thousand. Instead of being eleven percent of the population

they are now seventeen per cent. The Arabs have a genuine grievance that if this rate of immigration is maintained for a generation more, they will be utterly swamped. It has already done them considerable harm. Jewish financiers are busy buying out Arab landlords and Arab tenants are being evicted to make room for Jewish settlers. Had the Government made some provision for settling these evicted Arab farmers on state virgin land, the 'poor Arab' problem would never have become so acute and a landless proletariat would not have been created in Palestine.

This aspect of the problem has not received the attention of the Commissioners but Mr. Snell in his note recommends the reservation of all unexploited land for close settlement by the immigrant Jews. If this recommendation of his is accepted the condition of the Arab farmers will become still more miserable. Pending the report of Sir John Hope Simpson who, in pursuance of a recommendation of the Shaw commission is investigating the immigration and land settlement problems of Palestine, the Government has suspended all Jewish immigration. This is good so far as it goes but the land problem will not be solved until the Palestine Government decides to pass a measure on the lines of the Punjab Land Alienation Act and definitely prohibits the immigrant Jews from buying away the Arab farmens.

The land grabbing of the Jews is not the only thing that excites the fears of the Arabs. The Jews by their capital, brains, and superior organization are rapidly establishing an economic supremacy over the country. In the matter of the grant of

industrial and commercial concessions the scales are definitely weighted in favour of the Jews. By article 4 of the Mandate the Zionist Organization is given very large powers in all questions relating to the development of the country. By Article 11 of the Mandate the Government is charged to encourage the Zionist Organization 'to construct or operate public works, services, and utilities and to develop any of the natural resources of the country.

Thanks to this pro-jewish policy of the Mandatory power today forty-five million pounds are invested in Jewish enterprizes. The water-power of the upper Jordon is being developed by a Jewish Company and a Jewish syndicate has been awarded a concession to exploit the mineral wealth of the Dead Sea. Though only 17% of the population, 40 % of the Government revenue is paid by Jewish taxpayers. The prosperity of Palestine Agriculture is due to the Jew. It is only due to jewish enterprize that Palestine is not a drain upon the Imperial exchequer.

VII

All this is very creditable for the Jews but do the natives of the country, the Arabs, who constituted but a decade ago 80 % of the population, appreciate the good that the Jews are doing to their country? The Commissioners answer the question in the negative and though they regard Arab fears about their political future to be greatly exaggerated they recommend the British Government to issue at an early date a clear and definite declaration of the policy which they intend to pursue in regard to the regulation and control of Jewish immigration to Palesitne. They also

recommend an early grant of a measure of self-government to the people and pending the inauguration of such constitutional changes in the system of government they urge the government to devise machinery whereby non-jewish opinion about immigration and other kindred subjects may be made known to the government.

But even all this will not suffice as the situation in Palestine cannot improve until the British Government issue a clear statement of its policy in carrying out the pledges that have been given to the Jews as well as the non-jews in Article 2 and 6 of the mandate. How is the Government going to foster the establishment of a national Home for the Jews while safeguarding the rights of the non-Jewish communities? That is the crux of the whole problem, and the Commissioners press the British Government to restate the terms of the Mandate and of the policy by which it is to be carried out in practice. While the British Government has not yet given its interpretation of the terms of the Mandate it has announced its firm resolve to retain the mandate entrusted to it by the league of nations.

VIII

British diplomats are naturally busy in trying to find a way out of the Palestine tangle. While assuring the Jews that the scheme of establishing for them a national Home shall never be abandoned they will try to convince the Arabs that a national Home does not mean a national State. But all efforts directed towards this end are bound to fail as in these days of enlightenment and democracy it is difficult for a whole

people to be deceived by glib-tongued politicians how-so-ever clever they may be.

Facts are facts and you cannot for long conceal their nature. The two parts of the Balfour Declaration are contradictory. If the Jewish national Home was not intended to be a Jewish national state where was the fun in the Zionist organization investing millions of pounds in buying land and attracting Jewish settlers from all parts of the world? They are everywhere a minority of the population. If they were to remain for all time a minority in Palestine also why should they have left their homes to settle in a none too fertile land among a poor, ignorant, excitable population following a faith that has never been very friendly to the Jews as a whole.

It may be hard to confess but the fact is that British diplomacy blundered and blundered seriously in making, in the course of the War, promises to the Jews which conflict with the promise that was made to the Arabs, and which cannot be fulfilled in post-war conditions.

The English nation has known in the past how to wriggle out of a difficult situation. This time too it should have no hesitation in acknowledging its mistake in having carelessly pledged to grant the Jews a national Home in a country which is inhabited by a people who swear to a different faith and are keenly conscious of their political rights. Such a frank confession has rarely come from high-browed politicians. False sense of prestige generally steps in and prevents them from making even belated amends to a wronged people.

IX

No doubt it is very awkward to retract a sworn pledge but then so many pledges were made to so many people during the war. How many of them have been honoured? This very League of Nations granted Smyrna to the Greeks, South Anatolia to Italy and Cilicia to France. Where were these pledges when compelled by a 'change in the military situation' the allies restored all these possessions to the Turks in 1923?

What has happened to the pledge that the allied statesmen made to the Armenian Christians to establish for them a National Home in Turkish territory? The Armenians are a greatly persecuted people. They have suffered enormously at the hands of the Turks. According to M.Motta, of the original Turkish Armenian population of 25 lacs barely 8 lacs remain. The League of Nations pledged its word to secure for them a National Home in Turkey either south of the Soviet Armenian Republic or in Cilicia to the north of Syria. The sale of the proverbial live bear's skin was arranged in anticipation of his death. The French Government in order to face Turkey with a settled fact encouraged thousands of these Armenian Christians to settle in Cilicia and it was seriously proposed to alienate from Turkey a territory 18 thousand square miles in area, double the size of Palestine, for the purpose. The Assyro-Chaldeans living on the banks of Lake Van were also encouraged to demand autonomy. But all these demands were scornfully rejected by the Turkish delegates at the Lausanne Conference. The blood of two million Armenians, was forgiven in a general love-feast and the

proposals fell through because the boom of the Kemalist guns was yet echoing in the ears of the allies.

X

If such has been the sanctity of some of the pledges that the allies made during and after the War, it is difficult to understand why the Palestine pledge alone should be held to be irrevocable. After all, what are the claims of the Jews for a National Home in Palestine? Are they a considerable minority of the native population crying for the safeguarding of their rights? No, they are a new element being introduced into the country in the teeth of the opposition of the natives of the land. In an age when intractable and unwelcome minorities are being got rid of by devices such as the exchange of populations in the Balkans and assisted emigration in South Africa, a racial complication is being introduced into a country that is being governed under a Mandate from the League of Nations that was intended to make the world safe for democracy.

The Jews themselves, however, base their claims on Palestine on the ground that it is their ancestral home. Their distant forefathers lived and ruled in the country for fifteen hundred years till the Roman armies dispersed them in 67 A.D. While pitying them for their misfortune we should like to know if all this can give them any preferential claim over Palestine. The Arabs have also been in Palestine for an almost equally long period for as long as the English have been in England and over and above this are in actual possession of the country.

If old historical fictions were to be counted as valid claims then the

League of Nations should, in all fairness, take up the question of carving in Persian territory a National Home for the Parsis of India. If the object of the allies in the grant of the Mandate was to find a Home for persecuted people, steps should also be taken to establish a National Home for Indian settlers in South Africa and, as a Turkish delegate remarked at the Lausanne Conference, for Negroes in the state Texas in U. S. A.

But the allies, at the time these promises were made, had no such altruistic motives. The object was to bring about the dismemberment of Turkey and secure the goodwill of United States of America by securing the co-operation of the powerful American philanthropic and missionary organization that were then operating in the Near East.

XI

Leaving aside the question of the motives of the allies in giving these pledges we find that this policy of carving National Homes for various communities out of the possessions of the pre-war Turkish Empire cannot be justified on any principle of equity and is therefore foredoomed to failure. It was a device to first spread disaffection among the various elements of the Turkish population and then to demand separation of the disaffected parts. Such stratagems should never have been used by the British people who have to their credit many achievements in the democratic field. The English people played no mean part in assisting in the birth of half a dozen or so of South American Republics. They worked for the unification of Italy. Only the other day Great Britain

celebrated the first centenary of the liberation of Greece. Even at this time they are putting the feet of the Egyptians, the Iraqis, and the Hijazis on the road to Independence. Shall it be said that in the case of Palestine the British nation refused to apply the principles of self-determination until it was forced to do so by the hard realities of the situation. There is no doubt that the Palestine Arabs will not be now satisfied with any half-way house to freedom. British politicians are proposing the Ceylon type of reforms for Palestine. It is time the British statesmen formed a true estimate of the political situation. The Palestine Arabs are seeing their neighbours, brother Muslim, the Iraqis, the Hijazis, and the Egyptians shedding their coils of tutelage. Will it be possible for any human agency to check their onward march for any long period of time? There is yet time for British statesmanship to rise to its level and decide to urge the league of nations to scrap the Mandate and grant peace to a wronged people.

Palestine, if the lessons of Asiatic history have any value, is bound to remain for ever a predominantly Arab country. It lies at the outer fringe of the vast Arab zone which, like the Aryan homeland in central Asia, fills after long periods of time to saturation point with its fierce restless population that burns for a place in the sun. It will be the interest of humanity and future world peace if the League of nations finally abandons all designs of planting non-Arab colonies in lands which are destined by nature to absorb surplus population of Arabia proper.

MOTTO—A reviewer of books is a person with views and opinions of his own about life and literature, science and art, fashion, style and fancy, which he applies ruthlessly or pleasantly, dogmatically or suggestively, ironically or plainly, as his humour prompts or his method dictates, to books written by some body else. The two notes of the critic are sympathy and knowledge. Sympathy and knowledge must go hand in hand through the fields of criticism. As neither sympathy nor knowledge can ever be complete, the perfect critic is an impossibility. It is hard for a reviewer to help being ignorant, but he need never be a hypocrite. Knowledge certainly seems of the very essence of good criticism and yet judging is more than knowing. Taste, delicacy, discrimination—unless the critic has some of these, he is naught. Even knowledge and sympathy must own a master. That master is sanity. Let sanity for ever sit enthroned in the critic's armchair.—*The Rt. Hon'ble Augustine Birrell; M. P., on "The Critical Faculty."*

(A)—BOOKS OF THE MONTHS.

A PLEA FOR INDIAN FREEDOM *

By Rev. Bro. JESUDAS.

MR. Hoyland is a devoted lover and servant of India, who for more than fifteen years has lived in close touch with the village and College life of the country. It is refreshing to find an Englishman able to throw off so completely the prejudices of his birth and to enter so fully into the heart of another people. For Mr. Hoyland writes not only with authority but with a remarkable penetration and insight into Indian psychology. He has the knack, as very few have, of so understanding the spirit of another nation as to see the difficulties especially of the ruled, when he himself is the member of the ruling race.

In his chapter on "The Question of Attitude," he says "Now the very word 'sympathy' seems to the average Westerner to be out of place in a political discussion. He believes (in spite of the incredible things wrought by the sentiment of patriotism in War) that sentimental considerations must be excluded from the world of politics. He is almost certainly wrong in regard to the West, and quite certainly wrong in regard to the East." He gets to

the true psychology of the situation. He pleads for generosity in English and Indian relationships by saying "There is a mischievous opinion abroad amongst Europeans in India that it is race treachery ever to confess to an Indian that one is wrong, or to ask his pardon for any mistake made. This delusion finds its expression on a national scale on the often disastrous tenacity with which Government will adhere to a mistaken policy in the belief that prestige will be damaged if anything like a confession of failure is permitted."

He shows the fatal and tragic mistake that the Government made by answering "India's confident expectation of generous treatment for her services during the War by the Rowlatt Act." He says that Mahatma Gandhi condemns the state because "it is founded on acquisitiveness, on the exploitation of the weak, on the exercise of organised force." In all this he emphasises a sane view of things, neither does he make an apology for dealing with idealism and the religious aspect of Indian national life. These are so intimately

* *The Case for India.* By J. S. Hoyland (Dent and Sons, London), 1929.

intervoven into it that it is impossible to break away from their study, yet a sense of the practical and the real is not wanting. He puts his finger on the sore spot when he points out the utter lack of courtesy—let alone generosity—in the Englishman in India. Added to this is the demon prestige which he worships and to which he has offered thousands of innocent lives at the Jallianwala Bagh and Punjab troubles, and is doing it now on an extensive scale all over India. It is this which has prevented the Government from owning their many errors. But thank God the more blood spilled by the British in India the greater the fertility of the soil for the seed of Indian nationalism.

He presents studies of Hinduism and Islam from the standpoint not of the theologian but of the lover of humanity. In the same way his outline of the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi is one of the most sympathetic short studies that we have read. He vividly portrays India's apprehension of Western civilization, its business methods, its overpowering "desire" for wealth, power, pleasures, its essential rejection of the standards of Christ and he closes with an excellent plea for Swaraj.

Mr. Hoyland in his book gives his own observations and appraisement in the first part, and in the second a portrayal of India's case as visualised by the Indians themselves. He rightly points out to the things that led to the Rowlatt Act, Amritsar and Non-co-

operation, and depreciates the boast of the long arm of Brittain and its crushing power. How stupid and ridiculous that is, is being worked out in these days. One reads with appreciation the summary of political development in India. But even Mr. Hoyland errs when he grows eloquent over Brittain's grant of Peace to India. This very peace is called by Mahatma Gandhi as the peace of the cemetery and the cadaver. Pax Brittanica as Pax Romana means only *tyranny* and *despotism*." What is patriotism in England has come to mean anarchy in India. The "Pax" is buncombe.

We are pleased that Mr. Hoyland knows the true explanation for the absolute freedom from outbreaks of violence on the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi in 1922 (as now in 1930)—that it is in obedience to his command. The second part of the book makes an absorbing study. It deals with the Indian view point and explains—as correctly as a foreigner can apprehend our case and view point—the exact position of things. Writers like Mr. Hoyland are, to adopt his own language, soldiers of reconciliation who by their synthetic ability and sympathetic understanding can promote inter-dependence and internationalism in an age when independence and integration are the war cries. It is on the whole a book that should be in the hands of all English friends—and enemies—of India. It is a work of good propaganda (and much more than that) and should have a wide circulation.

NON-MUSLIMS UNDER THE CALIPHS*

By Mr. V. B. METTA.

AFTER the birth of Islam when the Arabs conquered a country, they appointed Arabs as governors of its provinces and to a few other chief posts : and allowed the subordinate officials of the country to retain their old posts. The chief innovation introduced by them was that the Arabs became the standing army and militia. These Arabs were paid by the State to protect it, the provincials supplying the money. The state organisation, whatever it was, was the work of Caliph Omar.

When the Ommayeds came into power, things changed, because they were Arabs first and Muslims afterwards. The provincials, even though they had embraced Islams, were therefore made to pay the taxes, because they were non-Arabs.

Under the Abbasids, all Muslims, whether Arabs or not, were treated as equals. This was due to Persian influence which was all powerful at Baghdad. The result was that the distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims was accentuated.

The subject people, "the people of protection" as they were called, were Christians, Jews, and Zoroastrians. In order to receive the protection of the law they had to agree to stand up before a Muslim, not to build a house higher than that of a Muslim, to dress differently from the Muslims, not to carry weapons, not to ride on saddles, cut hair in front, not to abuse or strike a Muslim, not to build new churches or repair old ones, to pay tribute out of hand and be humbled, etc. If any of them broke these covenants he was put outside the pale of law. Different schools of Muslim law differed in their views as to whether the breaking of a few or all of

these covenants put the offender outside the pale of law.

Mohammed and Caliph Omar taught their followers to treat the non-Muslims with the utmost kindness. But their teachings were not always put into practice.

The author deals with different aspects of the life of non-Muslims under a Muslim government. The Jews were appointed to high posts under the Fatimides in Egypt, but they were not given equally good posts in Spain or Morocco. Christians also rose very high in Muslim service at certain periods in certain countries. But in spite of the high positions which they occupied, the non-Muslims were made to feel every now and then that they were an "inferior people". Some of them were persuaded or even forced to adopt Islam.

Christian patriarchs in Egypt were appointed by the Arab governors. Christians were often allowed to build new churches or repair old ones—the covenant notwithstanding—with the help of Muslims. The author gives a list of the Christian churches which the Arabs destroyed in Egypt in 721 A.H.

The Christian Arabs, as Arabs refused to pay jiziya and so they were allowed to pay the same taxes as the Muslim Arabs : only twice as much.

Christians and Jews became famous doctors, poets, and architects, but they were always treated as inferiors. It was the Christians it may be remarked *en passant*, who translated Greek works on philosophy and science into Arabic under the Caliph Al Mamun.

Muslims were not allowed to borrow money from non-Muslims, because by so

* *The Caliphs and their Non-Muslim Subjects.* By A. S. Tritton (Oxford University Press, Bombay) 1930.

doing, they put themselves in the power of non-Muslims. Non-Muslims were not allowed to bring waste land under cultivation.

Muslims were not to drink grape wine, but they could, it seems, take palm wine, what in Indian is called toddy. Many Muslims took part in wine trade.

The book shows marks of great scholarship and is written in a lucid style. It is

a pity that the author does not even refer to the conditions of Hindus under the different Muslim dynasties of Delhi and the provinces. It is a subject which deserves a volume by itself. We hope some Indian scholar will supply the need. We also hope that some Muslim scholar will try to refute some of the statements made in this book.

THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH IN INDIA*

By PANDIT MANOHAR LAL ZUTSHI, M. A.

THIS is a suggestive little book written by Mr. Michael West, formerly the Principal of the Training College at Dacca and now the University Reader at Patna, dealing with that very important but very much vexed subject, the teaching of English to Indian students. The technical chapters of the book will mainly interest the teachers of the subject but there are one or two matters of Principle and policy with which all educated Indians are concerned and which Mr. West restates in a novel and refreshing form. One reason of our failure in this country is that we are attempting too much, attempting much more than other Oriental countries, e. g. Japan, are attempting, and in doing so we are going back on the policy laid down by those who introduced English education in India, and are injuring our own vernaculars. A Japanese who wants to learn English or French or German, and many Japanese do, is content with acquiring a working knowledge of the foreign tongue: he does not attempt to speak English with the proper Oxford accent or to write the King's English. His main object is to learn so much of the language as would enable him to understand what

is written or spoken in it and then to transfer the new knowledge to his own mother tongue. That was exactly what the advocates of English education like Macaulay wanted: they wanted to create a class of English-knowing Indians who would be able to read English books and translate western knowledge to their own vernaculars and thus act as intellectual leaders of modern India. If this point is borne in mind it is not necessary for Indians to acquire a perfect or almost perfect knowledge of English, either spoken or written, a working knowledge of English is quite sufficient, but it does become necessary that they possess command over their own languages and be good literary craftsmen in them, so that they may place the new knowledge obtained from the West in a correct interesting and beautiful form before their countrymen.

We have not followed this policy correctly, perhaps it was not correctly understood, perhaps certain influences intervened and made its abuse inevitable. We have made a fetish of English in this country, for example in spoken English we are not content with the pronunciation which will be intelligible in India or even

* *Language in Education*. By Michael West (Longmans Green & Co. 6, old Court House Street, Calcutta). 1929.

with that which will be intelligible in England, but try to attain that which is correct according to the best English standards, and of course we fail. Similar is the case with the written word: a misapplied English idiom is looked upon with horror akin to parricide. And the natural consequence has been that our own languages have been neglected: an Indian graduate who mispronounces an English word or misapplies an English idiom excites far more contempt than another who murders his own mother tongue. The English reading classes have become imitators of the English and do not look upon themselves merely as the interpreters of the west to their own countrymen. And one chief reason for this state of things is that so much of our daily work is carried on in English, the teaching in schools, colleges and universities, the pleadings in Law-Courts, the debates in the Legislative bodies &c., and naturally a teacher or a vakil, or a member of Council wants to attain perfection in the

language which has become the instrument of his craft. Then India has no common language of its own so far, and every item of all-India work has to be carried on in English. These are some of the reasons why the English language has been made a fetish in this country: the Japanese lawyers speak Japanese in their courts and Japanese statesmen speak Japanese in their Parliament. That also accounts for the paucity of original thought in our intellectual class: it has been remarked that the law students of Hyderabad Deccan, who learn that subject in Urdu, show a much better grasp of legal principles and are able to discuss legal problems much more adequately than the law students of, for instance, Allahabad or Patna. The whole problem, bound up closely as it is with the domination of the British in this country, is very complex and its solution is not yet. But we are thankful to Mr. West for having stated it fully and frankly in his interesting little book and hope that it will provoke thought.

AN ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF CURRENT EUROPEAN AFFAIRS.*

THOUGH sounding like "Reuter's service," the *Europa Service* is not a news agency, but a work of reference. We welcome the *Europa Service*, with which is incorporated *The Europa Year-book*, which was appreciatively reviewed by us, from year to year, for the last four years, and which now appears in an expanded form, under its new title, as an encyclopaedia of Europe and an international *Who's Who* of distinguished men in European countries. For four consecutive years—1926 to 1929—the *Europa Year-book* had been issued in ordinary book form, as a single volume, and each new edition of it was carefully revised

and brought up-to-date. Nevertheless, it had suffered from the fault common to all year-books directories, and encyclopaedias. It had not been found possible to have kept it absolutely up-to-date for any length of time, even within one year. It is impossible in a fixed volume to present permanently reliable information about the changing conditions of human activities, especially in political and economic spheres. The publishers of *Europa Year-book* have now evolved a plan which obviates these disadvantages, and enables them to render a better service to its subscribers.

* *Europa Service 1930-2*. Two vols. Edited by M. Farhman (Europa Publications Limited, 6 Duke Street, Adelphi, London, W. C. 2.) 1930.

Following the publication of the primary material in two volumes supplied in loose-leaf binding covers, a number of supplements embodying all important changes are to be posted to subscribers at two-monthly intervals, each supplement containing on an average sixty pages. The happy idea will provide subscribers with the equivalent of a completely revised year-book every two months. *Europa* will thus become a permanent service of European information, useful to all journalists, publicists and students of international affairs, and to all those for whom such information is essential in their business or professional life; and will eliminate the necessity for press cuttings and daily filing. The second volume is an international *Who's Who* of the Governments, civil and diplomatic services, the law, the press, the political parties, the churches and every branch of banking, commercial and industrial life, containing about twenty-five thousand biographies, not only of the famous men and women, but also of thousands of less prominent, but perhaps more active persons, who occupy positions of responsibility in the political, industrial, economic or cultural work of the world and are constantly "in the news".

But useful as is the second volume, it is the first volume which contains the distinctive features of the book. The principal part of this volume is a systematic all-round description of the thirty-six European States, (from Albania to Yugoslavia) under the following main headings: statistical survey, constitution and post-war political history, government, political parties, law and justice, churches, press, publishers, finance, banking, industry, commerce, world of learning, literature and the arts. Although the *Service* deals with European information only, it has been found advisable to add a

comprehensive section, which links up Europe with the world. This section is virtually an international Year-Book, which, like the rest of the *Service*, will be revised and brought up to date every two months. It contains the following chapters: The League of Nations and its auxiliary organisations and institutions; Peace Treaty Problems, Reparations 1918-30, Peace Treaty Commissions, Arbitration, Security and Disarmament; World Economics and Finance, International Trade, Rationalisation of Industry, the Gold Standard, Foreign Investments of Great Britain and the United States; International Organisations, the aims and activities of over one hundred and fifty international associations; The Holy See and the Constitution and organisation of the Church.

Of the other sections, that on Non-Europeans in Europe, with its sub-divisions, (the British Empire, French colonies, Italian possessions, Dutch and Belgian colonies, Americans, Latin-Americans, Chinese and Japanese, in Europe) is an especially welcome source of information to journalists, since it is provided nowhere else, while it is followed by a survey of social and economic conditions of Europe and contains a number of statistical tables which give essential information in an easily accessible form. In fact the field covered by the *Europa Service* is so vast that the outline of its contents occupies no less than sixteen pages of closely printed type. Suffice it to say that the *Europa Service* is a great boon to all students of European public affairs, who want (ready at their elbow) accurate, sound and thoroughly up-to-date information about the political situation and the economic condition of the three dozen States which at present constitute the continent of Europe.

(B) BIRDS-EYE-VIEW CRITICAL NOTICES.

LATEST LITERATURE OF INDIAN REFORM.

Bases of Self-Rule in India. By Dr. Naresh Chandra Sen Gupta. (R. H. Shrimany and Sons, 204 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta) 1929.

Renascent India. By K. S. Venkataramani (Svetaranya Ashrama, Mylapore, Madras) 1929.

India : Peace or War. By C. S. Ranga Iyer (Harap and Co. Ltd, 39—41 Parker Street, Kingsway, London, W. C. 2.) 1929.

Dr. Naresh Chandra Gupta is a thoughtful writer on our constitutional problems and his *Bases of Self-Rule in India* is a valuable contribution to Indian reform literature. His book under review is an attempt to solve the problem of a constitution for India certainly has its importance when the question of making a constitution for this country is being so hotly discussed. The author has taken his stand on India's right to freedom and insists that the freedom must be a real one. With him Indianisation of the administration does not mean only the Indianisation of the personnel but of the very spirit and principles of Government. He claims for a constitution adopted to the genius of India and recommends one having a pluralistic basis. In arriving at his conclusion the author has taken into account the facts of Indian history, her present condition as well as the modern political theories. The only criticism that may justly be made is that Dr. Sen Gupta has not been able to work out these leading ideas in detail. In fact, only his last chapter really comes to grips with this fundamental matter; the previous eight chapters reproduce merely two lectures, delivered before the Nehru Report was published. They are also especially valuable as a clear

statement of the economic deterioration that British connection has wrought to India. On the whole, Dr. Sen-Gupta's book is not only useful but meritorious.

To be frank, we are not quite sure that Mr. K. S. Venkataramani is wise in launching into the realms of political and administrative pamphleteering, his metier being the realms of literature and idealism. His *Renascent India* suffers from the defect of its qualities—moving as it does on a plane of unmixed idealism. Not that there are no practical suggestions in it or useful information for the matter of that. According to his scheme the village is to be the unit of administration with a village council of elected representatives, there is also provision for executive and judicial bodies, the former being in subordination to the council. India is to be divided into provinces on a linguistic and cultural basis. A provincial council will be a charge of legislation and executive 'shall be responsible to the council which may remove them at pleasure'. The Government of India is to consist of a Federal Assembly of India, the strength of the Assembly being 640 members. The author favours a system of proportional representation and is opposed to communal electorate either in the Federal or in the Provincial Government. There shall be no second chamber either in the provinces or in the Federal Government. The election to these bodies is to be on the basis of universal adult franchise. The constitution here outlined will not satisfy many in this country, but the proposals of a scholar and a literary craftsman deserve consideration, though not necessarily acceptance.

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer has evidently tasted blood, with the result that each year now sees a book (issued by some London publisher) which is from his pen. His latest is designated *India ; Peace or*

War—a rather alarming title, but in which the author coos like a sucking dove. The author has sketched in outline the influence of the Imperial Parliament on the course of Indian political development, the structure of the Indian administrative machine, the reactions of the Anglo-Saxon political ideals and tradition upon the Indian mind, the rise and spread of the Congress movement, Mr. Gardhi's inexorable war against the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, the emergence of the Provincial Councils, the character of the various electorates, and demarcations of the parties. He has dealt at some length with the problem of the Indian Princes and their States. After facing the fact of the existence of two Indias, he discusses Lord Irwin's now famous "Dominion status" pronouncement and the projected Round Table Conference in London. His new book presents a serious and well-documented study of the Indian question from the point of view of those Nationalists who are working for Dominion status for India within the Empire. The book is a carefully compiled exposition of the present political position in India. The writer takes us through the administrative history of the country and gives a clear notion of the constitution and action of the various political sections as a result of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. Then he relates the factions, ending on the note: "If England only realises it, she has a mission in India." And if England has still a mission in India, Mr. Ranga Iyer is the best interpreter of it.

The Foundations of National Progress. By J.N.Gupta, M.A., I.C.S. (The Elm Press, 63 Beadon Street, Calcutta) 1929.

Responsible Government and the Solution of Hindu Muslim Problem. By Syed Tofail Ahmad (Sharanpur) 1929.

The Ring of the Indian Bell. By Thakurdass Pahwa (Phillaur, Punjab) 1929.

Mr. J.N. Gupta (who lately retired from the civil service, as Commissioner of a division in Bengal) has produced in his *Foundations of National Progress* a sound and suggestive book, dealing particularly

with the social and economic problems of Bengal, and the book was deservedly commended, to the public by the late Lord Sinha. Mr. Tofail Ahmads' *Responsible Government and the Solution of Hindu-Muslim Problem* deals with the political, educational and moral aspects of British rule in India, chiefly based on the writings of eminent historians and statesmen. It presents a vivid perspective of the country's economic deterioration under the present administration and discusses exhaustively the communal problem from the point of view of Indian nationalists. Mr. Thakurdass Pahwa's bulky book called *The Ring and the Indian Bell* contains much useful information and suggestion on Indian problems. The author displays considerable knowledge and experience on current questions and his book is both informative and suggestive.

NEWEST LITERATURE OF ISLAMIC STUDIES.

Indian Islam. By Dr. M. T. Titus (Oxford University Press, Bombay) 1930.

Dr. Titus's *Indian Islam*—though a pioneer work on the subject it deals with—is about the best treatise on the history and present condition of the religion of the Arabian prophet, in this country. This book is a worthy addition to the well-known series of "Religious Quest of India" books, each written by an expert of some phase of Indian religious life, hence scholarly and authoritative, yet put up in very readable and attractive style. This and other like series have been most valuable in making available to all a good survey of the treasures of Indian life and literature, which would otherwise remain hidden in scattered and difficultly readable productions. Though written by Christians on non-christain subjects, no prejudice is found in them against the objects of their study. The scope of the book is comprehensive, as it deals not only with history, but with the origin and growth of the various sects which Islam has given birth to on Indian soil. Its contents may be summarized

as follows, for the benefit of readers. In the first two chapters a review is given of the efforts of the early conquerors to spread Islam in India; and in the third a general survey of the more lasting work of peaceful missionaries and propaganda. Then two chapters are given to the organization and functioning of the Sunni and Shiah branches with their various sects and schools. One is given to the mystic and other orders within Islam, and the ready response which Sufism met in this country. An outline is given of saint-worship. Chapter VIII deals with Islam in its Hindu environment, evaluating the respects and extent in which it has modified its original principles, even to the absorption of caste. Following this is a treatment of the modern currents, especially the Wahabi movement and its outgrowths, and the progressive and rationalistic Aligarh movement. Thus nothing of importance has been omitted and the book is a popular encyclopaedia of things Islamic in this country. The author is well informed in the relevant literature—both European and Asiatic—of the subject he writes about and the result is a notable contribution on a theme of great importance. The usefulness of the book is enhanced for the historian and the journalist by the addition of appendices showing the distribution of the Muslim population in the various provinces of India, their racial origin, the different languages spoken by them and educational statistic. Details of the Muslim Press are also given. A full bibliography and a glossary of Islamic terms are also given. Thus in this section of the book, we find a mass of useful information, not easily found elsewhere, and the work reflects great credit on the industry, knowledge and literary skill of the American author and scholar.

Islamic Civilization. By S. Khuda Bukhsh. 2 vols. (Registrar, University of Calcutta,) 1930.

Mr. Salahuddin Khuda Bukhsh of Calcutta is one of the most scholarly Indians and has long since made his mark

as an expounder and interpreter of Islamic history. His special service to Islamic studies is his having translated a number of important German works on the subject into English. He first in 1905 gave us a translation of Alfred von Kremer's *Kultur-geschichtliche Streifzüge auf dem Gebiete des Islam*, together with some of his own essays, under the general title of *Contributions to the History of Islamic Civilization*. The first of the two volumes before us is a second edition of this and the second volume contains further essays and translations. In 1914 he gave us an English version of Weil's *History of the Islamic Peoples*; in 1920 of von Kremer's *The Orient under the Caliphs*; in 1926 of Joseph Hell's *The Arab Civilization*; and at the present moment he is contributing learned articles to that excellent Hyderabad quarterly 'Islamic Culture,' on 'The Renaissance in Islam' based on the work of Mez. The chief value of the first volume lies in the portion where von Kremer's work is made available for those who have no German. The second volume, however, is entirely new and contains papers on such interesting subjects as The Muslim World of Today. Islam and the Modern World, Harun-Al-Rashid and Ibn Khaldun. The first two papers, on the Origin and character of Islamic Civilization and Islam as a Problem, are translations from the German of Professor C.H. Becker, while the account of The Kharijites under the first Omayyads is a translation from Dr. Rudolf Ernst Brinnow. Mr. Khuda Bukhsh is not an old-type of Muslim hide bound by orthodoxy but of a cultured and liberal-minded writer who can think for himself, and it is much to be wished that there were more men of his type among the Indian Mussalmans. We commend his two volumes of *Islamic Civilization*, to all students of the history of Muslim culture as a valuable contribution to the study of the subject.

The Life of Mahomet. By E. Dermen-ghem (George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., Broadway House, 68-74 Carter lane, London, E. C.) 1930.

Few books are able to enlarge our vision of the past so mysteriously and yet so simply as M. Emile Dermenghem's *Life of Mahomet*. He takes us back to Mecca at the dawn of the seventh century. The long wars between Greece and Persia have enriched the cities of the sterile Arabian sands, especially Mecca, the Venice of the Desert. Religion is despised. Numerous petty gods hold sway. Supreme among them all is Wealth, the only God truly worshipped in that purely material civilization by the pagan Arabs of the sixth century. In this desperate world lived an excellent and much-esteemed business man, Abdul Kassim ben Abdullah. He married a wealthy widow, and became prominent in a manner that recalls Disraeli. Soon he had revelations and began to preach. He became Mahomet. The fascinating story is told here with the greatest skill and dramatic vigour, with all the literary skill of a brilliant French stylist; even in its translated form this is one of the most fascinating accounts of the Prophet of Islam yet placed before the reading public. The author states that he has "tried to draw as accurate a portrait of Mahomet as possible, as he appears to me after watching him live again in the hearts of his adherents, and in the tales from books." Though the work is intended for popular reading, there is in it much of sound scholarship. The book deserves appreciation at the hands of all students of Islam.

Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam. By (Sir) Muhammad Iqbal (Kapur Art Printing Works, Lahore) 1930.

Sir Muhammad Iqbal's *Reconstruction of Religious thought in Islam* is based upon the six lectures he delivered sometime back, at different centres in this country. Their subjects were 'knowledge and Religious Experience,' 'The Philosophical Test of the Revelations of Religious Experience,' 'The Conception of God and the Making of Prayer,' 'The Human Ego: His Immortality and freedom,' 'The Spirit of Muslim Culture,' and 'The Principle of Movement in the structure of Islam.'

These lectures are learned, scholarly and thought-provoking and the author has succeeded in his landable effort "to reconstruct Muslim religious philosophy with due regard to the philosophical traditions of Islam and the more recent developments in the various domains of human knowledge." We commend this book to students of Islamic religious culture as a skilful exposition of the modernist view in Indian Islam. If a second edition be called for, a good index may be provided, page headlines should be given, insets should be printed in a bolder type and the authorities for the quotations made should be fully given in footnotes, so that the book may become useful both to the student and the scholar.

A History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court. By Prof. M. A. Ghani 2 vols. Morris College, Nagpur, Central Provinces) 1930.

Professor Abdul Ghani has undertaken a history of the cultivation of Persian language and its literature at the Moghul Court—from the adventurer Babur to the Emperor, Akbar—with especial reference to the origin and growth of the Hindustani language. The first volume attempts to trace the history of Persian literature as it existed at the Court of Babur, and compares the activities of the people at the Deccan and the Mughal Court with those of contemporary Persia on a wider and more comprehensive basis than could be found written in any European or Indian language. It is a handy record of the part played by the people of Hindustan in the uplift of Persian literature under the patronage of the Muslim kings. The second volume deals with the court of Humayun and the third and concluding volume (which is still to appear) will deal with the Court of Akbar. It would be obviously unfair to the author to attempt a critical review of it at the present stage, when the book is still incomplete. In the meantime, we invite the attention of students of the subject to Professor Ghani's interesting work.

Majma-ul-Bahrain of Prince Dara Shikoh. Edited by M. Mahfuz-ul-Haq. M. A. (Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1 Park Street, Calcutta) 1929.

The Persian Dewan of Kamran. Edited by M. Mahfuz-ul-Haq, M. A. (Muslim Review Office, 21 Wellesly Square, Calcutta) 1929.

By editing carefully and producing scholarly texts of Dara Shikoh's *Majma-ul-Bahrain* (The Mingling of the two Oceans) and the collection of the Persian poems of Kamran—a son of Babur—the editor (Professor Mahfuz-ul-Haq) has rendered a distinct service to the study of Persian in this country. Both the books are enriched with elucidative introductions (in English) which render a study of the texts they introduce much more interesting and profitable reading. We congratulate the editor on his scholarly productions.

CURRENT TOURIST LITERATURE

London 1930. (The Residential Hotels and Caterers' Association, 4 Upper Bedford Place, Russell Square, London, W. C. 1), 1930.

Where to Stay in Great Britain. (Hotels and Restaurants Association, 11 Southampton Row, London, W. C. 1), 1930.

The two books enumerated above are issued annually by the organizations mentioned after their names. *London 1930*—which is now in its ninth annual edition—is a very useful guide to the hub of the universe, since it tells you, in a short compass, what to see there, where to stay at its residential hotels—i. e., at private establishments which are “unlicensed” for the sale of alcoholic liquors—and what you will have to pay for your accommodation in them, besides giving useful particulars about the hotels owned by the members of the Residential Hotels and

Caterers' Association. Well-illustrated, brimful of the latest practical information about social events and sporting fixtures, and containing descriptive sketches of the principal scenes and sights of London, it is for its price—which is but six pence—the cheapest, best and most up-to-date guide to the capital city of the British Commonwealth. Though it does not pretend to compete with Baedeker, it is nevertheless highly useful—being fully abreast of the latest changes, and no visitor to or resident in London but will benefit by keeping it handy.

The scope of the second publication in our list is not, in a sense, so wide as that of *London 1930*. Divided into two parts, its first section deals with the “licensed” London hotels and restaurants, in which the members of the Hotels and Restaurants Association (founded in 1906) are interested, and the second section is similarly devoted to those in Great Britain, outside London. Beginning with a select list of the best-known establishments of metropolis, an alphabetical arrangement is adopted for the country generally, with a separate classification for the Scottish hotels, which system facilitates reference. But this not all. In addition to useful information (regarding accommodation, tariff, telephone numbers, telegraphic addresses, and brief notes descriptive of the attractions in the various towns) there is appended in each case a photographic view of the establishment in question. The book—which is copiously illustrated—will be very serviceable to travellers, in the British Isles, seeking suitable accommodation in such hotels, or taking meals at such restaurants, as are licensed to supply liquor on the premises—as opposed to the “residential” hotels or private establishments, which are not so licensed and which are dealt with in *London 1930*. Both *London 1930* and *Where to Stay in Great Britain* are very neatly printed on good paper, are well-illustrated and are convenient for being carried about when travelling. They usefully supplement each other.

A Satchel Guide to Europe. By W. J. Rolfe; Fiftieth edition. Revised and enlarged by W. D. Crockett. (Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston, U.S.A., and George Allen Unwin, Ltd., 40 Museum Street, London, W. C.) 1929.

The Complete Pocket-Guide to Europe. By E. C. Stedman. Edited by T. L. Stedman. Twenty-fourth edition. (Robert M. McBride & Co., New York, U. S. A.) 1928.

We welcome once again the new Jubilee edition of the highly useful and excellent American guide to Europe, which has passed now through fifty editions. The late Dr. Rolfe's book is a very useful, reliable and readable travelling companion for the tourist in Europe, which has been brought to a rare standard of accuracy and thoroughness by the highly qualified editor. Clear, compact and comprehensive, it gives in its revised and enlarged edition wonderfully detailed and clear maps and town-plans, and the latest and upto-date information on all matters relating to European travel—a hotel directory, calendar of events, air and motor routes, and select bibliographies. It is essentially practical in scope and design, and it has condensed successfully a vast mass of sound information which gives the tourist all that he need know to make his tour comfortable and interesting. Thus the *Satchel Guide*, is the indispensable travelling companion for the tourist in Europe, giving as it does the latest information on all kinds of travel. It will save time and money, as every important route is described, the war zones are fully treated, and all information essential for an easy, economical and delightful tour is clearly given in the fullest detail. In spite of its nearly six hundred pages of small but clear print, it is handy enough for a satchel or handbag, and it supplies a veritable cyclopaedia of European travel.

Mr. Stedman's *Complete Pocket Guide to Europe* is also a meritorious work in its sphere. For more than twenty-five years

it has been thoroughly tested by wide use among travellers. Its convenient size, logical arrangement and compactness of information, make it of inestimable value throughout those portions of Europe generally covered in a single tour. The present edition has been carefully revised up-to-date, and furnished with entirely new maps, especially prepared for the purpose. Further, its scope is comprehensive and it traverses a larger ground of the European continent than the *Satchel Guide*. Its size, adapted to the pocket—which is its distinctive feature—and its lucid arrangement render it highly useful to travellers in Europe. It were much to be wished that there was available to the tourists in India a pocket-guide modelled upon these two excellent American handbooks to Europe.

Music in Germany. (Terramore Press, Berlin, W. 35, Germany) 1930.

The Terramore Press music department is concerning itself with the admirable object of centralising musical relations between foreign countries and Germany. Information is given, periodically, about all matters musical, especially of its study in Germany and the programme of musical events in that country. We in India are familiar with musical festivals, which have been handed down to us from our early past, when time moved with less feverish haste, and the state patronised the joy-givers and the beauty-makers—musicians and artists—and when the greatness of Courts was not measured by the skill of their chefs or the efficiency of their clerks. Musical festivals still exist in India though in a much damaged form. In Europe too they have a very early history—the Eisteddfod in Wales is recorded in the middle of the fifteenth century. But at the present day it is in Germany and Austria that song and music form a very remarkable part of the joyous recreation necessary for the development of the finer nature of man, and the tradition of the musical festival is kept living.

Peasants in the vine-laden valleys of the Rhine, the cultured-men in the historical and industrial towns, and the hill people in lofty Tyrol, they all have their musical festivals, frequent and numerous. The booklet *Music in Germany* gives a very full and detailed programme of these:—comprising both classical and popular music—and supplies a very real need to the lovers of music who intend travelling through Germany. The booklet also contains articles on the history and study of European music. We congratulate the Terramore Press on their enterprise in distributing free copies of this excellent and informative pamphlet.

Touring London. By W. Teignmouth Shore. (B. T. Batsford, Ltd., 94 High Holborn, London) 1930.

Touring London with W. Teignmouth Shore: A little book of friendly guidance for those who visit London and those who dwell in London—is what its title and subtitle state. The author starts with an introduction of some twelve pages, in which he gives useful suggestions and practical information, including methods of transport, shopping, amusements, restaurants, and outside-London tours as well. The rest of the book, apart from a chapter on Riverland, consists of a description of four tours through London. The author has a light style and his book makes interesting and amusing reading. It is well illustrated with photographs and drawings, and a rough-sketch map of London is included. The result is an excellent book about London. The author does not attempt to get in everything; but there is enough to interest every visitor and to make the book a useful companion. Those who want a guide to London, and not a guide-book, should keep handy Mr. Teignmouth Shore's *Touring London*. For the Londoner himself this admirably illustrated book, which contains an interesting introduction by Mr. John Burns, is a compact and permanent record. Mr. Shore tells all and sundry how to tour the city, and does it

in a pleasant and informative way. Lastly, this delightful book is well finished off with margins of rather generous size and also blank pages for notes at the end, and the author explains that this is to enable the reader to jot down his own impressions altogether. Mr. Teignmouth Shore's *Touring London* is an almost ideal guide to the modern Babylon.

Baedeker's Rome and Central Italy, sixteenth edition, and **Southern Italy and Sicily** seventeenth edition. (Karl Baedeker, Leipzig, Germany) 1930.

Some months back we noticed in terms of appreciation the new edition of *Baedeker's Northern Italy*. The remaining two parts (*Rome and Central Italy* and *Southern Italy and Sicily*) have now been issued, completing the work of thorough overhauling and revision of the entire work devoted to Italy, in three volumes. It is a bulky work, no doubt, as each of the three volumes covers more than five hundred pages of small- (though very clear) print. But Italy is veritably the tourist's paradise and Baedekers are world-famous for their being, above all, systematic and comprehensive, nay, fairly exhaustive. We need hardly say that the work of revision has been very carefully done and the present editions have been thoroughly overhauled and judiciously brought up-to-date. The last editions of these guides were issued before the great war and were, therefore, much behind the times. The editions, under review, are thoroughly abreast of the latest changes and events and embody the fullest information—historical, artistic and practical—on all aspects of Italian travel. No visitor to Italy who desires to travel at leisure can afford to do without this marvellously well digested guide to that great country.

Mandu—By G. Yazdani (Director of the Archaeological Department of H. E. H. The Nizam's Government) (The Oxford University Press, Bombay) 1929.

This is a useful book on Mandu, the old time capital of Malwa and seat of

government of a brilliant Mohammedan dynasty which was overthrown by Akbar. It was under the Parmar Rajputs from the eighth to the thirteenth centuries when the Mohammedans took it. The Mohammedan dynasty which ruled it built solid and beautiful monuments which still inspire the spectator with respect. The tomb of Sultan Hosharg is one of the finest monuments in the East. Mohammed Khalji was a great warrior and a greater patron of learning. To his court came embassies from Central Asia and Egypt. He also built fine buildings and was a noted lover; there were 15,000 women in his service. The last ruler of the dynasty was the famous Baz Bahadur who loved the equally famous Rupmati, the courtesan. The history of the kingdom, the descriptive sketches of the buildings and the photographic illustrations are all of great merit and the book deserves wide appreciation as the work of a distinguished scholar.

The Traveller's Guide to Great Britain and Ireland. (Trade and Travel Publications Ltd., 14 Leaderhall Street, London, E. C. 3).

The Traveller's Guide to Great Britain and Ireland is perhaps the first traveller's handbook which deals also with the Irish Free State and northern Ireland—a very sensible arrangement for visitors from overseas. It has evidently been written with one eye on the visiting American, and should prove useful in promoting the "Come to Britain" movement. A reference to any place well known to the reader will show how carefully the book has been compiled. All the necessary information is there, with the exception of those dull and specialist details which so often overload a guide-book and cause it to be looked at askance by potential users. The price asked for the book is exceptionally modest, considering that it contains 648 pages of excellent matter and illustrations. These illustrations, by the way, are something new in a guide-book of this kind. They have been chosen

with care and are an adornment of the text, which is admirably supplemented by maps in colour and in line. Thus alike for its letter-press and its illustrations, it is a capital tourist's guide to the British Isles and Ireland.

Edinburgh Official Guide. (The Corporation, Edinburgh.) 1930.

The Edinburgh Corporation's *Official Guide* to Edinburgh provides an excellent guide book to the famous Scottish city—"mine own romantic town" of Scott—discusses its past and its present and offers the visitor detailed information. In addition to a very useful map, the book is also illustrated with several interesting colour plates and numerous half tone blocks. It presents several novel features, the story of the city being told in its various historical, architectural literary, artistic and other aspects by a number of special contributors, each of whom writes with authority upon his own subject. Thus, the book is far more than a mere "guide"; it is a genuine and valuable contribution to one's knowledge of a city unusually rich in historical and romantic associations, and it should prove welcome to the passing tourist. Containing four plates in colour, a number of half-tone illustrations, and a map on the useful scale of 2½ inches to the mile, it is wonderful value for a six pence, and is certainly the cheapest and best guide to the ancient metropolis of Scotland.

Pocket Guide to May Meeting and to London. Edited by J. E. May (68 Fleet Street, London, E. C. 4). 1930.

Mr. J. E. May's *Pocket Guide to May Meetings and to London*, contains very interesting information and illustrated articles, besides the usual full lists, in dated order, of May meetings, as well as conventions and conferences to be held during the year. But its interest is not quite ephemeral, as the usefulness of the book is

increased by its large coloured map of London, which shows the principal streets and buildings at a glance, and which, in itself, is worth more than the cost of this *Pocket Guide*. Not only those, who live in London, but also those others (and they are many even in India) who have any concern with the hub of the British Empire, will find the *Pocket Guide* interesting and useful. Those attending the meetings will find this little book invaluable, for it also gives useful information about travel, places of worship, and other matters of interest, while the large map of London adds to the value of this excellent guide to London.

The Madrolle Guides. (Librairie, Hachette, 10, Adelaide street, London W.C.) 1930.

The "Librairie Hachette" is a well-known publishing firm in Paris and London. A French business concern, their publications are mostly in French, but their *Madrolle Guides* are issued both in French and English. They deal especially with the countries of Indo-China, Korea and China. The volumes issued so far in English describe Siam, Korea, Manchuria, and the ruins of Angkor. They are skilfully planned—being both informative and practical. The most interesting of the lot is that dealing with Angkor, the Hindu monuments of which are superb and magnificent, and which testify to the greatness of mediaeval Hindu civilization in the art of architecture. The English editions of Messrs Hachette's *Madrolle Guides* deserve to be better known and to command a wider appreciation and larger circulation.

Brighton Through the Year. By S. P. B. Mais. (The Manager Corporation Publicity Committee, Brighton, England) 1930.

The corporation of Brighton are to be congratulated on their having been able to secure the services of Mr. Mais to write their "official Handbook". It is bright

and interesting and gives all the descriptive and practical information which a visitor to or resident at Brighton would look for. Its letter press is remarkably good and it is embellished with a number of excellent photographic reproductions, and also maps, charts and plans, which materially enhance the value and the utility of the text. Though there are several guides to Brighton we have no hesitation in declaring Mr. Mais's handbook as out-and-out the best, being practical, comprehensive and fully up-to-date.

LATEST BOOKS OF REFERENCE.

The Statesman's Year-Book, (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, W. C. 2.) 1930.

The reference annual of the greatest value to publicists all over the English-speaking world, is the *Statesman's Year-Book* of which the current edition is the 68th publication. It will be idle to say anything in praise of this valuable work of reference to students of public affairs, as its merits are universally acknowledged. It has long been recognised as the one indispensable book of reference for the statesmen, the politician, the publicist and above all the journalist. Each edition of it is thoroughly overhauled, judiciously revised and fully brought up-to-date, in the light of the official and other authoritative information, and the book is a marvel of condensed data, accurate, well-informed and complete. The book is now divided into three parts, the first dealing with the countries constituting the British Commonwealth, the second with the United States of America and the third with the "Other Countries." Historical and statistical information about each country (and about each state or province separately, of the Federal Commonwealths or Republics and the Indian Empire) is given under most of the

following heads:—constitution and government, area and population, religion, instruction, justice and crime, pauperism, finance, defence, production and industry, commerce, shipping and navigation, internal communication, money and credit, weights and measures, and diplomatic representatives. The information being derived from official sources, the results recorded in the *Year-Book* are as full and accurate as it is possible to obtain. A very useful list of books of reference supplements the account of each country or state. The events of the past year have necessitated many changes in the new edition of the *Statesman's year-book*. Special attention has been given throughout the book to revision of the bibliographies, which are fully up-to-date and include the latest works, while well-drawn maps of the areas, with political changes in boundaries, are a highly useful feature and add much to the utility of this statistical and historical annual survey of the states of the world.

The India Office List, 1930. (Harrison and Sons Ltd., 44, St. Martins Lane, London, W. C.) 1930.

Perhaps the most useful reference work for use in India is the *India Office List*, which is issued annually by the India office. Its usual contents comprise the following sections:—The staff at the India Office, the Indian Civil Service and all other holders of civil appointments with a substantive pay of not less than Rs. 500 a month (in classified lists under the various provinces), the Royal Indian Marine, chronological lists of heads of administration in India and in London, going back as far as 1600, the Indian orders and lists of members of the Indian services holding British honours, the various regulations for appointment to the Indian services, extracts from civil and military regulations, an instructive article entitled "India", statistical tables, a record of public servants and the casualties for the past year. The index contains nearly 10,000 names. The

arrangement of the *India Office List* is, on the whole, admirable, and it is full of sound and useful information about India, from the excellent map of the Indian Empire with which it opens to the list of casualties with which it ends. In fact, we know of no other work of reference which supplies such a mass of most valuable and useful information, within the cover of a single volume, to every one interested in India. Our only regret is that its price is prohibitive for the purse of the average educated Indian. Considering the vast range of the subjects dealt with in the *India Office List*, the book is remarkably free from inaccuracies. To the general reader the most interesting portion of the book is the article on "India", which gives in some forty pages the quintessence of the four volumes called *The Indian Empire*, constituting the general section of the last edition of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. The current edition is fairly up-to-date and it will be found a valuable work of reference by all interested in Indian problems. In fact, no one interested in India can do without this book.

Studies in British Empire, Guide to Foreign Studies, and Guide to Government Services Part I. By Mr. M. C. Mohan B. A. (Forward Bureau, Moheni Road, Lahore.) 1930.

These are three very useful books, published in the "Forward Series," in the compiling of which the editor has taken great pains. In the *Studies in the British Empire*, he has collected all available information about the Universities and other educational institutions—technical and scientific—in Britain, that is necessary for a student wishing to study in that country. A brief account of the Universities in Canada, Australia and South Africa is also given. *The Guide to Foreign Studies* is a compilation on the same lines dealing with Universities in America, Germany, France, and Japan. It also contains useful appendices regarding passports, foreign money,

postage and the estimate of average expenditure of a student. The information in both these books has been gathered from official and authoritative sources and, in some instances, supplements that given by advisory Committees and University bureaux. They should be of great help to students and their parents in selecting future courses of study. *Guide to Government Services Part I.* contains the rules and regulations framed by the Government of India for entry into the various all-India services, ranging from the Civil service to the agricultural and Veterinary Services. The information brought together ought to be of great help in selecting their careers to those who wish to embark upon Government service. The information, carefully gathered together, in so compact and handy a form, in these three books will be welcome both to students and post-students, as well as to parents and guardians who had till now to glean it from scattered sources.

The South American Hand-book 1930. Edited by H. Davies. (Trade and Travel Publications Ltd., 14 Leadenhall Street, London, E. C. 3) 1930.

The *South American Hand-book*, for the current year, which is now in its seventh edition is a comprehensive and compact guide—and withal thoroughly up-to-date—to the countries, products and resources of Latin America, inclusive of South and Central America, Mexico and Cuba. It is a substantially enlarged, revised and improved work, and the increase is not only in the number of pages but also in the variety of subjects. Covering some 800 pages of neatly-printed matter, furnished with good maps and handy in size, it is at once the business man's directory, traveller's hand-book, investor's companion, statesman's vade macum, the student's manual and the prospective settler's guide philosopher and friend. The scope of the work is almost encyclopaedic, it being a gazeteer and guide-book in one. Each of the republics is dealt with separately and comprehensively, in alphabetical order; while there is to be found within the covers

of the book a large amount of miscellaneous information of great utility and much interest. Altogether, the *South American Hand-book* is a highly meritorious compilation and is a notable addition to periodical reference literature, its utility being materially enhanced by its special feature of "Book Notices," which constitutes an excellent bibliography.

Concise Dictionary of National Biography. (Oxford University Press, Bombay) 1930.

The first edition of the *Concise Dictionary of National Biography* was issued in 1903, as a condensed index and epitome of the 66 volumes of the main work—*Dictionary of National Biography*—and was justly acclaimed as a highly meritorious useful, and handy work of reference. In 1913 a supplement was added to the reprint of the *Concise Dictionary* epitomising the three volumes covering the period from 1901-11, and now yet one more supplement has been added on the same lines, boiling down the volumes issued since, covering the period from 1912 to 1921. With this latest supplement, this valuable work of reference is brought up-to 1921. Its sixteen hundred or so pages contain miniature sketches of the careers of nearly thirty-one thousand British men and women—famous, notorious or otherwise—worthy of mention, from the earliest times till 1921. But the supplements added make reference inconvenient for obvious reasons. When the time comes for adding the next supplement—summarizing the volumes to be issued covering the period from 1922 to 1931—it is to be hoped that the whole of the matter will be recast in continuous alphabetic order, which will substantially improve the usefulness of this very valuable book.

The Chairman's Guide and Secretary's Companion. New edition (Ward, Lock and Co, Ltd., Warwick House, Salisbury Square, London, E. C. 4) 1930.

We welcome the new and revised edition of that excellent reference manual

the *Chairman's Guide and Secretary's Companion*. The passing of the Companies' Act, 1929, made obsolete all Chairman and Secretary hardbooks then existing. In preparing this revised edition, thus necessitated the publishers have improved it in other ways, particularly in the section devoted to the Secretary, which now covers the whole field of secretarial work, including that of the independent secretary of small concerns. Apart from it, throughout, the law is given in the body of the text, much necessary information being thus easily accessible there instead of having to be painfully disinterred from an obscuring mass of footnotes elsewhere. In arrangement, as in matter, this favourite and authoritative manual is now better than ever. This clearly written work is highly useful and will assist not only chairmen (and equally important, chairwomen) but all who take part in public meetings, either as speakers or listeners. Secretaries too upon whom so much depends, will glean from the Secretary's Companion section innumerable hints of the utmost value.

Pears' Cyclopaedia. Edited by H. C. Barratt. (A. & F. Pears, Ltd. The Soap Works, Isleworth, Nr. London) 1930.

The 1930 edition of *Pears' Cyclopaedia* is unique as a marvellous repertory of general information for half a crown. We are not surprised to learn that as many as 2,850,000 copies of its earlier editions have already been sold. Its twenty-two sections, compiled by a dozen special editors, comprise almost every branch of knowledge of general interest. The new edition under notice, which is a book of over 1,000 pages with a coloured atlas—of 31 pages of maps, flags, illustrations and diagrams—is an excellent compendium of universal knowledge. It has an English as well as a classical dictionary, and articles written by specialists on a host of useful subjects, information on which is always being wanted or desired. The only friendly criticism we may offer on it is, that the type used is rather small, which is apt to

strain the eye, and it would be well if this one defect in an otherwise almost faultless work of reference could be removed in the next edition, by introducing the necessary consequential change. For the rest this half-a-crown cyclopaedia is the cheapest and best available.

Reference Books. By John Minto. (The Library Association. 26-7 Bedford square, London, W. C. 1.) 1929.

Mr. John Minto's *Reference Books*, which is a classified and annotated guide to the principal works of reference in English, is a highly useful guide to books in a reference library. Hitherto the only work on the subject was an American publication called *Guide to Reference Books* by Miss Mudge. Naturally this work contained a much larger number of American books, which are not easily accessible outside the United States. Mr. Minto's *Reference Books* is, therefore, very welcome both to the bibliographer and to the student. It is carefully planned, the principle of its classification is sound, and the contents are fully up-to-date. Full bibliographical particulars are given and many of the characterizations are very helpful. The index is fairly exhaustive. For these reasons, Mr. Minto's *Reference Books* is likely to be regarded as the standard work on the subject it deals with. It should be kept handy for constant use by bibliographers, librarians and students of special studies.

The Nuttall Dictionary of Quotations. New Edition. (Frederick Warne and Co., Ltd., Chandos House, Bedford Court Bedford Street, London W. C. 2) 1930.

The Nuttall Dictionary of Quotations, originally selected and compiled by the Rev. James Wood, has now been edited by Mr. A. L. Haydon with a supplement of over one thousand quotations, including many from modern authors, in its present form. It now comprises over thirty-one thousand quotations, and a most comprehensive classified index. It is equally rich in extracts from ancient and modern,

English and foreign sources, including as it does phrases, mottoes, maxims, proverbs, definitions, aphorisms, and sayings of wise men in their bearing on life, literature, speculation, science, art, religion and morals. Altogether it is a capital work of literary reference.

The Tit-Bits Year-Book 1930. (George Newnes Ltd., 8-11 Southampton Street Strand, London W. C.)

The *Tit-Bits Year-Book*—compiled by the editor of that unique hebdomadal, *Tit-Bits*—is a recent addition to reference literature, it having seen the light only last year. It has a distinct place of its own amongst books of reference by reason of its breaking new ground. It tells you, in short, the how, why and when of most things in life—at any rate, in British political and social life. The home—including house and garden—careers, education, sports, and a hundred other subjects of interest are dealt with—not only in facts and figures, but also coupled with sound advice. Sold at a shilling, it is truly a marvellous shilling-worth.

Nelson's Dictionary of Dates. (Thos. Nelson and Sons, Ltd. 35 and 36, Paternoster Row, London, E. C.) 1930.

The new edition of *Nelson's Dictionary of Dates* is a veritable encyclopaedia in one compact volume; it being a compendium of clear, systematic and accurate record of the most important events in the world's history, from the earliest times till the present day. Arranged alphabetically, with a view to facilitate reference, this handy tome of 1,250 pages (including a supplement of some two hundred) is a highly useful reference book and should be kept at the elbow by all interested or concerned in public affairs and historical data, for it is truly indispensable.

Philip's Handy Volume of Atlas of London. (George Philip and Son, Ltd., 32 Fleet Street, London, E. C. 4)

Philip's Handy Volume of Atlas of London is an excellent atlas in maps of

the county of London. There are in it sixty-four maps on a scale of three inches to the mile, with several other special maps showing respectively the places of interest in the city, the hotels and restaurants, Government offices, Epping Forest, the municipal and parliamentary areas, and other scenes and sights. There is a full general index, and altogether it is one of the most useful and complete small reference books we know, relating to London.

The Taj Mahal Atlas edited by George Philip F. R. G. S. (Longmans Green & Co., Ltd., 6, Old Court House Street Calcutta).

The *Taj Mahal Atlas* is a very useful work of reference. It tells at a glance the Comparative Geography of the World especially in relation to India. It is a series of thirty-two coloured plates containing seventy-four maps depicting the statistical, political historical, astronomical, climatic botanical, geological and zoological aspects of the different parts of the earth. It should prove of great value to the student as well as to the man of affairs.

RECENT WORKS ON LEGAL LITERATURE.

The Mysterious Murder of Maria Martin—(George Blax, Suffolk Street, Pall Mall, London) 1929.

The Mysterious Murder of Maria Martin—compiled by Mr. J. Cutis and issued in 1928—is a reprint of the curious contemporary account of a mystery which has preserved its fascination for now over a hundred years, and which still evokes interest. The circumstances of the case were sufficiently bizarre to plunge its original historian into a welter of "mythology, necromancy, theology, phreology, legal ingenuity, conjugal correspondence, amatory episodes and affecting anecdotes" (p. vii); but the modern reader will probably form his own views as to the motive for William Corder's crime, which is likely to be of interest to

him. There can, however, be only one opinion regarding the disgraceful conduct of the peasantry, which, during the inquest, assembled outside the Cock public-house and sang ribald songs (p. 27), the propriety of Assize Sermon (p. 79), and the edifying effect of the execution (p. 231). It is interesting to note that almost immediately after the crime there appeared the original melodrama called *The Red Barn*. "credit-able to the talents of Mr. West Digges, the author," and performed at the Royal Pavilion, Mile End Road, London. Its "most striking passages" are given in this volume (p. 279). Altogether, the book under notice is one of the most interesting of the "Famous Trials" series.

The Transfer of Property Act. By R. Satyamurti Ayyar M. L., (V. S. N. Chari and Co., Nungambakkam, Madras) 1930.

Mr. Satyamurti Ayyar's *Transfer of Property Act* is an up-to-date edition of the text of the Act, incorporating all the amendments, with a historical and critical introduction of over 100 pages explaining the changes that had been effected by the several amending Acts, the reasons therefor and the effect thereof, with short notes and index. The law which was originally codified in 1882 has undergone a thorough change by the recent amending Acts XX of 1929 and V of 1930, and the amended portions, alterations, and additions are clearly shown in this book in italics. In the appendices are given the amended sections of the cognate Acts which have a bearing on the subject. With his experience as a practising lawyer and a judicial officer, the author has tackled the subject with thoroughness and lucidity, and has kept in view the needs of the Bench and the Bar, not forgetting at the same time the student preparing for an examination. The result is an excellent edition, which will be of great assistance equally to judicial officers, legal practitioners and students of the subject.

The Indian Contract and Sale of Goods Acts. By T. R. Venkatesa Aiyar, B. L.

(42 Singara Chari Street, Triplicane, Madras), 1930.

Mr. Venkatesa Aiyar's edition of *The Indian Contract and Sale of Goods Acts* is opportune, as it is the first commentary on the new enactment. Our readers are aware that the chapter on 'Sale of Goods' in the Indian Contract Act of 1872 has been lately repealed, and the law on the subject re-enacted (on the lines of the British Sale of Goods Act) by Act III of 1930. Mr. T. R. Venkatesa Aiyar has done well to write a commentary both on the Indian Contract Act and on the new Sale of Goods Act. His work notes carefully all the important decisions on the subject and makes frequent reference to the sections of the British Statute and the decisions thereunder, as well as to the statements of objects and reasons, and to the Select Committee report on the Act. The text of the Act is printed in bold type and the commentaries under each section are systematically arranged. The book will be useful to judicial officers and legal practitioners, both for purposes of study and reference.

The Law Relating to Negotiable Instruments. By T. Ramachandra Row. (Madras Law Journal Press, Mylapore, Madras) 1930.

Mr. Ramachandra Row's *Law Relating to Negotiable Instruments* is the first part of a comprehensive series to be called *The Mercantile Law of India*. Mr. Justice Venkatasubba Row (of the Madras High Court) in the course of a foreword commends the work under notice as "valuable and exhaustive," and as "an important contribution to the study of Mercantile Law". We agree with this estimate of this treatise. The author gives us the text of the Negotiable Instruments Act, besides its systematic exposition. A perusal of the introduction alone will give the reader a complete idea of the whole subject. The author's experience of commercial law has stood him in good stead in compiling this work. The treatment of the subject is uniformly good and the references are full

and accurate. The book should be found serviceable to the legal profession. The format is excellent, and we look forward with interest to the completion of the series.

Fifty Years of Famous Judges. By Evelyn Graham. (John Long Ltd., 34-6 Paternoster Row, London) 1930.

We noticed recently in terms of appreciation *Lord Darling and His Famous Trials* by Mr. Evelyn Graham, which was the best seller amongst criminal and legal biographies of 1929. He has now produced in *Fifty Years of Famous Judges* a series of biographical sketches of every judge of note in England during the last fifty years. The careers of such judges as Mr. Justice Avory, Lord Coleridge, Lord Chief Justice Hewart, Justice Horridge and Justice Hawkins, to say nothing of Lord Bowen (described by Lord Darling as the greatest of judges) Lord Reading, Lord Merrivale and Lord Russell are dealt with, with particular attention to the causes celebre with which they were connected. Mr. Graham has produced what will undoubtedly be justly regarded as a book that has for a long time been hoped for. It will appeal to a large circle of readers not only in the legal world, but even outside it. The book is well illustrated with portraits of the judges sketched in the volume.

A Handbook of Indian Trade Union Law. By T. A. Anantha Aiyar, B. L., (S. Ganesan, The Current Thought Press, Triplicane, Madras.) 1930.

Mr. Ananatha Aiyar's *Handbook of Indian Trade Union Law* is bound to prove a most useful book, both to the trade unionists and lawyers, to both of whom this book should be a very helpful guide. Its chief merit is that it brings, within the compass of a single volume, the text of the Act and the regulations framed thereunder in the major provinces, as well as the text of the Trade Disputes Act, 1929, and the rules framed under that Act in the Madras Presidency. The comments offered on the Trade Unions Act are elucidative

and the references made to legal decisions by English courts on the subject are instructive. It is the first book of the kind and for its clear exposition, informative comments, helpful references, and a useful index, it is an excellent text-book of the subject it deals with, as the annotations are written in popular language in order to render the book useful to the general public and not only the lawyers.

The Indian Evidence Act and The All India Criminal Digest 1928 and 1929. Edited by K. Jagadisa Aiyar (The Madras Criminal Cases Office, Nungumbakam, Madras) 1930.

Mr. Jagadisa Aiyar's compilations are useful works. His edition of the Evidence Act is enriched with an elaborate introduction, an analytical summary, and an exhaustive index, and incorporates all the amendments upto-date. It will be found to be a work of great utility. *The All-India Criminal Digest*, for the last two years, is a complete and systematic digest of all the Indian criminal decisions reported in legal journals—official and non-official—throughout the country. Everything is provided for in the book which is calculated to facilitate reference. It should have a large circulation both amongst members of the Bench and the Bar.

The Government of India Act. By P. Hari Rao, B.L. Second edition (T. A. Venkasawmy Row, Mount Road, Madras) 1930.

The second edition of Mr. Hari Rao's edition of the *Government of India Act* is highly opportune in view of the reform of the Indian constitution. It embodies the text of the Government of India Act 1915, with all the amendments made up-to-date. The editor has added a short historical memoir and a useful subject index. Particulars of the several legislative changes in the Act of 1915 are indicated in footnotes. Altogether, this edition is handy, compact, fully abreast of the latest amendments, and thus highly useful.

ON THE EDITORS TABLE : MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE

All Quiet on the Western Front by Erich Maria Remarque (G. P. Putnam's Sons, 24 Bedford Street, London, W.C. 2) is a rendering into English of a truly remarkable German book. The author was born thirty-two years ago. He belongs to a family of French extraction that emigrated into Germany at the time of the French Revolution and settled in the Rhineland. At the age of eighteen he went straight from school into the army and was sent to the Western Front. During the course of the war his mother died and all his friends were killed. At the end of the war he found himself alone in the world. His subsequent history is typical of the deep unrest that men of his generation experienced as a result of the war. At first he felt the need of rest and quiet, and became a teacher in a small out-of-the-way village on the moors. Then in quick succession he became an organist in an asylum, a music teacher, a manager of a small business, motor-car dealer, technical draughtsman, and dramatic critic. Then he lived for a time abroad. Whilst abroad he won a rather large sum at roulette, and with this he travelled. On his return he became foreign correspondent for a large firm, then publicity manager for the same undertaking, and finally editor and motor specialist in Berlin. Last year he wrote down, without taking previous thought, his own and his friends' experiences in the war. His book arose out of the consideration that so many men of his generation, who were yet still young, nevertheless lived a friendless, embittered, resigned life, without knowing why. He thought about this circumstance and came to the conclusion that we all to-day still suffer from the consequences of the war. His book sets out to describe three things : the war, the fate of a generation, and true comradeship. It is not surprising that it has been hailed, not only in Germany but in other countries as well, as perhaps the best war book, stamped as it is by the

genius of one who is alike a great soldier and a great thinker.

Mr. Percy Dumbell's *Loyal India* (Constable & Co., Ltd. 10 and 12 Orange Street, London, W. C. 2), attempts to describe the underlying principles of British rule in India from the time the crown assumed the government after the Mutiny until the appointment of the Simon Commission. All the important State documents, despatches and speeches that explain British policy in India are reproduced and the reader gets by reading them, a sound knowledge not only of conditions, but of the factors of the present situation. It is in fact, a readable text book for the man keen on understanding India in view of the coming days. One section contains an account of the existing constitution ; and the transition from the ideal of benevolent despotism to the present goal of "responsible government within the Empire," is traced by means of selections from historic despatches. The despatches are carefully annotated, and the book is provided with a brief bibliography, an index and a map. The documents selected are diverse in kind; the first is Queen Victoria's proclamation of 1858, the last, Lord Birkenhead's address at the unveiling of a monument at Neuve Chapelle. Between these there are copious extracts from the "Montford" report, Parliamentary speeches, and an essay on education taken from the report of Sir Michael Sadler's University Commission. A document interesting because nowadays little known is the "petition" against suppression of the East India Company. Altogether, *Loyal India* though a misnomer, is nevertheless a highly useful book both for the purposes of study and reference.

Four "reprints" on India and Indian affairs are opportune. The first is Sir John Simon's *Two Broadcast Talks on India* (Faber and Faber Ltd., 24 Russell Square, London, W. C. 1) It is the publication

in revised form of two talks by the Chairman of the Indian Statutory Commission. The first deals with the nature of the problems which faced the Commission, the second with the recommendations for the future government of India. These speeches are useful as companions to the two volumes of the full Report, to which they are an introduction as well as a summary.....

.....Far more valuable, from the Indian standpoint, are the new editions of Dr. Annie Besant's two well known text-books—*India: A Nation; A Plea for Self-Government* and *A Bird's Eye-View of India's Past as the Foundation of India's Future*, issued by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. Both these books are highly informative and should find a large circulation, in the revised and enlarged editions now issued.....Sir Muhammad Shafi's *Some Important Indian Problems* (Model Electric Press, 5 McLeod Road, Lahore), which is a collection of essays and speeches seems to us a more or less superfluous book, as there is not much in it bearing on current Indian problems, except perhaps of the communal type.

We are living in an age of anthologies—both of prose and verse, arranged under various groups and subjects. There are now lying before us three anthologies. The first is called the *Spring Anthology 1930* (The Mitre Press, Mitre Chambers, Mitre Street, London E.C.3). It is a volume of modern poetry by poets in every land. Some of these poets have world-wide reputations, whilst others are new and unknown to poetry readers. The verses embrace every form and type of poetic expression on a variety of themes and idylls, and its editors claim it thus to be unique. Certainly this is the most interesting anthology of a decade. This book caters for every poetry-lover in the world. Its territorial index is a unique and valuable feature that will add to the interest of the book not only for the scholar and student of poetry but for the general reader as well.Mr. Stephen Graham's *The Tramp's Anthology* (Peter Davies, Ltd.,

30 Henrietta Street, W.C.2. London) is an excellent and well-chosen compilation of prose and poetical extracts on walking, chosen from classics and standard authors. There cannot be a better companion for the tramp than Mr. Graham's *Tramp's Anthology*.

The latest students' *History of India* is by Mr. E. Marsden and Sir Henry Sharp (Macmillan & Co, Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London). The authors have prepared this book in accordance with the syllabus in Indian History laid down in Bombay for the School Leaving Examination. In the earlier chapters the new information contained in the volumes of the *Cambridge History of India* has been utilised. The text is accurate fair and sound. Useful maps and illustrations are given and some original Mughal paintings are reproduced. A table of dates is appended to the book, as also an exhaustive index. The language is lucid, and the presentation attractive. It is one of the best text-books on Indian history. A useful supplement to it is *Some Great women of India* (Logmans, Green & Co., 5 old Court House street, Calcutta). In this book biographical sketches of nine great women of India are given. viz., Mirabai, Chand Bibi, Ahalyabai, three Begums of Bhopal, Ramabai, Sarojini Naidu, and Ramabai Ranade. It treats of historical personages who have played a great part in history, and it should be prescribed in schools, especially for girls.

Yet two more books on Omar Khayyam's world famous quatrains, by an eminent German scholar of Persian, Dr. F. Rosen. These are a new (fairly literal) translation into English prose called *The Quatrains of Omar Khayyam* (Methuen & Co, Ltd, 36 Essex Street, W.C.2. London) and also another edition under the same title (Luzac Co, 46 Great Russell Street, London, W.C.) containing not only the rendering but the Persian text also. This new translation was made to bring before the public an exact rendering of two old manuscripts recently discovered. Both manuscripts were published in Persian by Dr. Rosen in 1925.

and are now made available in Messrs Luzac's excellently-printed edition. A prose work by Omar (which has just been found in a manuscript of the fourteenth century) is analysed for the first time in the introduction, and it throws new light upon the much discussed personality and ideas of Omar. Some characteristic extracts on different subjects treated in this book, such as the benefit of drinking wine, 'and the effect of a beautiful face,' are cited. Altogether, these two books by Dr. Rosen are valuable contributions to Omarian literature.

Mr. Kenneth Ingram's *Modern Attitude to the Sex Problem* (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd, Museum Street, London) is a thought-provoking book. Has the modern age any serious contribution to make to the sex problem? Mr. Ingram thinks that it has, in at least two important respects. He analyses and criticises some of the previous attitudes which have been adopted, as, for example, the Victorian and the popular religious standpoint. Many people may be inclined to think that the Free Love Gospel is to some extent representative of modern thought, but Mr. Ingram gives his reasons for denying that this is so, and his criticism of this particular standpoint has a special interest, in view of Mr. Bertrand Russell's recent book on the subject. But quite apart from that, Mr. Ingram advances the interesting theory that, with the intellectual development of women, the two sexes are becoming more alike, and that what he describes as a "bisexual" standpoint may emerge. This book deals frankly with the problem, but there is nothing in it which makes it unsuitable for circulation in any quarter of society.

The literature relating to Dickens is inexhaustible. The three of the latest batch of Dickens books are the *London of Dickens* by Mr. W. Dexter (Cecil Palmer, 49 Chandos Street, London, W. C. 2), Mr. A. W. Barnes's *A Dickens Guide in Kentish Dickens Land* (John Bale, Sons and Danielsson Ltd, 83-91 Great Titch-

field Street, W. I), and Mr. H. C. Suter's *Dramatic Episodes from Dickens* (Arthur H. Stockwell, Ltd, 29 Ludgate Hill, London, E. C. 4). The first of these is an excellent and well-illustrated pocket guide to the London of Dickens, which was originally issued in larger form in 1923, while the second does similar service to places mainly in Kent associated with the life and work of Dickens. Mr. Suter's book is literary—it being a skilful adaptation from the novels of Dickens of dramatic episodes which can be acted. It is a happy idea, happily carried out.

We heartily welcome the third edition of the *Life of Sri Ramkrishna* (Advaita Ashram, Muktagram Babu Street, Calcutta). Many biographies of this great saintly personality have come out since his illustrious desciple Swami Vivekananda's address on him to the American people was published under the title of "My Master". Sri Ramkrishna's life has attracted the pen of a very wide range of devotees and scholars in many lands. The interest in his personality and teaching is not flagging: introduced to Europe by Max Muller, his life forms the subject even today of a book by Romain Rolland, which has been recently published and which we propose to review in an early issue. The biography under review, earlier editions of which we noticed in terms of appreciation, is now in its third edition, which speaks well for its popularity, as also for the lucidity of its style and for the real understanding of a great religious life. We commended this third edition of a highly inspiring and illuminating book to all educated Indians and to all seekers after Truth in foreign lands.

Burma Ceylon Indo-China—By Martin Hurlimann (Atlantis-Verlag Limited, Berlin, Germany) is a beautifully illustrated volume in the "Orbis Terrarum Series. We noticed in terms of high appreciation the volume on 'India' by the same author sometime back. The present work deals with Burma, Ceylon, Indo-China, Siam

Cambodia, Annam, Tongking, and Yunnan. It is a very interesting and faithful record of the appearance of these countries today, their ruins, landscapes, cities, and their past history as it exists in architecture and the actual life of the present. As the countries dealt with are the strong holds of Buddhism, incidentally, it tells us also of the history of that great religion as revealed in sculpture and other arts of which it was a source of great inspiration. The volume contains over two hundred illustrations in photogravure. It should commend itself to the awakening interest in the awakened East.

Oriental Tit-bits in Engineering by M.G. Singariyengar A. M., Tech. I. (Gr.Br.) is a collection of the indigenous laws and instructions on engineering as prevailing in India since very early times up to this day, from tradition among the Indian architects, from the existing works on the theory of engineering, and from folk-lore. Mr. Singariyengar, who is a lecturer in the college of Engineering at Bangalore, maintains that the level of the Indian engineering reached, and still retains, a very high position and that it is urgent that a collection and publication of works on Indian Engineering should be undertaken immediately to preserve a great and noble indigenous art. The book under review should stimulate other efforts in a similar direction. The book contains both texts and well rendered translations. We heartily welcome it and commend it to students and lovers of the noble art of architecture.

Mr. C. Hartley Grattan's *Australian Literature* is a volume in the "University

of Washington Chapbooks" series (University of Washington Bookstore, Seattle, U. S. A.). To those who ask whether there is such a thing as a literature which can be justly called "Australian," this pamphlet—for such it is—may be safely commended as a sound and critical outline of the literature produced, by the British colonists in Australia, in the English language. This study of Australian literature is equally informing and suggestive, and deserves careful attention at the hands of students of world-literature.

Carlyle's *French Revolution* is admittedly a classic, but it is not much read now because of its diffuseness. It was, therefore a happy idea on the part of Mr. A.H.R. Ball to bring out an abridged and judiciously edited text of it, which has been issued by the Cambridge University Press (Fetter Lane, London). We agree with the editor that as that book comprises detached sketches of the episodes that marked the revolution, it lends itself admirably to compression and abridgement. This has been admirably done by Mr. Ball and we commend his work.

Of the many books—British and American—on the selection and choice of books about the best available is Mr. W.E. Simnett's *Books and Reading* (George Allen and Unwin, 40 Museum street, London, W.C.), which first appeared in 1926. It has lately been issued in a revised edition and the book-lists have been brought upto-date. To readers of choice literature, it may be commended as an instructive guide to the choice and study of the best books.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION AND THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE.

(A)

By Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru

THE general feeling in India about the issue of the Round Table Conference is undoubtedly one of pessimism. The refusal of the Congress to participate in the Conference, followed as it has been by a vigorous campaign against those who have decided to participate in it, has added to the piquancy of the situation. The Congressmen argue that the very fact that the Conference is to be a free Conference invests it with the character of a debating society, and makes the chances of an agreement between the Indian section and the British section of the Conference highly problematical. It is argued that all that has been said authoritatively is that Dominion Status is the ultimate goal of Britain's policy towards India, and even this declaration has been challenged by certain leaders of the opposition and retired Anglo-Indian administrators. What India wants, so it is argued, is not promises but the immediate fulfilment of promises already made, no goals but the completion of the journey, not high-sounding expressions of sympathy with India's demands but the translation of that sympathy into the actualities of a free and democratic constitution, enabling this country to claim equality of status with the self-governing dominions of the British Commonwealth. This may be said to represent not only the sen-

timents of the well-meaning and sensible section of the Congressmen but also many others who differ from the present-day disruptive activities of the Congress, or its new war-cry of Independence.

The fact is that a loss of faith in the intentions of Britain towards India is the outstanding feature of Indian political life. I am stating the fact and not its justification. It is necessary that this fact should be stated bluntly, so that the approach to the solution of the problem may not be covered by a jungle of wrong ideas and confused thinking. There is a section of opinion in Britain, represented by certain retired administrators of a by-gone period, which refuses to recognise that India has changed, or that it is no longer prepared to acquiesce in the claim of the Secretary of State or the Government of India to play the part of an earthly providence. The advocates of force or "martial law and no d—d nonsense" forget that there are obvious limitations to the application of their political creed or methods in dealing with a population of hundreds of millions, spread over a country of the size of India.

I am no believer in Mr. Gandhi's philosophy of life, or his economic theories or his famous 'eleven points'. To me much of that philosophy of

life appears to be a thinly-veiled edition of the ancient Hindu doctrine of self-abnegation and suffering, which has been a continuous thread in our history. There is nothing peculiar about it except that it has survived up to the present day in our national life. The history of the early Christians is not without parallels to it and one can come across remarkable parallels to it even in our own times in other countries. Tolstoy was its exponent in Russia and Mr. Gandhi has emphasised it in our day in India, and found a ready response mainly because his philosophy makes such a traditional appeal to the Indian mind. His economic theory, howsoever lacking in modernity, finds ready acceptance with so many minds in India because it embodies a protest against the dominance of the West in our economic and political life, and makes a powerful appeal to the imagination of the millions of the "have-nots" in this country. His eleven points are like the proverbial curate's egg, and it is no longer a secret that even the Nehrus—father and son—are not free from scepticism about their soundness, and it is only their party loyalty and regard for Mr. Gandhi's prestige, which has prevented them from publicly criticising them. Mr. Gandhi's theories may be sound or unsound, that is not the point; the point is that they are occupying the field, they are filling the minds of men and impelling them to action. Dissent from them is denounced as 'unpatriotic'. During my recent journeyings I have seen something of the new ferment and I have often asked myself the question—whither and what next?

If the Round Table Conference

does not mean to toy with the problem, and is anxious to find a solution for India's present day maladies, or to ensure a peaceful, stable and progressive government for India, it must bring to bear up on its work, courage, frankness and vision. None of these qualities is necessarily opposed to caution or fairness to all. The Conference will fail if the British section of it refuses to recognise that the day of 'doles' of reforms is over and past recall, and that it is only a big constructive scheme which can save the situation in India and remove the conflict between Indian patriotism and Indian loyalty to her connection with Britain.

Similarly the Conference will fail if the Indian section shut their eyes to the real difficulties which must be faced. The settlement of the minority question, the protection of the interests of what are called the "depressed classes," the adjustment of the relations between British India and Indian states, these are some of the difficulties which must be solved. But even more important than these is the question of self-defence. No one who has applied his mind to a consideration of these questions can ignore them or minimise their importance, but it is one thing to face difficulties and to try to solve them, and another to catalogue them as barriers in our way. Given good will on all sides, and a genuine desire to help progress, I do not see why we should not be able to come to a satisfactory working settlement of all these outstanding problems. The real thing is that the *status* of India should be one of equality with the Dominions, which implies transference of power into Indian hands.

Indian and British prudence and statesmanship can come to a settlement as to such limitations upon the functioning of the Dominion constitution for the period of transition, as may seem to be of primary importance in the interest of public safety. If such temporary limitations are the result of an agreement and are not forced on India, the future may be looked forward to with confidence.

I am aware constitutional purists hold that to the British mind Dominion Status is an achieved result, an accomplished fact, and is quite different from an attempt to achieve that result. Mr. Wedgwood Benn himself spoke some time ago as Dominion Status for India being already in action, so far as its representation on the League of Nations or at the Imperial Conference was concerned. Similarly to the extent to which India can—as a result of the Round Table Conference—regulate her internal policy in domestic and fiscal matters, it will be a case again of Dominion Status in action—the rest being in abeyance for the period of transition. Nevertheless her status will have been determined, the functions enlarged, some limitations imposed by

agreement upon those functions, only to be removed not in the indefinite future, but as soon as India has gained sufficient confidence to be able to do away with those limitations. It would be a mistake to ignore or to treat cavalierly the present Indian psychology or to sacrifice considerations of practical statesmanship at the altar of constitutional purism or mere logic. I can only enter one warning without going into details whether the constitution of India is to be of the federal or unitary type, it would, in my opinion, be courting disaster to transfer power and responsibility in the provinces, and to leave the centre as it is, only because it is held that the central government should not be weakened. I am myself a believer in a strong central government for India, but to establish a central legislature—call it federal or anything you like—and to require a small irresponsible executive to face such a legislature, from day to day, is not to provide for a strong central government, but to make that government a weak government, and what is worse, to give it an odious appearance in the eyes of the public. I refrain from developing the point as it must be thrashed out at the Conference itself.

(B)

By Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha

IN the last issue of the *Hindustan Review*—under the caption “The Revolution in India: A Flashlight View”—we presented to our readers an almost exhaustive survey of the activities of the Congress party in their

civil disobedience movement and their effect upon the public life of the country; as also of the policy and measures of the Government with a view to counteract it. The survey covered the period of nearly six months,

beginning with Mr. Gandhi's famous "march" from his *ashram* at Sabarmati (Ahmadabad) on the 12th of March last. In the present sequel, we propose to carry the record and review of the movement, and also of Government's activities to checkmate it upto-date, with especial reference to the failure of the peace negotiations and the announcement of the personnel of the Round Table Conference. Thus the failure of the peace negotiations, the convening of the Conference and the latest governmental activities to suppress the Congress activities—and their result on the public life of the Country—are the outstanding factors of the situation, to which we shall advert in the course of the present survey.

II.

The break-down of the peace negotiations—so patriotically undertaken and carried on for weeks, at very great and ungrudging sacrifice by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar, for which they are entitled to our gratitude—has been widely commented upon both in the press of Britain and of India. As usual, the British and the Anglo-Indian Press have found fault for the failure with the Congress leaders alone, and similarly (as expected of it) the Congress propagandist press has characteristically attacked the Government for the same. It would be idle at this stage to apportion judicially praise or blame to either side, but it must be placed on record that the independent nationalist press of the country has taken a just and sensible view of the matter. So leading, staunch and independent an organ of Indian nationalist opinion as the *Hindu* of Madras has declared that "on the

main constitutional issue the Nehrus took their stand on the full Congress demand at Lahore, and thereby took a position different from that taken by Pandit Motilal in his communication to Mr. Slocombe or by Mahatmaji in his note to the Nehrus immediately after the peace proposals were discussed." This admission is obviously of great significance in determining the question of the responsibility for the failure of the peace terms.

Another independent nationalist organ, the *Tribune*,—of Lahore—which places the responsibility for the failure principally on the shoulders of the Government, makes certain apt criticisms of some of the demands of the Congress leaders. Regarding the issue of Independence, it says: "As a Dominion, India would be as fully entitled to exercise this right (of secession) as any other self-governing Dominion; and it would be no more in the power of the Viceroy or any one else to fetter this right than it is in the power of any British authority to fetter this right in the case of Canada or Australia or South Africa. But in the case of every self-governing Dominion, this right was first implicit, and it is only recently that it has been sought to be made explicit. General Hertzog's own speeches show that the process has not yet been completed. In the circumstances, it is of doubtful expediency to raise this question with regard to India at the time and in the form in which it is raised by the Congress leaders." With regard to the continuance of picketing even after the restoration of peace and the question of financial liabilities, the *Tribune* observes:

"We fail to see why the leaders should have laid stress on the necessity

of continuing the picketing of foreign cloth shops, or liquor shops, even after the National demand on the constitutional issue had been satisfactorily settled. It would then become a question of time, and not a very long time, for the country to be able to do by means of law what it is now seeking to do by unofficial measures. The same thing is true about the Salt Act. The violation of the salt law was not an original plank in the Congress platform; nor is it necessary to make it one. It was embarked upon solely to obtain satisfaction of India's constitutional demand. If that demand is satisfied, the country will be in a position to obtain whatever salt law it wants. The question of the revision of financial burdens might appropriately have been left over for future determination." Reading between the lines, it is clear that the *Tribune* is not prepared to exonerate the Congress leaders for all responsibility for the failure of the peace negotiations; on the contrary it would hold them responsible for a great deal.

The view of the *Leader* is that "the Congress leaders showed much less concern to terminate the prolonged misery wrought by the ill-advised disobedience campaign than would have been expected." It also says: "Reading all that they committed to paper, it would appear to an unbiassed mind that 'prestige' is not the exclusive hobby of the British Government in India." The *Leader* has so vigorously championed the nationalist cause and condemned so strenuously the repressive policy of Government, that its strictures on the demands of the Congress leaders can not be discounted on the alleged ground of its being a so-called

"moderate" Journal. Another independent nationalist organ, which justly commands respect—the *Indian Social Reformer* criticizes the Viceroy for seeming to imply (in his letter to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru of 28th August) that the Congress leader should admit that they were foolish in starting civil disobedience. But they made a mistake, it says, "in subsequently adding the right of secession and the adjustment of financial obligations to their original demands."

The *Reformer* finds fault with Mr. Gandhi also for "shoving the responsibility for the final decision on the immature shoulders of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru". With regard to the growth of the civil disobedience movement, the *Reformer* makes this true observation; "The civil disobedience movement, at the beginning, was far from popular. It was the use of force, in several cases utterly unconscionable, against unresisting, unarmed people, that brought about a change in public opinion, and brought to the movement the support of many who do not hold with civil disobedience." We entirely agree with the *Reformer's* diagnosis.

The liberal organ the *Servant of India* declares that "there was substantially no difference between the original position taken by Pandit Motilal Nehru (in his statement to Mr. George Slocombe on the 25th of June) and the response of the Viceroy", and it, therefore, criticizes in strong terms the attitude taken up by the Congress leaders subsequently, stating that "the whole tone of the joint letter of the Congress leaders was unnecessarily provocative, peremptory and dictatorial, a tone which even a victor in a decisive battle would, if he was wise, not

have adopted. It speaks volumes for the patience and forbearance of the Viceroy and the negotiators that they took these impossible demands seriously and attempted to point out the difficulties in the way of meeting them." It goes further and charges the Congress leaders with "amazing callousness" when they say that "great as have been the sufferings of all people among all grades and classes representing different creeds, we feel that the sufferings have been neither sustained nor large enough for the immediate attainment of the end". The *Servant of India* asks also: "If the movement did no harm to the country, and was, on the other hand, beneficial because of the mass awakening, why should they be glad to stop or suspend it, and not pursue it indefinitely?"

Lest these views be discounted on the ground of the *Servant* being on organ of the "moderate" party, we shall conclude this part of our survey by quoting from so advanced a nationalist and avowedly pro-Congress a Journal as the *Mahratta*—which studiously pursues the policy laid down by its founder, the great nationallist, Mr. Tilak. The *Mahratta*, while holding that the major portion of the responsibility for the failure rested on the Government, has severely criticised the Congress leaders for shifting the basis of negotiations. It points out that in the first letter Gandhi did not refer to the right of secession or to the question of the public debt of India. "It was an after-thought and inserted in his second note." Summing up its opinion it writes:—

"In brief, the Congress leaders, by their unpractical extravagance and probably by their lack of the exact

perception of the political situation have to our mind, lost a golden opportunity of compromise. We do not believe that the country would have suffered by the compromise. On the contrary, it is our conviction that the nation would have been better braced up for any other political movement, if necessity for the same arose later. The movement of the Congress was, indeed, pre-eminently successful. The conduct of the Government had even certified that success. But the fact as it seems to us and as it would be found to be correct in course of time, is that, though the victory was won on the battle-field, it has now at least been lost on the peace-table."

These declarations from the columns of leading nationalist Journals can leave no manner of doubt as to where the responsibility for the failure of the peace negotiations mainly lies, and the Viceroy (in the course of his address at his last public appearance, at the Punjab Minister's dinner at Simla) was not far wrong when he alleged that it lay on the shoulders of the Congress leaders. This will not perturb those in the Congress camp who have pinned their faith in a fight to the finish (as declared by Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru on the day after his release from Jail) or those die-hard Europeans who have been demanding the crushing of the Congress movement, but all those, who have the abiding interests of the country at heart, and who do not see any good in the prolongation of this unequal and undesirable strife, cannot but feel grieved at the failure of the peace talks, and will agree with the *Mahratta* that "a golden opportunity" has been lost which, it is not probable, will recur in the near future.

III.

To counteract the civil disobedience movement the Government have embarked upon two methods—one which they evidently regard as constructive and the other admittedly destructive. The two in their opinion evidently supplement each other. The former is the convening of the Round Table Conference, the latter promulgation by the Governor General of ordinances one on the top of the other, a veritable case of piling Ossa on Pelion. We shall discuss the ordinances and their likely results in a later section of this survey. For the present we shall advert to the Round Table Conference, which was announced by the Viceroy in his declaration of 1st. November, last year, and to which we accorded at the time general support, as embodying a happy conception, if only properly carried out. Unfortunately, the idea so happily conceived has not been carried out as well as it should or might have been. To begin with, as the result of the failure of the peace negotiations, the Congress party is completely out of the Conference—though, technically it is not so, as there is amongst the invitees no other than “Janab Maulana” Muhammad Ali Saheb, ex-President of the Indian National Congress, but whom the Congressists now declare to be a renegade from their ranks. In our last issue we emphasised that the Conference without the Congress representatives would be “like the play of Hamlet with Hamlet’s part left out”. The London *Observer* in noticing this aspect of the Conference, echoes almost our own word in saying that “the repudiation of it by the Congress leaders makes the stage rather like Hamlet without Hamlet”. True, that is a

serious omission for which the Congress leaders are responsible, but howsoever that be, the broad fact remains that no constitution devised by the Round Table Conference, as at present convened, is likely to be gladly accepted and whole-heartedly worked by the country at large. Frankly speaking, the Conference, without the Congress spokesmen at it, is beyond all doubt unrepresentative of political India as a whole. And though it may be the fault of the Congressmen themselves that it is so, the fact cannot be shirked, that a constitution agreed to by the Conference is not likely to be willingly worked by the vast bulk of the politically-minded classes in the country. As the *Manchester Guardian*—admittedly now the most influential organ of Liberal public opinion in Britain—has very clearly put it, in the course of an article surveying the present political situation in this country :—

“We may have our own opinions about India and we may be perfectly right, but unless we can persuade Indians to agree with us, our opinions will serve no purpose. We cannot take a system of government to India and ram it down India’s throat. And we cannot carry on a government there, let it be backed with the whole authority of the British Empire, against the will of the people”. These are words of wisdom, which evidently Lord Irwin and his colleagues have failed to take into account in convening the Round Table Conference on its present basis.

Thus the omission from it of Congress representations so wholly vitiates the personnel of the Conference that we do not propose to discuss at length the many other glaring defects (by way of gaps) in the choice made by the government in sending out their

invitations. It were much to be wished that some system of formal (or even informal) election—for instance, choosing out of a panel of names sent up by the various parties or associations—had been introduced in place of issuing invitations pure and simple, which method alone has been resorted to. The result is that in spite of even a supplementary list having been issued, the personnel of the Conference has failed to satisfy any province, class, community or party. Burma is distinctly dissatisfied with its representation, the organs of Muslim public opinion (especially in Bengal and the Punjab) are vociferous that their so-called “representatives”—though numerically perhaps out of all proportion to the strength of Muslims in the country—are mostly unrepresentative in character. The depressed classes are so clamant as to have elicited the support of the *Statesman* which writes as follows:—“The protest addressed to H. E. the Viceroy by the President of the Depressed India Association was inevitable. The equality in figures between the two communities, the Mohammedans and the depressed classes—about seven crores each—and the inequality in representation at the Round Table Conference—thirteen for the one community and one only for the other—is so marked that protest was certain.” The landlords—especially of Bengal—are the loudest in their complaints, being highly chagrined. The Hindus of the North-West Frontier Province, and of Sindh, who have been completely ignored, are naturally rending the air with their sighs. The Hindus of the Punjab assert that they are practically excluded from the Conference, as they have been assigned but one representative

as against two Sikhs and five Punjabi Muslims. The poor Oriyas have had to be consoled by the Commissioner of their division by reminding them that there is one Oriya zamindar in the list of invitees to the Conference, as though he hails from the Madras presidency, he is Oriya by race—a nice ethnographical study this for the people of Orissa! Even the Liberal party, which has got the lion's share of representation, is dissatisfied that a statesman in its ranks of the position of Sir Sivaswamy Aiyar has been passed over. The *Leader* sums up its criticism in the following terms:—“There is a just complaint that the Hindus of the Punjab have been allowed only one representative. The Hindus of the United Provinces have hardly fared better; while the public opinion of Bihar goes virtually unrepresented as the only two representatives of the province are a very young Maharaja and a distinguished advocate who is not known to have had or have a political past or present. This has been done in disregard of the existence of such men as Sir Syed Ali Imam and Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha. Hindu representation is thus both weak and inadequate among the persons selected from the provinces of northern India: there is only one each from the Punjab and Bihar. As it has been stated that a few more names may be announced, may we hope that among them will be at least Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer and two or three more prominent Hindu public men of nationalist opinions from the provinces of northern India.”

In reference possibly to our esteemed contemporary's suggestion, a supplementary list of invitees was issued since, but the defects it pointed

out were not removed. It is not surprising, therefore, that even sane, sober and studiously moderate Indian Journals have not been able to approve of the personnel of the Conference, taken as a whole. To quote but a few short comments :—" The list of Indian members selected for the Conference contains a few good names, several indifferent ones and some bad ones—a very mixed lot, not at all an impressive one," is the verdict of the *Indian Social Reformer*. The general criticism of the selection made by the Viceroy is that, as the *Statesman's* Simla correspondent explains, " it has been greatly determined by communal proportions," and " persons who have no political backing in the country constitute the majority of the delegates from British India." " The undue prominence given to the demands of extreme communalism," the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* puts it, is undoubtedly felt to be the chief weakness of the delegation. The *Tribune* goes so far as to say that the personnel " justifies the worst apprehensions " entertained with regard to the Round Table Conference. The *Hindu* thinks that " the dominant quality of the list is the aggregation of strong reactionary elements ". In spite of this, if there is hope, it is due to the strength lent to the delegation by the Liberal leaders " with long and distinguished records of patriotic public service," to use the words of the *Hindu*. " These leaders may be trusted to leave nothing undone which may be within their reach to bring about the fruition of India's hopes," points out the *Leader*, and for our part we pin our faith on the Liberal leaders only, in the absence of the representation of independent nationalists, who have been totally ignored,

unless perhaps Mr. Jinnah be taken to represent them.

The total number of invitees—including the (unlucky) thirteen representatives of the three political parties in Britain—is no less than eighty-nine; of which two Indians have declined the invitation for purely personal reasons. The remaining eighty-seven happily include two highly enlightened and cultured Indian ladies. The rest comprise Englishmen, Scotsmen, Irishmen, Welshmen, Anglo-Indian Eurasians, Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Christians, Buddhists and the inevitable Jew in Lord Reading. In fact, by reason of its composition, the Conference is as likely to solve religious conundrums and theological controversies as to agree to the framing of a constitution for India, which will satisfy the growing phalanx of the nationalists in this country,—in view of its personnel, which (except for many of the Liberals) has few capable men of progressive opinion. There can be no doubt that even apart from the representation of the Congress party, it would have been possible for the Government to have brought together a more capable, a more efficient and a more representative gathering of all shades of Indian opinion, other than the Congress. But that would have required the Government to proceed upon some definite principle of election or even selection; while the present grouping (which brings together on one platform loyalists, constitutionalists, Liberals, moderates, independents, as also an ex-internee, two ex-convicts and an ex-Viceroy) is happily based on no principal at all. And that reminds us that when Lord Palmerston was invested with the order of the garter—which is the

highest in the ranks of Knighthood—he said that he thanked God that there was no question of any d—d merits about it. And India may similarly thank God that there is no question of any d—d principle in connection with the invitations to the Round Table Conference; hence, that august gathering can best be described in the old tag of the Ilbert Bill agitation days, as:—

A motley crew

Of each possible shade, of each possible hue,
Red, yellow, black and brown; and indigo-
dyed blue.

The pucca-born Briton and eight-anna Eu-
Rasian and Greak, Armenian and Jew.

Well, we wish this “motley crew” success in the very arduous work they have so readily undertaken of framing a constitution for India, which will satisfy the aspirations of all the classes, communities and parties; but we have made no secret of our view of the inherent difficulties in their way. If in spite of them, however, they succeed in their effort, no one will be gladder than ourselves.

IV.

And while the invitees to the Conference are proceeding to London in various batches, the Governor-General has been busy arming himself and his Government with larger and sterner executive powers by means of ordinances, and the latest to come—the ninth in the list—is what has been designated the Unlawful Associations Ordinance, which is the drasticest of the lot, and under which immediate action has already been taken by the Bombay Government against nearly a hundred Congress organisations. Of the nine ordinances promulgated by Lord Irwin during the last six months, with the object of countering the Congress pro-

paganda and the activities associated with the civil disobedience movement, the first (the Lahore conspiracy case ordinance) ceased to operate with the end of that trial. The second (the Bengal criminal ordinance) has been duly enacted and placed on the statute-book by the Bengal legislature. The third, fourth, fifth and sixth ordinances (dealing respectively with the press, picketting, intimidation and news bulletins) will all expire in November on different dates, and their future is still uncertain. The seventh (Sholapur martial law ordinance) has become inoperative, while the eighth and the ninth (the Frontier ordinance and the Unlawful Association Ordinance) will yet be in force for some months. And yet what has been the result of these very drastic ordinances? The Government view is embodied in one of their latest reviews on the Political situation, which are regularly submitted to the Secretary of State for India. In it we find it stated:—“Broadly speaking, the public are now in no doubt as to the ultimate issue, and the psychological advantage which this gives to the Government is a factor of great and growing importance. One natural effect is to direct greater attention towards constitutional methods, which it has been the consistent policy of the Government to encourage all parties and communities to adopt.” This statement is but platitudinous as “the public” were never in doubt—they could not be—as “to the ultimate issue”, and we had made it quite clear in our survey in the last number of the *Hindustan Review*. No one with even a modicum of intelligence could doubt that in the result Government—if only it cared to do so—will be able to suppress at once by use of force—open or disguised—the Congress activities.

But that is not the point at issue, What we are mainly concerned with is the effect of the Congress propaganda on the political and economic condition of the country, in spite of the very severe ordinances promulgated by the Governor-General during the last six months.

So far as the political condition is concerned, we must state it as our settled conviction that in spite of the Government's activities, armed with the ordinances and the police lathis, there is yet no weakening of the Congress movement. This is so plain, in our opinion, that even he that runs may read. Nearly fifty thousand Congress Volunteers—amongst whom are hundreds of women—have cheerfully gone to jail for their open defiance of the laws and the ordinances, and there is yet no dearth of others to take their place. That does not seem, to our mind, to betoken any weakening of the civil disobedience movement. The future is on the lap of the gods. In the meantime, it is equally clear, that (at any rate) in Bombay, which is the stronghold of the movement, a larger and larger number of Mussalmans are being attracted to the cause of the Congress. Obviously, the civil disobedience movement is not yet on the wane, though we are equally certain that it will be suppressed in the long run, either by resort to greater and greater repression or (preferably) by the adoption of a better and wiser course—that of conciliation.

We shall now examine briefly the effect of the Congress activities on the economic situation, which we dealt with (at some length) in our last survey as well. It is perfectly true

that if floating loans successfully be taken as a test, the credit of the Government stands as high today in the money market as ever it did before, and that credit remains unshaken by Congress activities. The Government of India has lately issued its third loan this year, asking for £12,000,000 at six per cent interest in order to cover the repayment of £6,000,000 India Bills due in December and for railway expenditure and general purposes, and (as usual) it has met with immediate response and been over-subscribed.

The first of the other two loans was issued in May for £7,000,000 and the second was an unlimited rupee loan, issued in July, which brought in Rs. 29½ crores, or about £22,000,000. The Government can justly point to these successful floatations as testimony of their high and unshaken credit. But there it ends. You have only to read the British newspapers and Journals to light upon piteous letters from British merchants in India bemoaning their fate as the result of the success of the Congress boycott of British goods in general and British cloth in particular. We are informed by the *Statesman* that "trade statistics of Bombay for the first five months (April to August) of the financial year 1930-31 show a contraction of Rs. 562 crores or 13 per cent in imports, and of Rs. 78 crores, or 23 per cent in exports, as compared with the figures of the corresponding months of the preceding year." Surely, surely, a drop of over five hundred lakhs in imports during a period of five months indicates a state of affairs which must be wholly unsatisfactory from the British merchant's point of view.

The matter is obviously of such great importance, for appreciating correctly the true inwardness of the present economic situation in the country, that we make no apology for going into the figures a little deeper. To take the figures for only one month for which they are available—August last—the trade returns of British India compare very unfavourably with those for the corresponding month of the preceding year. The total value of exports, imports and re-exports was less by Rs. 17,42 lakhs. In August, 1929, it amounted to Rs. 47,71 lakhs, and in August, 1930, to Rs. 30,39 lakhs. The decline in exports amounted to Rs. 9,44 lakhs and in imports to Rs. 7,59 lakhs. The reduction in imports during the five months, April to August, 1930, was Rs. 25,44 lakhs as compared with the figures of a similar period of 1929. The imports of cigarettes which were valued at Rs. 18 lakhs in August, 1929, declined to Rs. 5 lakhs in August, 1930. This decrease must be due principally to the Congress boycott of cigarettes. The imports of cotton yarn and manufactures declined by Rs. 3,23 lakhs. The imports of twist and yarn declined nearly by 2 million lbs. in quantity and by Rs. 30 lakhs in value, and of piece-goods by 100 million yards in quantity and by Rs. 2,89 lakhs in value. The imports of iron and steel fell by Rs. 42 lakhs, of machinery and belting by Rs. 35 lakhs, and woollen manufactures by Rs. 31 lakhs. The exports of wheat advanced from 7,000 tons to 45,000 tons in quantity and from Rs. 10 lakhs to Rs. 43 lakhs in value. The quantity exported was more than six times of last year, but the value was only a little more than four times owing to the fall in prices. The quantity of raw

cotton exported increased from 41,000 tons to 45,000 tons, but the value fell by no less than Rs. 73 lakhs. These figures tell their own tale. The leading financial Journal of London—the *Financial News*—thus comments on the present trade depression:—"The combined effects of the general trade depression and of internal political upheaval (in India) were bound to show themselves by a diminution of India's foreign trade. How sharp the contraction has been is revealed by the survey, covering the three months from April 1 to June 30, just issued by the Department of Overseas Trade. As compared with the same period of 1929, imports have fallen by a fifth, or a value of £9 million, and exports by nearly a sixth. The greater part of this marked decline must be attributed to the disturbed political conditions, and in view of the boycott which the Congress Party has sought to impose on British goods this country has inevitably been the chief sufferer. The share of the Indian import trade obtained by Britain during these three months has fallen from 44 per cent. to 41·6 per cent. representing a decline in value from Rs. 27 crores to Rs. 20½ crores." We doubt not that the *Financial News* and its other London confreres will be even more perturbed on looking into the statistics for the later period which we have quoted above. The latest figures available—for September—show that compared to the month of September of last year, cotton exports from Lancashire to India showed a decline of 75 per cent; in money value computed at nine hundred thousand pounds. How long the British trading community will be able to withstand the effect of the Congress boycott is not for us to say. But the question is

whether it is wiser for the Government to let things drift along, as they have done during the last eight months, or set them right by a constructive policy of peace and conciliation—the only sound policy in the circumstances.

V.

What this policy of peace and conciliation is, is known to every one interested in the cause of Indo-British cooperation and is not a secret. One of the most influential and thoughtful British Journals, the *Spectator*, wrote in its issue of July 5:—

"From the standpoint of self-interest can it be thought that a policy of repression—even if it were practicable—would help British trade? If a policy of repression were adopted by Britain—a possibility which we refuse to entertain—we think that the boycott of British trade would assume proportions undreamt of by its advocates". These remarks show how ill-informed even a leading London Journal of the standing of the *Spectator* is about the policy which is being, at present, vigorously pursued. What the *Spectator* refuses to entertain as a possibility is actually in operation and practice. What do the promulgation of the no less than nine ordinances, the incarceration of thousands of Indians (including practically all the leaders of the Congress movement) the *lathi* charges and police excesses proclaim? These have, indeed, helped the movement for the boycott of British goods to an extent never dreamt of by its advocates, and have further stimulated the civil disobedience movement. Be that as it may, the *Spectator* is right in condemning repression and advocating conciliation as the best policy in the circumstances, alike in the interest of Britain

and India. Similarly, the *New Statesman* of London—which had adopted of late a markedly anti-Indian attitude—has now evidently seen its mistake and veered round to a sensible view of Indo-British relations. It has now expressed itself clearly that it does not believe that the recommendations of the Simon Commission can be forced on a recalcitrant India. Any attempt to do so would be met "with organized opposition, with obstruction and boycott, with civil disobedience and almost certainly with violence". Even if this could be put down, "what 'satisfaction should we get' asks the *New Statesman* 'from rule by the big stick'? "An iron dictatorship would indeed be a fine harvest from our sowing—a noble fulfilment of our pledges! And in the end it would be Ireland over again. This method of 'saving India' is clearly the shortest way to lose India. There is, in fact, only one way of saving India, and that is by meeting the desires of the Indians in a 'liberal spirit.' It thinks that responsible government for India, on a scale that would make a transition stage towards dominion status, "is not only possible at once, but desirable, as we believe, alike in the interests of India and of Britain". It is of opinion that "to refuse responsibility in the centre is to make a mockery of the whole scheme". In fact the views it has expressed are very much similar to those expressed by Indian nationalists and supported them with almost identical arguments. Speaking the other day at the Manchester Luncheon Club, the Rt. Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri is reported to have said:—If I may mention any one point as being absolutely necessary to recognise in any future conception of what India's

status shall be, it is this : that the Indian people have made up their minds that they cannot accept permanently within the Commonwealth a position of inferiority. We are very sensitive upon that point." The same idea is expressed by the *New Statesman* as follows :—"The over-whelming majority of articulate and thinking Indians want—and are determined to have—a genuine scheme of self-government"—yes, and not a mere shadow or travesty of it. Countries much smaller and less advanced than India have shown to the world that it will not pay the mightiest of empires to force upon them a system of government which is not to their liking. How much greater then the unwisdom to attempt to 'govern' by force a country which contains one-fifth of the human race and which in the boycott of foreign goods alone possesses a most potent weapon for injuring a country's prosperity. The path of wisdom for Britain lies not in imposing her will upon this country, but in

conceding her unanimous demand, viz., the immediate conferment of the status of a Dominion, with such safeguards during the transitory period as may be agreed upon between the countries. If in spite of the path of wisdom being absolutely clear the British are determined to maintain their rule over India at the expense of their trade with it, they are quite welcome to attempt it. They have, however, to remember that they have to carry on the government with the rapidly decreasing consent of the people. We leave to His Majesty's Government as the responsible authorities to consider how long this will be practicable. For our part we have not the faintest doubt that unless the policy of repression is immediately replaced by that of conciliation, the situation will develop, before long, into one foreshadowed by the poet. Southey, in his *Madoc in Wales* when,

Blood will have blood, revenge beget revenge,
Evil must come of evil.

LORD BIRKENHAED AS INDIAN SECRETARY

THE *Statesman* writes:—"Its extravagant use and misuse has degraded the great saying *de mortuis nil nisi bonum* to the level of an apologetic tag, exploited by the critically barren. But there are moments when it seems to cry aloud as though challenging defiance of the decencies; and in the passing of Lord Birkenhead it has been heard and heeded almost everywhere with an impressive and remarkable respect. The brilliant talents and achievements, the arresting personality and vitality of the man—these things are recalled with affection and emphasized in mourning by the men whom in his lifetime he most exasperated and estranged. Of these the men in whom it would have been easiest to excuse forgetfulness of his merits are his political enemies among Indian nationalists". There can be no two opinions that Lord Birkenhead's was a great and a dominant personality in British Public life during the last quarter of a century. As lawyer, Judge (as Lord Chancellor) parliamentarian, public speaker, publicist and author, he justly won renown, and it is a great pity (from the Indian nationalist's standpoint) that the late Earl did not bring to bear upon his work as Indian Secretary that sympathetic insight into the affairs of this country which was expected from one of his versatility. While therefore we have no desire to keep silent on Lord Birkenhead's career at the Indian Office—taking shelter behind the Latin "apologetic tag" quoted and commented upon by the *Statesman*—we prefer to record elsewhere the

salient facts of his career and quote the comments of our Anglo-Indian contemporaries, which effectively convey our own view rather than say or own say on his work at the India Office.

It was in 1924 that Lord Birkenhead became Secretary for India in Mr. Baldwin's Cabinet, and held the post until 1928, when he resigned to go into business life. His retirement was admittedly "a matter of money." He could not, as an ex-Chancellor, return to practice at the Bar, and the ban placed by Mr. Baldwin on journalistic work by Ministers was debarring him from earning a larger income. A career in the City offered monetary prizes far larger than political life could ever hope to hold. And so he resigned office. At his death he was a director of several important concerns. In a letter to the Premier, on the occasion of tendering his resignation, Lord Birkenhead said:—

"I regret greatly leaving the India Office where I have spent four of the happiest and most interesting years of my life. The merit or demerit of my work there can at present be known only to the two distinguished Viceroys with whom I co-operated, my colleagues in the Cabinet, whom I kept closely informed of every important decision of my Council and to the admirable staff of India Office, to whose zeal, ability, and prudence I owe so much. For the rest one can only wait for the day when the India papers of the last four years will be published. I do

not wish to leave the public stage with anything in the nature of self-praise. I only, therefore, say that after spending four years as Lord Chancellor, I do not believe the last four years can be ultimately pronounced the most unfruitful of my life. The moment of parting is always sad. Your personality has converted the Cabinet which assembled upon the crater of some bitter memories into a band of brothers. I leave them and you with emotion and—if I be allowed to say—affection". To this letter the Premier replied the follows.—

"I have received your letter with profound regret—regret which will be shared by all your colleagues for four years. Your counsel in the cabinet was invaluable in dark days, and you were a tower of strength—a generous colleague and a loyal friend. It is too early yet to estimate the value of your work at the India Office, but I am confident that historians of our time will do it justice. With every good wish for many years' happiness and prosperity in the new sphere of life upon which you are entering—yours very sincerely, Stanley Baldwin." It would be seen how non-committal Mr. Baldwin's reply was.

The London *Times*, commenting on Lord Birkenhead's resignation, said :—"He will be a greater loss to the Cabinet than to his Department (the India Office), in which he has sat rather loosely for some time past, and, if he were to leave the India Office at all, it is just as well that his successor should take hold of it now, at the beginning of the main tour of the Simon Commission. The difficulty has always been to keep his attention concen-

trated on public affairs—especially since it became necessary to look outside for more substantial livelihood than the public service affords." Read between the lines, the *Time's* comments were a scathing condemnation of Lord Birkenhead as the Indian Secretary.

Similar comments were made by several other leading British Journals at the time, all expressing the view, that with all his talents and versatility, Lord Birkenhead had been a failure as Secretary for India. The same view has now been expressed by Anglo-Indian papers:—"In 1924 after the Coalition had finally broken up, writes the *Statesman*, he became Secretary for India with Lord Reading as Viceroy. The combination was distinguished, though perhaps it left Lord Birkenhead less opportunity of playing a great part in India than he would have had with a weaker Viceroy or than he subsequently had with Lord Irwin. In many respects this was the least satisfactory part of Lord Birkenhead's career. He had no intense interest in India and his outside occupations were many, for he never found the salary of a Cabinet Minister sufficient for his needs. His work at the India Office was done in periods of amazing activity alternating with intervals in which the drudgery of office did not attract him. His own view of this section of his life, expressed in a letter to Mr. Baldwin was, "I do not believe the last four years can be ultimately pronounced the most unfruitful of my life" to which Mr. Baldwin made uncommitting response. Perhaps the truth was that the condition of India during this period, in which it was slowly working up to the next stage of constitutional change, was not

such as appealed to the dramatic instinct so conspicuous in Lord Birkenhead". The *Pioneer's* judgement on his work as Secretary of State for India is severer still. It writes of him:—"In none of the attitudes, that he adopted, was there any conviction; and there was none when he set India ablaze with the challenge that this country had been conquered by the sword and by the sword it would be retained. He would not have thought anything about taking back the strident words, if he had found it necessary to do so. For whatever he said was said only for the moment. He was always pleading the case of a client, and no feeling animated him save his immediate pre-occupation. He was without any sustained political or other interest and throughout concerned himself solely with his triumphs and gorgeous advance." And yet—if this verdict be accepted as correct—this is the man who at the most critical juncture in the history of British India was appointed the highest executive officer and the wielder of her destinies. Could anything be more tragic?

We shall content ourselves with quoting but one more leading Anglo-Indian Journal, the *Times of India*, which thus surveys the late Earl's work at the India Office:—"It can hardly be said that at the India Office Lord Birkenhead's great intellectual gifts were displayed to the best advantage. He not only found the routine work distasteful, but appeared to make little attempt to master the complicated

problems of India or to make himself familiar with Indian opinion. His speeches on India, while he was in office, lacked sympathy, and after he resigned office were characterised by a spirit of arrogant hostility to Indian ideals which made him, to say the least, exceedingly unpopular in this country. That was in 1927. Towards the end of the following year Lord Birkenhead resigned his position in the Cabinet in order to take up certain company directorships which were much more lucrative. He had been anxious to make this change for some time, as he found his emoluments as a Cabinet Minister insufficient for his requirements, and by the Cabinet's self-denying ordinance he was debarred from adding to them by journalistic activity. Lord Birkenhead accepted the office of Secretary of State for India for which he was obviously not suited. He had done his best work. Two years ago he ceased to be a political figure, and his recent speeches on India counted for little in England and may safely be forgotten in this country." We doubt whether such severe strictures have been passed unanimously by leading Anglo-Indian papers (like the *Statesman*, the *Pioneer* and the *Times of India*) on any other Secretary of State for India since the creation of that exalted office in 1858. As the extracts quoted above fully express the Indian nationalist's opinion of Lord Birkenhead's career at the India Office, we need not add any comments of our own.

PEOPLE IN THE PUBLIC EYE

Mr. Sisir Kumar Bhaduri—Mrs. Hansa Mehta

THE "People in the Public eye" at present are Mr. Sisir Kumar Bhaduri—the actor—and Mrs. Hansa Mehta, the "Dictator". Mr. Sisir Kumar Bhaduri is a man of unique genius—that is the universal opinion of his countrymen—and he has inherited the age-long cultural traditions of India, one of the earliest countries to produce the drama and foster it as a regular art. He belongs to a high Brahmin family of Calcutta and was born in 1890. His father was an engineer in Government service. He was a regular student of the University of Calcutta, studying in the Presidency College and the Scottish Church College, and became a Master of Arts in 1914. While a student, he was well known as a keen debator in English and he took a leading part in all the cultural activities of his time. His fame as an actor began when he organised and participated in students' theatricals, both in English and in his mother tongue.

After passing out of the University, Mr. Bhaduri took up education as his profession and became a professor of English literature in one of the biggest colleges in Calcutta. Here he distinguished himself as a teacher but, as a distinguished educationist had observed, "it was the Muses rather than Minerva that finally claimed him as their votary." In 1920 he joined the public stage in Calcutta and gave up his professorship.

It was his burning desire to improve the stage of his country that prompted Mr. Bhaduri to take this step and his achievement has been to give a new tone to the Indian drama, while conserving to the fullest its distinctive Indian character. Large reforms in the matter of costumes and scenic atmosphere have been among his gifts to the stage. Lately on him has fallen the unique honour of being invited to America to represent the Indian drama. It is a great recognition, not only of his own ability but of the country to which he belongs. It can be confidently asserted that as the result of his performances on the stage, the western world will have a chance of forming a direct acquaintance with Indian life and culture through a most characteristic expression of it in art, as displayed by the greatest Indian actor of the day.

Mrs. Hansa Mehta, President of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, and a member of the All-India Working Committee of the Indian National Congress, who has been sentenced to three months' imprisonment for publishing the Congress Bulletin, is the eldest daughter of Sir Manubhai Mehta, Chief Minister to the Maharaja of Bikaner, and wife of that famous Doctor, Dr. Jivraj Mehta, Dean of the Goverdhandas Sunderdas Hospital in Bombay. While yet an undergraduate in the Baroda College, she gave proof of the possession of considerable

powers of organisation. It was she who was mainly instrumental in starting the Bombay Presidency Students' Federation of which she was elected the first president. In 1919, she went to England and studied journalism in London University. In 1920, she attended the Woman's International Suffrage Alliance at Geneva as an Indian delegate. In 1921, she was in America and represented India at several social and educational conferences. She was in Japan in 1923 and experienced the horrors of the terrible earthquake there. In India she has taken prominent part in the Ali-India Woman's Conference, the Rashtriya Stree Sabha and other women's associations. Mahatma Gandhi entrusted to her, among others, the task of organising the women's side of the

Satyagraha movement in Bombay. She threw herself heart and soul into the boycott of foreign cloth movement and herself picketted the shops and persuaded the merchants to refrain from dealing in imported goods. Last month she was elected president of the Bombay 'war council'—or the "Dictator"—and, according to all accounts, she exerted herself strenuously to direct the activities of that body in constructive channels. It is a pity that she should be debarred from her public activities, but she must be fully prepared to face trials, troubles and tribulations for what she no doubt regards as her duty to her country. She is sure to play a prominent part, in the course of her career, in the vanguard of the movement for the enfranchisement of her Indian sisters.

THE NECROLOGY OF THE MONTHS.

The Earl of Birkenhead—Mr. Joseph Baptista—Major Basu.

THE premature death of Lord Birkenhead at the early age of 58 has removed from legal and political circles a most arresting and dynamic personality. Born in Birkenhead on July 12, 1872, he was the grandson of a miner and the son of a barrister of outstanding distinction. His circumstances, therefore, were not very well-off, specially after his father's death. Frederick Smith (as Lord Birkenhead was then called) tried for a Harrow Scholarship but was rejected and went instead to Birkenhead school, whence he passed on to Wadham College, Oxford, with a classical scholarship. His University career was dazzling. He got a first in Honours School of Jurisprudence in 1894, was Vinerian Law Scholar in 1895, and Fellow and Lecturer of Merton College a year later. He also lectured at Oriel, and was an examiner in the Finals Schools for a year. After leaving the University he joined the bar and in 1899, his first year, he earned only 45 guineas. By 1907 that had risen to 1,147 guineas and by 1914 at the age of 42, he was earning nearly £ 30,000 a year. He took silk in 1908. In 1903 he was adopted as the Unionist candidate for Scotland division of Liverpool but was defeated. In the General Election of 1905 he was returned from Walton division to the House of Commons. The year 1906 saw the great Liberal victory. Mr. Smith was, however, elected and he made his maiden speech in Parliament which

brought him before the eyes of the public. He was soon on the Front Bench of the Opposition and in 1911 he was made a *Privy Councillor*.

Ireland was perhaps the only political problem on which Lord Birkenhead ever changed his convictions. In 1911, he was labelled a "Diehard", and as "Galloper" Smith, he became Sir Edward Carson's right chief lieutenant in organizing armed Ulster opposition during 1913-1914, years later, it became his duty, as Lord High Chancellor, to announce in the House of Lords the settlement with Ireland and the separation of Ulster. During the European War Lord Birkenhead went on active service with the Indian Corps in France.

In 1915, however, he returned to London to become Solicitor-General in the Coalition Cabinet and, later on in the same year, he succeeded Sir Edward Carson as Attorney-General. He held this post throughout Mr. Lloyd George's War Coalition Cabinet. In 1919, he became Lord High Chancellor with the title of Lord Birkenhead. At 47, he was the youngest Chancellor England has ever had. Lord Birkenhead remained Chancellor and the chief exponent of Government policy in the House of Lords until 1922, when he went out of Office with the Coalition Cabinet in 1922, and remained out of office for two years. In 1924, however, he became Secretary of State for India in Mr. Baldwin's Cabinet, and held

the post until 1928, when he resigned to go into business. We review his work at the India Office elsewhere.

After his retirement from the India Office, Lord Birkenhead became a director of Imperial Chemical Industries and held this post until his death. He was also chairman of the Greater London and Counties' Trust Limited, from 1929 onwards, and of Tate and Lyle Ltd.

Lord Birkenhead made his mark in the literary field after the War and published several volumes, some of which were of an autobiographical character. Shortly after his tour of the United States, he published in 1918, a book full of piquant comment, entitled "My American Visit". This was followed by "America Revisited." But the success of those efforts was overshadowed when the first volume of "Famous Trials of History" appeared ten years later. So great was the demand that Lord Birkenhead followed it up with a second series which also attracted a large public. "Law, Life and Letters" which appeared in 1927, and "The speeches of Lord Birkenhead." (1929) also proved popular with the reading public. Lord Birkenhead had a fluent and vigorous style especially suited to newspaper and magazine articles, and once declared he could make £ 40,000 a year in journalism. Prior to the War, Lord Birkenhead published "International Law" (4th edition), and many pamphlets and booklets on current topics in politics and in the commercial sphere. Many of these were journalesque pure and simple.

Lord Birkenhead attracted attention more through his work in Parliament, his brilliant oratory and

writing and his share in the Irish Treaty than as a great jurist, but some of his most enduring work was done in the great law offices which gave him the opportunity to display his transcendent legal abilities. Perhaps his greatest work was the revision of the law of property. Lord Birkenhead married in 1901, Margaret Eleanor, daughter of the Rev. H. Furneaux, who survives him. They had one son and two daughters. Viscount Furneaux, who succeeds to the earldom, is 23 years old. Like his father, he made a reputation for himself at Oxford by his speeches in the Union. There can be no doubt that the passing away of Lord Birkenhead at the present juncture in the history of the Conservative party is a very great loss to it.

The news of the demise of Mr. Joseph Baptista, of Bombay, has been received with genuine and wide-spread regret all over the country. Mr. Baptista was born in Bombay on the 17th of March, 1864 of East Indian parents—Mahrattas whose ancestors embraced Christianity four hundred years ago during the Portugese rule. He earned the affectionate sobriquet of Kaka (Uncle Joe) by his strenuous advocacy of the cause of Labour. He was a familiar figure among politicians throughout India known for his sturdy independence, wit and wisdom. Mr. Baptista was educated by the Jesuit Fathers. After matriculating he joined the College of Science at Poona to study Civil Engineering and took the L. C. E. degree of the Bombay University in 1886. He served the Government of Bombay in the Forest Department for seven years. He resinged in 1894 and sailed for

England to study Law and Politics. He took the degree of B.A. and the Law Tripos at Cambridge in 1899. He was called to the Bar at Gray's Inn and was enrolled as an Advocate of the High Court at Bombay in 1899. He was appointed Professor at the Government Law School and held the post for two years. He contributed the Indian Section to "The Commercial Laws of the World" edited by Sir Thomas Edward Scrutton of the English High Court of Justice. He achieved considerable prominence at the Bombay Bar where he would have certainly developed a large practice, had he not succumbed to the attractions of a political career. Mr. Baptista's political career commenced at Cambridge during his under graduation. He was a distinguished member of the Cambridge Union. Upon Tilak's imprisonment for sedition in 1897 and the internment of the Natu Brothers, he moved in the Union "that the policy of Government is unwarranted and unwise." The proposition attracted a crowded house. Among the opponents was Lord Lytton, afterwards Governor of Bengal, and among the listeners was the future Secretary of State for India, Mr. Montagu. Upon his return to India in 1899, Mr. Baptista found political stagnation in Bombay. Sir Pherozeshah Mehta advised him to enter the Corporation of Bombay. This he did at the General Election in 1901. But he took no part in the session of the Congress. Then came the Great War in 1914 and the despatch of the Indian Expeditionary Force to the theatre of War. This stimulated the dormant and latent nationalism of India to the temperature of ebullition. Tilak emerged from prison in 1915 and applied himself to the task of holding the Provincial Con-

ference at Poona. He invited Mr. Baptista to preside. The latter seized the opportunity to suggest the formation of the Home Rule League. Tilak agreed. The suggestion was embodied in Mr. Baptista's presidential address. The Indian Home Rule League was duly inaugurated at the Balgaum conference in 1916. This was the first Indian Home Rule League established in India. Mr. Baptista was elected its President and led it for several years. The next was Mrs. Besant's League. Many of the Liberals denounced the League as a disloyal movement, but the idea of Home Rule spread like a prairie fire fanned by the advocacy of Mrs. Besant. Within six months the Home Rulers captured the congress at Lucknow in 1916. Mr. Baptista was greatly impressed by the responsiveness of British Labour to appeals for justice and fair play. He succeeded in persuading Tilak that the Labour party was likely to sympathise with Indian nationalistic aspirations. Tilak entrusted Mr. Baptista with the task of paving the way for an *entente cordiale* with the Labour Party. Mr. Baptista sailed in June 1917. Tilak was to follow. On the eve of embarkation came the news that Mr. Montagu had displaced Mr. Chamberlain as Secretary of State for India. This was auspicious for Mr. Baptista's mission. Mr. Baptista intimated to Mr. Montagu that Tilak's view was that the transfer of power by gradual automatic instalments should be completed within a generation. The famous and historic Declaration of August 1917 was followed by Mr. Montagu's official tour in India. Mr. Baptista met with excellent response everywhere. This link was strengthened by Tilak when he went to England.

for the Chirol case. Meanwhile Mr. Montagu returned to England after his tour and issued the Report.

Unfortunately Mrs. Besant quarrelled with the nationalists and Mr. Baptista was sent post haste from England to bring about a reconciliation. Mr. Baptista returned to Bombay in April 1919 but Mrs. Besant was adamant. Divided counsels vitiated the Reforms Act of 1919. Tilak returned to India in time for the Congress at Amritsar. From the train half way to Amritsar he sent the telegram assuring His Majesty of Responsive Co-operation in reply to the Royal Proclamation counselling co-operation. Mr. Baptista was the real draughts-man of this wire and phrase. The Montford Reforms Act did not concede one anna in the Rupee reform, according to Tilak, but he determined to work it for all it was worth and started the Congress Democratic Party. Mr. Baptista was nominated Leader of the Party. In the 1924 elections, Mr. Baptista was elected for Bombay North to the Bombay Council, and in 1926 he was elected without a contest to the Legislative Assembly. He is the only Indian Christian who has been elected to the Council and Assembly by a constituency where no seat is reserved for Indian Christians. His maiden speech at the Assembly was highly appreciated by all parties official and non-official. In the field of Labour Mr. Baptista rendered yeoman service. He was President of several Unions. He was one of the founders of the All-India Trade Union Congress. He presided at the Jheria Congress in 1923. He was the Labour Delegate to the Geneva Labour Conference under the constitution of the League of Nations in 1924. After

1926 Mr. Baptista, overwhelmed by failing health, practically retired from active participation in politics. Nevertheless he continued to wield an influence that was as unique as it was great both in politics and in municipal affairs.

II

The above summary of Mr. Baptista's strenuous career—adapted from a long sketch in the *Times of India*—will enable our readers to appreciate the declaration of our Bombay contemporary that Mr. Joseph Baptista, was a good deal more than a leader of the East Indian community, or than a leader of the Indian Christians. He was a great figure in our civic life and notable champion of the cause of labour. But he will be remembered more as a protagonist of home rule for India, a man who sang that slogan almost a generation before it became really popular. As the foremost advocate of "responsive co-operation" he played a great part in the political development of India and it was his misfortune that fate deprived him of the place he might well have occupied as a leader in the renaissance of India. Some may think it curious that his community should have thrown up a man of such decisive will and political foresight. Yet he had Maharatta blood, even though of distant strain, in his veins; and he had too the advantage of a sound education under the Jesuits, a brief training as an engineer, and then a few years in Government service before he launched out on a new career for which he was prepared at Cambridge and Gray's Inn. Few Indians of his time had so wide or so thorough an education. He had the ability to make the best of his advantage in that respect and, though many nationalists

strongly differed from his views, yet no one ever doubted his political sagacity or his honesty of purpose. It was his misfortune that he lived to see India hopelessly misled into ruinous ways; yet his recent contributions to the columns of the *Times of India* showed that ill health and disappointments had not dimmed his hope or his belief that better times were in store for his country. He had but a Pishah glimpse of the promised land to which he tried to lead his countrymen. It is to be hoped that he died content with the knowledge that so much had been vouchsafed him, and content too to know that there were innumerable friends all over India and not only in Bombay who would always be glad to remember "Kaka" Baptista with feelings of gratitude as one of the greatest worker in the cause of Indian nationalism and a dear friend and staunch co-adjuter of Tilak.

Major Baman Das Basu's death—
 Major Basu at the comparatively early age of 64—is a distinct loss to Indian scholarship and historical and scientific studies. Major Basu was probably the last of the stalwart band of Bengalees who by their ability and intellectual greatness established themselves in Upper India. He was a notable personality. Though primarily a medical man in military employment, who had seen active service in Chitral and the Sudan, his chief affection was history, and his books, "*Story of Satara*" and "*Rise of the Christian Power in India*" are justly regarded as standard works on the subjects, being prescribed for the final M. A. course in history in our universities. They earned for him encomiums of critics like Mr. J. A. Spencer, who said: "There in no eastern country which has so many talented men in so many

walks of life as India. Men like Dr. Tagore, Sir J. C. Bose, and Major Basu, the historian of India, would be highly distinguished in any European country." Being a perfect master of many Indian and European languages, he produced an enormous quantity of literature on a variety of subjects ranging from "*Indian Medical Plant*" to the "*Ruin of Indian Trade and Industry*". The late Major was an ardent social reformer and his devotion to the cause of Indian women's education is well-known in Allahabad. He was the founder of the Jagat Taran Girls' High School, and he liberally contributed to various other institutions. Thus the death of Major Basu removes from the field of historical research scholarship one of the keenest and indefatigable workers. His historical researches have demolished much of the false history about this country written by foreigners. Most people on retirement from service, particularly at an old age, think of enjoying a well-earned rest, but the contrary was the case with Major Basu. After his retirement he devoted his energy, which was almost inexhaustible, and his talent which was of the highest order, to historical research. To his untiring energy are due some of the best works on periods of Indian history in which he was the first to do the spade work. We had the privilege of knowing him intimately at Allahabad, which latter place he had made his residence. No heart ever burnt with greater passion for the motherland than did that of Dr. Basu. His books, particularly his monumental work—"*Rise of the Christian Power in India*", are an undying monument to his memory and posterity will ever remember with gratitude his efforts for the vindication of the honour and

reputation of his countrymen. He was a charming personality and impressed every body who came in contact with him by his genial temper, his sparkling humour and the wonderful power of conversation that he

possessed. He was every inch a gentleman and a man of noble character. His philanthropy and wide charity were never advertised but known to many. Our humble tribute of respect goes to his memory.

COMMENTS, CRITICISMS AND DISCUSSIONS.

The Revolution in India : A Flashlight View.

THE position is changing. The believers in the cult of the revolver and the bomb—they have nothing to do with the Congress—appear again to be coming to the fore. The manifestations of the spirit of violence are producing a strong reaction in the public mind against the Congress movement of defiance of law and authority, for the danger to person and property if the executive were to be paralysed is being increasingly realized. Apart from the activities of the anarchists, there is the danger of outbreak of mob violence, and what this means has already been illustrated forcibly in some parts of the country. In this connection we would like to quote the following sentences from an article headed 'The Revolution in India : A Flashlight View', in the latest number of the *Hindustan Review*. The article, we may say, is thoroughly nationalist in its outlook and very critical of the Government. Nor could it be otherwise as the writer is Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha.

"The occasional horrors of mob-violence are sure to be the inevitable

concomitant of a campaign of civil disobedience, and this unavoidable result of Mr. Gandhi's campaign has been foreseen by all intelligent persons, not excluding perhaps the leaders of the movement themselves who had experience of it in the non-cooperation movement of 1921. The mob, as such, cannot be said to be either a believer in the preservation of peace and the maintenance of law and order, or in non-violent civil disobedience actuated by high and noble ideals of patriotism and selflessness. On the contrary, in India as elsewhere in the world it believes in the gratification of selfish desires and the lower passions of the human nature—loot, plunder, arson and other deeds of wanton licence. It is always biding its time and opportunities for the weakening of the strength of the executive and, as soon as it feels secure, it sallies forth to work havoc and commit depredations, in the hope of personal gain, and not for the purpose of securing Dominion Status for India. Time after time, the protagonists of non-violent non-co-operation and civil disobedience have come to grief by ignoring this stern fact—the effect of

the activities of this turbid element—with dire results to their movement in particular, and to the progress of the country, in general.”

It can serve no useful purpose to be panicky or to exaggerate matters, but facts ought not to be ignored nor the clear tendency of events. It may be argued by the supporters of the non-violent movement that if the spirit of violence is asserting itself it is the result of Government's own violent methods in repressing a non-violent movement. But such an argument implies an admission of defeat. It may be recalled that Mahatma Gandhi

stated that his objective was to conquer the violence of Government by his non-violent movement. If violence is not conquered by non-violence, if on the other hand it defeats the latter, then the leaders of the Satyagraha movement must acknowledge their failure to this extent—and it is not inconsiderable—and should not delude themselves into the belief that non-violence will continue to the end. The ugly developments which have taken place in various parts of the country should at least now serve as a warning and eye-opener to them.—*The Leader*. (Indo-English daily, Allahabad.)

The Round Table Conference.

Pandit Malaviya first made the same suggestion. Dewan Bahadur C. Vijayaraghavacharya, also an old Congressman and ex-President of the National Congress, advances the same view in a striking article in the current number of the *Hindustan Review*. There is a considerable body of opinion in support of holding the Conference in India where the delegates will be in contact with the currents of feelings among their own people and alive to the absolute need of having Indian public opinion behind them. Some sort of conference in London may be necessary later. The original idea of a Round Table Conference has been considerably whittled down first, by agreeing to the admission of representatives of the British Opposition parties, and secondly, by the decision of the Prime Minister and the leaders of the Conservative and Liberal parties not to attend the Conference. As originally proposed, the Conference was to be presided over by the Prime

Minister and was to be between the British Government and the Indian delegates. With the changes now adopted, its character as an authoritative body has been considerably lowered and the chances of its coming to acceptable or even definite decisions made more remote. It is quite probable also that Sir John Simon will have to be allowed a prominent seat at the Conference. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald stated his objections to the inclusion of the chairman of the Statutory Commission in a guarded and tentative manner. The difficulty is due to the precarious position of his Cabinet. A postponement of the Conference to April, may remove the uncertainty in this respect, besides affording a more genial climate in which the delegates may carry on their solemn duties. Meanwhile, a Conference may be advantageously held in India to settle the main lines of a scheme which the Indians may present for acceptance to the British Government and Parliament. Absolutely nothing has been done so

far to accommodate the different points of view among Indians. A glance at the probable lists of delegates from the several provinces, published in the papers, shows them to be more remarkable for their omissions than for their inclusions. There is also the probability that during the coming months the political situation here will also crystallize and all sections of opinion may be represented at the Conference—the *Indian Social Reformer* (Indo-English weekly).

The Hindustan Review.

The latest issue of the *Hindustan Review* is as usual full of readable matter. 'The Advent of the "Coming Renaissance"' by Babu Bhagwan Das, 'Dominion Status for India: Now or Never' by Mr. C. Vijiaraghavachariar, 'The Pan-Islamic Movement': a study by Mr. Vasudeo B. Metta, 'The Simon Report and the Minorities' by Dr. Radhakumud Mukerjee, 'The Art of the late Poet-Laureate' by Mr. K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, B.A., B.L., are among the articles

which will be read with interest. The *Hindustan Review* generally also reprints some choice articles from other journals. Such is 'Central Asia under the Soviets' by Mr. Abdul Quadir Khan, being an address read at the Central Asian Society. The review columns are as ever rich, books on various subjects being reviewed or noticed. Two other permanent features of the *Review* are 'The Necrology of the Month' and 'Men in the Public Eye.' In the latter columns there is a graphic account of the Mace incident in Parliament which took place in connection with the demand for a debate on India by Mr. Brockway. In the editorial columns there appears a learned article under the heading. 'The Revolution in India. A Flashlight View' which is a comprehensive review of the civil disobedience campaign by Mr. Sachchidanand Sinha in which one finds quoted opinions on the campaign expressed all over the world—The *Leader* (Indo-English daily).

The Hindustan Review deserves attention from British readers as showing the trend of thought—philosophical, literary and political—among the educated classes of India.—"Truth" London.

The Hindustan Review is of especial value as lifting the brain cap of India and letting us see the thoughts that are moving in her educated mind.—The late Mr. W. T. Stead in the "Review of Reviews," London.

The Hindustan Review is representative of the higher intellectual life of India and enables us to learn the thoughts that are agitating her cultivated circles. Its articles are of especial value from a political and philosophical point of view and it occupies among Indian periodicals a position analogous to that of the "Nineteenth Century" or the "Fortnightly Review."—United Empire" (Monthly Organ of the Royal Empire Society, London.)

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THE AWAKENING OF DEMOS

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA.

GREAT events are swift in the happening; there may be long periods of preparation, there may be a silent gathering of the forces necessary for a tremendous upheaval, but the eruption itself is sudden and is startling in its abruptness. It is so in outside nature and also in extensive and radical changes in human psychology. Premonitory symptoms escape notice; stray signals of danger are disregarded. The old order may change yielding place to the new, but men are content to look upon it as a slow process which comes with ample warning so that the element of surprise is not a marked feature of any transition. Nevertheless, the fact remains that there has been nothing more surprising since the dawn of history than the present sudden awakening of democracy throughout the world.

Counted by the number of years the period in which this world-wide change has taken place is of incredible brevity. We do not feel the shock of surprise because we are in the midst of it all. It takes time to adjust our viewpoint. At present there is no perspective; we are much too close to the immense picture that is being painted before our eyes. The stage is so crowded and there are so many actors that we cannot fully realise the significance of the intense drama that is being enacted in our presence. The stage is the whole world, the actors come from the entire human race. There has never been anything like it since the creation of man. Isolated revolutions and struggles for national independence such as the French Revolution and the movement in Italy under Garibaldi may be found scattered

through the pages of history, but it is only now that the world is a witness to an almost simultaneous and spontaneous revolution throughout the world. Events have crowded themselves with bewildering rapidity within the memory of a single generation. They began with the explosion of the myth about the unchanging East. There was a time when the might of Russia was regarded as a serious and proximate menace to the British occupation of India. Then came the conflict in the Far East, on land and sea, between Russia and Japan, and the victorious emergence of the Asiatic Power from that Titanic struggle. An English newspaper declared that for the first time in history Europe had gone down before Asia. It had done so previously before the Muslim-Asiatics but even so it was nothing short of a revelation for in the Russo-Japanese War Japan fought as no other nation has ever fought before or since.

Next followed the revolution in China and the disappearance of the Manchu dynasty. Short of annexation, though several strategic points and seaports were occupied, the European Powers had had their will of China. The whole nation was doped and drugged by opium forcibly dumped on the market in China. Russia and Germany overawed China and Japan, and European expeditions were philanthropically sent to China to put down the Boxer rebellion. King Demos is now coming into his own in China through a welter of blood. Civil war is among the price that has to be paid for the ultimate and final establishment of a national, democratic constitution. The War of Independence alone did not secure freedom for America. The Civil War placed the

independence of the United States on a stable and permanent basis. As soon as the Chinese Republic is consolidated and firmly welded together a clean sweep will be made of all foreign pretensions in China and her disciplined and massed strength will effectively prevent any encroachment upon her sovereign rights.

For all intents and purposes Japan has been a democratic nation ever since the Mikado granted a constitution to his people. While the personal loyalty of the Japanese nation to the Emperor is unbounded he is as much a constitutional monarch as the King of England. The Mikado alone cannot involve his country in a war or precipitate a political crisis. All that is needed for the safety and peace of Japan is a friendly, mutual understanding between her and China. The evil example of the former hectoring attitude of the European Powers must be forgotten. China will daily grow in strength, and she can be neither bullied nor browbeaten. Japan is already appreciating this fact and the two yellow races in the Far East will find it to their advantage to live in friendly neighbourliness.

What can be more wonderful than the sudden transformation of Turkey from the regime of feeble intrigue which had earned for it the nickname of the Sick Man of Europe to the virile and masterful nation striding forward from progress to progress? Behind the course of events in Turkey there is of course the dominating and powerful personality of Ghazi Kamal Pasha, but what could he have achieved if the country had not enthusiastically followed his lead? When the hour strikes for a new era in the life of a nation a leader invariably steps for-

ward to the front and guides his people along the new path appointed for it. The leader and the followers react upon one another; the vague restlessness of the latter finds a clear and definite expression in the former; what is often a confused and incoherent urge among the mass of the population becomes a clear cut and precise purpose in the mind of the leader. He has the gift of vision while the others grope in the dark; he holds the torch and sounds the clarion. From the Turkey of Abdul Hamid to the Turkey of Kamal Pasha it has been an incredible and breathless change.

In Egypt the British overlordship alone stands in the way of the attainment of full national independence, but the trend of events is unmistakable. Women are no less keen than the men and the complete freedom of Egypt is only a question of time. The dynastic change in Persia, the wresting of the crown by a soldier of fortune, is the precursor to a radical change and the ultimate establishment of a national democratic constitution.

The tyranny of phrases endures longer than the absolute rule of a despot and hence we need not be surprised if in spite of the over-whelming evidence of the sudden and sweeping changes among the nations of the East the saying about the unchanging East should continue to be repeated as unctuously as ever. How about the changeful and progressive West, which claims a monopoly of civilisation and enlightenment? Neither the glamour of material prosperity nor the brilliance of intellectual achievement can conceal the fact that modern Europe is wholly dominated by the passion and paganism of ancient Greece and Rome. There are the same triumphs of a keen intellect,

the same single-minded pursuit of knowledge allied with the same over-vaulting ambition and the same devouring jealousy that led to the downfall of Greece and Rome. The same science that is ceaselessly engaged in wresting the secrets of nature is devising with equal zeal new infernal machines for the wholesale destruction of human life. There never was a time when the atmosphere of Europe was free from jealousy and suspicion. Half a dozen nations in Europe have considered themselves as the greatest in the world, successful aggrandisement being uniformly regarded as the measure of greatness. They can combine easily when exploiting another country and another people, but they must fall out when it comes to a division of the spoils. What is the real difference between a savage and a civilized people? Not the possession of wealth, nor even the establishment of law and order. Civilisation is the progressive growth of humanism, the shedding of evil instincts that are common to the savage man and the savage beast. Is there any nation in Europe free from the primitive predatory instinct?

Why is it that Europe has never known peace for any lengthy period of time? The answer is to be found in the law of nature that men and animals that prey upon others always attack one another. Most of the European nations are in possession of territory out of Europe. Germany, Russia, France have or had large possessions. Even small States like Holland and Belgium have colonies in Asia and Africa. And nations that usurp other lands abroad cannot expect to find peace at home.

A hundred years do not form a long period in the lifetime of nations,

but even within this space of time Europe has been frequently devastated by wars. A little over a hundred years ago Europe was overrun by the invincible and the victorious armies of Napoleon, but Nemesis relentlessly followed and overtook him at Waterloo. Then came the Crimean War in which Turkey, France and England combined their forces against Russia. Next followed the war of vengeance and retribution known as the Franco-Prussian War in which France was humbled to the dust by the terrific onslaughts of united Germany. And finally there was the World War of this century involving five continents and making the fabled Armageddon of the Apocalypse a frightful reality. Never was Europe nearer to extinction than in that War of which the effects are still being felt throughout the world. The most disquieting feature of these successive wars is the alarming increase in the number of the fighting forces and the expansion of the war zone. In the Napoleonic wars the largest army of Napoleon, the one that he led to the disastrous invasion of Russia, did not exceed two hundred thousand men, while the combined armies of the Allies against him never reached that number. In the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 a single division of the German army was comprised of two hundred and fifty thousand men. But these numbers dwindle into utter insignificance when compared with the millions that were rushed into the conflict of 1914-18. The United States of America alone sent a million of armed soldiers across the Atlantic to the battle front in France. The flower of the manhood of Europe perished on the battle-fields; even the schools and colleges were emptied; India, in the words of Lord

Hardinge, was bled white. It was not war so much as a pestilence of death that swept over the dug out trenches, sent down ships to the bottom of the sea, dropped deadly bombs upon peaceful civilians and hurled the mangled bodies of airmen and their blazing machines down to the earth. Huge shells darted shrieking through the air for miles and then striking the earth blew out huge craters destroying every living thing within a radius of several hundred yards. Unseen vicious machine guns spat out bullets at the rate of six hundred a minute and whole battalions were wiped out in the twinkling of an eye. It was a monstrous carnival of death and never did Death hold such high revelry as in the latest war of civilised Europe. The fiercest savages were never guilty of the organised ruthlessness, brutality and violence that were witnessed in this War.

The direct legacy left by the last war was a widespread feeling of fear. For the nations that won the war it was a pyrrhic victory. So seriously were both the victors and the vanquished crippled that it was universally recognised that another such war would spell the ruination of entire nations. The idea of a League of Nations to make war impossible originated with the nations that had won the War. Their mental reflection was the same as the open declaration of Pyrrhus after his victory of Asculum, 'Another such victory and we are lost!' But no one is under any delusion that the League of Nations will succeed in preventing war so long as the temperament and the outlook of the nations of Europe undergoes no change. While the defeated nations have been practically

disarmed the victorious nations remain armed to the teeth. There are no signs of a general disarmament; friendly international understanding is merely skin-deep; the deep-rooted distrust prevailing throughout Europe occasionally finds vent in unguarded speech; shortly before the Kellogg Pact of Peace was signed London was thrilled by the exhibition of a mimic aerial warfare, for the raids of Zeppelins and the attacks of the Gothas still haunt the memory of England.

Two outstanding facts have emerged from the World War: the first is the passing of imperialism, unwept and unsung. If there is still any nation left which vaunts of imperialism let it learn wisdom from the recent fate of Empires, east and west. Where are the Chinese and the Son of Heaven, the supreme magistrate and the sovereign pontiff accountable to Heaven alone? The Ottoman Empire with its soupçon of the savour of the Arabian Nights has vanished like the purple dreams of a hashish smoker. The dread white Tsar of all the Russias died many deaths before he was cruelly put to death. The fierce-whiskered Kaiser of the mailed fist, who fancied himself Cæsar and Napoleon rolled into one, and who bestrode Europe like a colossus, is a cowering fugitive in a corner of Holland. Austro-Hungary has not only ceased to be an empire but even its name has been altered on the map of Europe. Imperialism has become a word of evil omen and should be avoided by all nations desirous of a reasonable length of national life. The other fact is the menacing advent of a new democracy with its grave portent of the rise of the submerged masses and their inevitable and irresistible bid

for sovereign power. For centuries Russia was remorselessly ground down under the iron heel of the cruellest despotism that the world has ever known and the rebound of the main-spring of national life has been equally violent. When a nation is driven to hell it can only retrace its steps to the light of the sun through another hell. Much of what is happening in Russia is unknown, much of what is written and said by other people is distorted and vitiated. Lenin was represented as a monster of vice and cruelty; it is not widely known that he was an acute thinker with a closer grasp of vital problems than most of the phrasemongers who pass for statesmen in Europe. His writings and speeches comprise thirty volumes of closely reasoned argument and subtle analysis. Whether the socialistic ideal of syndicalism or plain, unvarnished communism will ultimately capture the imagination of the nations is beyond our vision, but there is naturally widespread alarm as the tentacles of the new political creed are reaching out and gripping the minds of men all over the world. Neither prohibitive or punitive legislation, nor the deportation of undesirables can prevent the invasion of thought. The mind is a subtler medium than ether and there is no power on earth that can prevent a brain-wave finding contact with other brains.

Towards the end of the last century William Thomas Stead, brilliant publicist, social reformer and spiritualist, wrote a book on what was designated the Yellow Peril, that is, the invasion of Europe by the yellow races in Asia. The book was in the form of a story. Mr. Stead did not elaborate the idea of an armed inva-

sion of Europe, but he worked out a theory of a sort of peaceful penetration, the acquirement of extensive landed interests in England by the wealth of China and the resultant political power wielded by a syndicate of Chinese capitalists and landowners. Of course the Yellow Peril was at no time anything more substantial than a figment of the imagination. Nations that are accustomed to seize other lands naturally suppose that others cast covetous eyes on their possessions. There never was and never will be any Yellow or Brown Peril for Europe, but the actual and imminent danger is the White Peril. The gravest danger of Europe is from within itself. In the Franco-Prussian war France lost Alsace and Lorraine. Not very long ago Italy was under subjection to Austria. Napoleon gave away Kingdoms to his generals much as a wealthy man bestows largess upon his dependents. If the tide of fortune in the World War had turned in favour of the Central Powers of Europe more than one European country might have been shorn of territory and probably deprived of liberty. Men in Europe dream and prate of a peril which has never existed outside their imagination while they have taken no thought of the peril at their door and which, as in the past, may again leap upon them unawares at any time. It is only now that Europe dimly recognises the prowling presence and the sinister threat of the White Terror.

In India the awakening of the democratic consciousness is a tangled complex which baffles all attempts to unravel it. The revival in India is represented by two stages: first, the emergence of the nation out of numerous scattered units of popula-

tion, second, the desire for the establishment of a national constitution. Countries like China and Turkey do not afford an accurate parallel to India, for those countries were never under foreign domination. In India the alternative goals are either full internal autonomy with a sort of feudal allegiance to an outside paramount power or complete independence without any obligation to any other nation. The possibility of the evolution of an Indian nation from the various peoples inhabiting the vast Indian peninsula was foreseen by Sir Henry Seely, the English historian and thinker, fifty years ago. He also predicted that when India became a united nation it would not be necessary for her to enter upon an armed struggle for the attainment of freedom. The solidarity of nationalism would be sufficient for that purpose. If India united and unified, willed to be free no other nation could hold her in bondage. The real relationship between England and India was explained by the significant statement that the late Allan Octavian Hume made in the course of his evidence before the first Public Service Commission over which Sir Charles Aitchison presided. Nettled by the large demands made by Mr. Hume on behalf of the people of India one of the European Commissioners trotted out the largely favoured fiction about England holding India by the right of the sword. The reply was a characteristic outburst by Mr. Hume. It was India, he declared, that was holding on to England since England had no power to hold India against her will. That is the absolute truth of the situation. If India were to let go her hold of England,

if her clutching fingers were to relax and to cease to cling to the skirt of England, if she were to step aside and let England carry on all by herself the end would come at once and England would drop out of the future life of India.

Of all fortuitous events none is more wonderful than the establishment of British rule in India. The swaggering myth of British conquest of India may be dismissed as scarcely worthy of serious consideration. There was no invasion and no conquest. The British in India were a small handful of humble traders when the Moghul Empire was passing through a process of disintegration and mushroom principalities were springing up in various directions. In the inevitable scramble for possession and power that followed the British were not the only foreigners in India. The French, the Dutch and the Portuguese were all there. It was a gamble in which the others had no luck while that of England held. There was not a single action on the field that was won by British troops alone unaided by Indian auxiliaries. India conquered herself for the benefit of England and has helped to consolidate and strengthen British supremacy in India. India was not only willing but did actively help to establish the new rule. When fabulous accounts of the triumph of British prowess against overwhelming odds are passed off as history it may be useful by way of a gentle corrective to point to other British records that tell a different story. Has the reader read an English book called "The Victoria Cross"? Accounts are given in that book as to how the Maoris acquitted themselves

when they first came into conflict with disciplined British troops in Australia. It is frankly and truthfully stated that the Maoris, entrenched behind their crude *paks*, defied and defeated disciplined British troops. In the two Boer wars the balance of advantage at first rested with the Boers. The relief of Mafeking and the subsequent rapturous rejoicings of the London mob introduced a new word in the English language, 'Mafficking'.

Pascal says, 'Do you wish men to speak well of you? Then never speak well of yourself.' This very wise advice has been wholly lost upon the present Government. The pæans of its praise are chanted and sung by its own choir, by the official historian and the non-official newspaper writer, by the politician on the platform and the proconsul in his wanderings. Englishmen whether in India or in England have spoken so well of themselves that they have left others nothing to say. One wonders whether any European writer of distinction on the continent has joined the British chorus; but one does not, since all the good that can be said has been exhausted by British spokesmen themselves and so the others are more congenially engaged in exposing the less attractive traits of the British character. Pascal's saying is true also the other way about: 'Do you wish men to speak ill of you? Then always speak well of yourself.'

Now, the question that we have to ask ourselves in all seriousness is, does it help us in any way to be constantly ringing changes upon a gamut of bitterness? After all, the British rule is not the first foreign rule in India; it is merely the last one in a

long succession of alien rules. It came into existence with the active support of the people of India and it is functioning and flourishing with the same support. The driving power of the Government machine is British but most of the wheels of the machine are Indian. The existence of the British Government in India without the active and willing co-operation of the people of this country is unimaginable. To use a simile very frequently met with in Sanskrit poetry the contact between England and India is like that of water and the lotus leaf. In spite of the fact that the lotus leaf rests on the water no water will adhere to it and the upper surface of the leaf is always dry. The British rule has never struck root in India. The highest British administrators go about the country carpet-bag in hand while their ship stands in the harbour with steam up. Whether it is for five years, or five times five years, their head attends to the details of the administration while their heart always turns to their distant island home. The ignorance of Englishmen in their insular environment about everything pertaining to India is truly abysmal. Between England and India there is no alliance of interests and consequently there is no need for us to have feelings of rancour against the British connection. The fundamental objection is to the usurpation of the destiny of one race by another and that objection would stand whether an alien rule happens to be British or any other.

If anything, we should turn the heavy artillery of invective and the flashing rapier of raillery and banter against our own ranks. How long have we played at patriotism and

treated it as a pastime without ever realising that for a country situated like India the part of a patriot is a grim, stern and dour struggle, and not a holiday jaunt in the intervals of amassing wealth? We the well or ill educated section of the community are the most vocal as well as the most nerveless portion of the population of India. We not only bent our necks cheerfully to the yoke, for any thought of resistance would have been madness, but we yielded our senses wholly to the hypnosis of the West. We gloried in donning the livery of our masters, we discarded the wholesome, plain food that had sustained our ancestors for thousands of years for the strange meats and wines of the West. It was in reality a curious epidemic of xenomania, an inordinate fondness for things foreign, under the influence of which we flaunted our shame as our glory. Enthusiastic pilgrims we shifted the holy of holies from Benares and Mecca to London and Paris. We were not only helots in our own homes, but we became abject in our self-abasement.

The invisible but mighty hand of Time-Spirit has swung the pendulum back, the cold douche of reality has roused our drugged consciousness. Still the obsession of the West retains possession of our intellects and warps our judgment. The unfortunate riots between Hindus and Mahomedans have been attributed to evil influences but what is the explanation of the division of Indian patriots into different camps? What is the significance of the existence of different parties in Indian legislatures? In the British Parliament there are parties because of the lure of office and power. It is a game of in and out, one party coming

into office and the other going out of it. But in India there is neither power nor office for any party. There is only one party permanently in office and that is the foreign bureaucracy, while all other parties are in permanent opposition. One can understand the formation of parties where all real power is transferred from the bureaucracy to the elected representatives of the people, but till then the splitting up of the latter into a number of parties merely means the weakening of what little strength they may have. It is not thus that the will of India can ever successfully assert itself.

To an unsophisticated intelligence the designations of some of the political parties in India are utterly bewildering. What is the import of that formidable and sinister word 'Extremists'? What is the gravamen of the charge against the party known by that name? What are the extreme lengths to which they proceed either in their views or in their methods? Have they demanded the sovereignty of the whole world, or the immediate possession of the Empire over which the sun never sets, but whose own sun has certainly passed the meridian? If they have not made such an extravagant claim, but merely insist on the full freedom of their own country, they are not extremists but primarists. Liberty is the primary and inalienable right of every creature that has the breath of life, bird, beast or man.

Between the Extremist and the Moderate there is the whole length of the diameter for they appear to be at the two ends. It must be very fine to be a Moderate, for is not moderation the stream of tendency that makes for sweet reasonableness? But how can one be moderate in demanding a

simple, elementary right? If a man is fettered by leg irons would he in his moderation be content if only one foot is set free? According to his own estimate Lord Clive was one of the most moderate of men and he was astonished at his own moderation. Now, if one can have a donkey load of gold merely for the loading while the Bobby looks another way and helps him to make a clean getaway it is not moderation if he walks away with only a pocketful of the yellow stuff. It is stark lunacy. It is unlikely that any Indian Moderate would wish to be bracketted with Clive.

How are Liberals, Independents, Nationalists and Responsivists to be distinguished from others? India needs only one party, the merging of all parties into one that will not rest until the destiny of the race is fulfilled. The service of the country means the unhesitating and utter surrender of all our resources, the consecration of all that we hold dear to the cause of the Motherland. When the dual monarchy in Japan was discontinued and the Shogunate was abolished the great landowners and the wealthy and powerful leaders of the Samurai voluntarily impoverished themselves and emptied all that they possessed into the national treasury. There was no danger in sight, no enemy was threatening either the shores or the mainland of Japan, the leaders quickly sensed the approach of the White Peril from the West and they pooled all their resources to preserve the inviolability of the Land of the Rising sun. In a single generation and at a single stride Japan placed herself abreast of the Great Powers of Europe.

The national and democratic movement in India is being retarded by our

own people. There are too many wise men of the East in India. It is a case of many political cooks spoiling the broth that will give sustenance and strength to the national body. We feel that India has not been at rest and all around us were premonitions and signs of impending change. The part of real

patriotism is to clear the issue and to focus the contending and distracting voices into a single demand, to formulate and coalesce the national will into a lever and to rest it upon a secure fulcrum. We believe this is being slowly realised.

THE PREJUDICES OF WESTERNIZED HISTORY

By Mr. V. B. METTA

MAYOR Thompson, rumaging about two years ago among the text-books and public libraries of Chicago, discovered a momentous fact about American history: it had been written and recorded for the most part by persons with prejudices different from his own. Researches pursued over a wider area, might have revealed to him that the same limitations applied to historians dealing with other countries, that Greece and Rome, Carthage and Florence had all their glories and tragedies retailed by authors full of prejudices. Over areas of history however where he had no present-day temperamental axe to grind, Mr. Thompson would probably have accepted the statements of the first authority he chanced upon as an unprejudiced and wholly truthful record.

Mr. Thompson at least showed, in howsoever crude a way, that the average reader of history is a very innocent person and is easily taken in by what he reads. Theoretically, even the most superficial student is

aware that historians are prone to take sides: and that the personal bias of first-class historians is one of the qualities which lends their works a liveliness and charm which one does not find in mere "factly" compilations. But it needs considerable detachment for the reader to be able to analyze how history is tainted by unconscious prejudices—individual, religious, and national: and how these prejudices determine the historian's selection of facts in the age he is dealing with.

Take any elementary history of the world and note carefully the relative prominence given to three great men—Alexander the Great, Napoleon, and Abraham Lincoln—and you will be able to deduce something of the author's prejudices for military leaders as against statesmen or for statesmen as against military leaders. A rationalist may look upon the Renaissance as the dawn of a glorious day for the Western world. A mystic, on the contrary, might regard it as the beginning

of the twilight of Western culture. If a historian of exceptional literary power takes under his protection one particular historical character, his views are likely to influence his successors. It is Carlyle, whose Cromwellian bias still prepossesses the average men, when the name of that cruel but capable dictator is mentioned; and it is only an Irishman with a strong anti-Cromwellian home-tradition who is likely *prima facie* to question the ultimate value of Carlyle's picture.

Again persons with different religious beliefs are not likely to approach the religious crises of history from the same point of view. A Roman Catholic historian cannot possibly regard the Reformation with the same enthusiasm as a Protestant. Queen Mary rather than Queen Elizabeth ranks in English text-books of history as "Bloody", mainly because the upbringing of the majority of English historians has been commenced in the Protestant persuasion.

Stretch the religious difference still further and see the history of Mohammedan countries through eyes of Christian authorities and you will find that they lack both sympathy and interest in their subject. They naturally regard Mohammed as a false prophet and his religion as a bad religion. In the Middle Ages we find the most scurrilous Christian descriptions of the Prophet of Arabia and the most contemptuous references to the great Arab philosopher Averroes. Modern historians do not write of Islam and its principal figures in such violent terms; but the same bias working its way under-

ground by emphasis and implication is to be detected in their works.

National bias (which was tracked down by and in Mayor Thompson) is by no means confined to the American field. Read the story of Waterloo in three European languages—English, German, and French. You will gather from the mass of English histories that Wellington defeated Napoleon in that battle. Turn to the German histories and you will find it definitely stated that had not Blucher come up at the critical moment and helped Wellington, Napoleon would have won. French historians give the idea that Napoleon lost the battle by sheer accident and not because either Wellington or Blucher possessed the genius to win it.

Bitter differences in the description of the origin and progress of a war are not confined to the American war of Independence. Already historians of the chief European nations differ radically in their accounts of the Great War, both on the point of war-guilt and the capacity of statesmen and generals. German historians will not cease to maintain that the war was thrust upon their country by France, England, and Russia, while the historians of these countries continue to accuse Germany of megalomania. To think otherwise is to show complete ignorance of human nature.

So far, the bias criticized has been of the types which most thinking readers can recognize for themselves simply by the comparison of rival histories. There is, however, a continental bias to be found in practically every history of the East and the

West written by western writers which is more difficult to detect, just because it is universal in those histories which the general western reader is likely to come across. Western historians naturally look upon the lines of western national development as the only proper lines of national evolution, and imply or state explicitly that it is only by developing upon the same lines that Oriental nations can hope to become great. Flattering as this is to their own and their readers' vanity it is ill-founded. There is a patent neglect of the history of Oriental countries of India, China, Persia and Turkey, which have in the past attained greatness by quite different paths. The possibility that the present greatness of western nations may not be permanent is also not taken into consideration: that the very steps taken towards what now seems progress may in fact be steps towards degeneration. Is it quite certain that the emancipation of women, for example, will be regarded by the historian of the future in quite the same light as it is by the optimistic prophets of the present. Might he not see in it the beginning of the disruption of western society, which may then be a *fait accompli*.

The histories which Orientals have written of western countries from the Oriental point of view have so far no practical importance, and are in fact unknown in western tongues. But histories of this kind will become important when the peoples for whom they are primarily written have become as great or greater than western peoples. It is not likely that Oriental historians of the future will interpret western history quite

as Westerners now interpret it. They will not look at ancient Greece with the passionate pride and admiration with which cultured westerners look at it, because Greece will not be the fountain source of their civilization. So far from regarding the Greeks as patterns and precursors of Occidental civilization, they may indeed regard them as degenerate and renegade Orientals. And they will have good reasons for doing so. They may point to the fact that a good many modern Americans and Europeans associate the modern Greeks more readily with the Near East than with the west: that the Greeks of Asia Minor, frank Orientals, were even in classical times, regarded by the Greeks of the mainland as far more akin to them in spirit than the barbarians of the West. Through the accident of the Roman conquest and the later accident of the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, Greek thought has filtered into western civilization; but Greek civilization itself was developed largely under Phœnician, Egyptian, and other Near Eastern influences.

There are, however, Western historians who admit that the Greeks borrowed the seeds of their civilization from the East but at the same time maintain that they developed those seeds with a Western mind.

When we inquire what precisely is the essential of this western mind, the reply of most westerners is that it is a rationalistic tendency. This is difficult to prove. For if western nations had always possessed this rationalistic tendency, how is it that the three leading European nations of today—English, French, and Germans—have shown signs of its

being widespread among them only during the last three or four centuries, while the Chinese, an oriental people, have exhibited it for thousands of years past. Again, if rationalism had always had such a strong hold on the western mind, can we explain the persecution of Anaxagoras, Socrates, and Aristotle in ancient times: the extermination of the Albigenses and the religious wars of the Middle Ages and the Reformation: the pogroms and heresy-hunts, the Ku-Klux-Klan and Daytonism to-day?

Historians of the west naturally glide over the irrationalism of much of western history. Their continental bias gives them a pathetic contentment with those phases of western development which have produced the modern world. The struggle for individual liberty which is still a clarion and catchword in the west is unlikely to have any great appeal for the Oriental historian of the future, who has behind his thinking a background in which the individual suppresses his ego for the benefit of the community. Nor is he likely to regard the coming of the Industrial Age, with the deification of machinery and the trappings of city-life on a huge scale, as signs of progress. He is likely rather to regard them as warning signals of the decadence of the western world.

The historian of the future however may see things in a different perspective from the present even if he is a westerner: it is perhaps more profitable therefore to criticize present western pre-conceptions than to forecast future conclusions.

The modern western conception of the ancient Greeks for example, and

of a continually evolving western culture from their times till now must be submitted to a more severe criticism before it can be allowed to pass. The continuity of western culture is doubtful: for the literature, art, and social institutions of ancient Greece are altogether alien to the modern western mind. Attempts to revive Greek ideals of art and literature by modern western peoples have failed pathetically, because the temperament of the Greeks and of their would-be-imitators has very little in common. Wide sweeping statements are made about the superiority of western to eastern standards of truth and honesty at the same time as the culture which maintains these standards is identified with that of Greece. Yet even their warmest admirers have not as a rule credited the wily Athenians with a regard for simple honesty.

Professor Mahaffy, one of the few western historians who have dared to look at the Greeks realistically, notes that Darius the First of Persia considered a Greek who kept his word as an exception. And if we think that the Persian king was right in suspecting the honesty of the Greeks, we find it difficult to put faith in the accounts given by the Greeks of their contacts with Persia. Herodotus tells us that Darius' passion for conquering Greece had become so great an obsession with him that he kept a servant constantly by his side to remind him not to forget Greece. Seeing that Darius was lord of a vast empire which stretched from the Mediterranean to the Punjab, it is not easy for us to believe that he attached so much importance to the conquest of a small and at that time unknown peninsula like Greece. It sounds far more like a fabrication of

the Greek historian to heighten the importance of his people in their own eyes. And it is retained to-day with little criticism in the standard textbooks of Greek and European history because the Greeks are considered to be a European people.

This is not the place to criticize Herodotus' account of the Persian wars point by point, though one may deal with one or two samples of his exaggerations, regretting the while the loss of all Persian histories written before the Sassanian period to confirm ones' criticisms. The Persian accounts, even if they had survived, might have been no more accurate than those of Herodotus, but at least one would have been able to place one exaggeration in opposition to the other and check up. As it is we are told by Herodotus that at Marathon 64,000 Persians fell as against 192 Greeks. This is hardly credible? We are told again that Xerxes came with an army of 5,000,000 men and a navy of 4,307 ships to attack Greece. In a world less thickly populated then than now, it is in the highest degree improbable that Xerxes could have mustered so large an army or navy. Genghiz Khan, the terrible Mongol conqueror who came some fifteen centuries later, is considered to have led the largest army commanded by one man and his forces came to a bare 700,000. It is not explained how Xerxes, even if he could have collected these tremendous forces, could have manœuvred and victualled them in the narrow confines of Greece and its waters.

Western historians, largely accepting Greek facts and figures, have

formed a kind of unconscious trade-union to praise the Greeks and run down their enemies. Few indeed have attempted while writing the history of Greece to keep before their mind's eye the character of the Greeks untruthful, cruel, treacherous, devoid of chivalry towards their fallen foes, and provincial in their outlook on life, and contrast it with the character attributed to the Persians even by Greek writers such as Xenophon and Plutarch: truthful, honourable, chivalrous, and unused to hate any man merely for being a foreigner.

Writing about the Greek victory at Marathon in his History of Greece, Sir Charles Oman remarks: "It was fortunate for Greece, for Europe, and for the world that Athens was in good trim for withstanding the assaults of the Persians.* For Greece, no doubt, or at least for Athens. It may even be supposed to be good for Europe. But why it should be considered to be "good for the world" it seems difficult for an Easterner to realize. There is an assumption that the interests of the world must have been identical with those of Europe and indeed of Greece. But for this there is no justification.

The history of Rome has, generally speaking, been presented by western historians in the same false light. The military achievements of the Romans have been made to appear gigantic and unrivalled, though the Roman Empire in its greatest days was smaller than the empire which the Arabs conquered a few centuries later: and though the Romans never produced a single military genius who conquered as much territory as did Genghiz Khan or Tamerlane. The Romans were as

* Sir Charles Oman is a type of those western historians who have influenced the majority of westerners. Those few historians who have been impartial have not moulded the minds of Western peoples.

ruthless in war as the Assyrians, and yet their ruthlessness is never impressed on the western mind as that of the Assyrians has been. The Roman people at home were so slavish that they offered little opposition to the heartless cruelty of emperor after emperor. Their history has however been written by their friends the western historians: who continue to assure us that the peoples of the west have been always distinguished by a love of liberty. The conquest of Western Europe by the Romans was as reprehensible morally as would have been its conquest by the Germans a few years ago. But their guilt in this matter is wiped away in a bath of "advantages" of the Roman conquest. Would the Britons and Gauls have been glad to submit themselves to Rome even if they had foreseen the advantages that would accrue to them and to their descendants by that conquest? It is not likely. We know that the modern Germans take pride in the fact that their ancestors beat back the Romans: and this with the full knowledge that by so doing they deprived themselves of the advantage of coming into contact with a superior civilization.

And from Rome we pass to Christian Europe, and see Charlemagne, an imperialist as selfish as Louis XIV or Napoleon, painted by historians in colours so bright as to make one think that his conquest of Europe was designed as an act of self-abnegation. The unity of Europe under the sway of the Roman Catholic Church is then made as much a matter of pride as the ending of that unity by the Reformation. The spirit of Internationalism which the Roman Church created is welcomed in glad

company with the spirit of nationalism which began to grow up in Europe after the Renaissance. Each stage in the creation of the modern Western world is made to appear as a step towards further progress: although, in fact, many stages were in actuality retrogressions incompatible with the ideals of the age immediately preceding.

Just as the ancient Greeks reviled the Persians, so the post-classical Europeans were brought up to revile the Mohammedans. The Mohamedans were not hated because they were uncivilized. The Arabs in Spain were in fact more civilized than the post-classical Europeans or the ancient Romans. They were hated because they were Orientals. A really impartial man fails to see why the Europeans should be taught to rejoice at the defeat of the Saracens at Tours. If the Arabs had won that battle, their civilization, which was the most brilliant then existing, would have spread over Europe and illumined it seven centuries before the Renaissance. Western historians are however concerned less with the development of human civilization than with continental differences: and that is why the conquest of Europe by the Romans is to them a matter for rejoicing while the defeat of the Saracens at Tours is a matter of deep pride. The neutral interest in the progress of humanity which they pretend to take, seems as a rule, when it is tracked down, no more than an interest in these sections of humanity to which they themselves belong.

In presenting the internal history of Asia there is a remarkable fact self-blinding evident in the majority of Western writers. In the histories

of India written by English writers as text-books for Indian school-boys the two thousand years of Hindu history prior to the Mohammedan conquest are slurred over almost without mention, while the seven centuries of Mohammedan rule are compressed into one third or even a quarter of the book: the rest is devoted to the period of European influence, hardly two centuries old. It cannot be said in excuse for writing such histories that there is no material for writing the history of ancient India: for Indian and Western scholars have collected vast masses of material relating to that period. It is simply prejudice, conscious and unconscious which goes to the making of Western histories of the East.

Similarly in the treatment of individual characters of Eastern history Westerners show a curious lack of proportion. Colonel Malletson in his life of Akbar, remarks that "he would not suffer by comparison with even our Queen Elizabeth or Henry IV of France." No doubt both Elizabeth and Henry were able rulers. But that they were nowhere near the Great Moghul can be seen from what another and less prejudiced British writer, Mrs. Flora Annie Steel says in her "India Through the Ages"

about Akbar: "One feels bound to place him amongst," she writes, "those few names such as Shakespeare, Michelangelo, Bethoven, and Cæsar." Yet even Mrs. Steel cannot overcome continental prejudice. She calls Tamerlane "a genius in his own way." Now Tamerlane carved out a mighty empire for himself by sheer military ability: he conquered a greater part of India than Alexander and was more successful in his invasion of Russia than Napoleon. Would any Western historian call Alexander or Napoleon just "a genius in his own way?"

It will be exciting when an intellectual reaction against Westernized history comes in the East and a reaction of some sort is inevitable, because the East is awakening and becoming self-conscious again. There will be a pan-Asiatic movement in history as in politics, with support from certain revolted elements in the West. But it will be for a time only: for it is possible to hope for some eventual internationalization of historical outlook. Just as the facts of American history are nowadays, outside Chicago, not generally in dispute so eventually world-history may come to be treated without unconscious continental bias.

THE PROBLEM OF INDIAN DEFENCE: A PLEA FOR INDIANISATION.

By Mr. S. K. SARMA, B.A., B.L.,

AMONG the many red-herrings drawn across the trail of self-government in British India by far the most important is the problem of defence. His Majesty's Government fully realised the importance of letting India develop an army system of her own; and when Mr. Montagu appointed the Esher Committee in 1919 he instructed them in framing their recommendations to 'avoid, if possible, framing them in such a manner as may hereafter prove inconsistent with the gradual approach of India towards a Dominion status.' As Sir K. G. Gupta pointed out in his minute, it would have been better if they had been so framed as to help India to attain the goal which had been set down by the Government of India Act. All the same the importance of developing a Dominion army out of the material already available was realised by everyone concerned in the external security of the country. But it remained to the Statutory Commission to prevent that consummation and make proposals which would render it practically impossible to maintain an armed force of our own. It quotes Professor Keith's observation that self-government without an effective Indian army is an impossibility and no amount of protests or demonstrations or denunciations of the Imperial Government can avail to alter that fact; and at the same time it had made an effective Indian army impossible in order that self-government may not be realisable. There are certain aspects of the problem stated

with frankness by the Commission which may be passed at the Round-Table Conference and it is as well therefore to investigate them before finally judging the correctness of the specific suggestion made for its solution.

In dealing with this problem one can not help stating that the Commission has revealed the cloven foot of racial arrogance which is not the proper method of approach to solve a really intricate question. 'It is not to be supposed', says the Commission, 'that units recruited in Britain and officered by British officers are going to be mercenaries in some future India where the ultimate British authority rests with an Indian Minister for war or with an Indian Cabinet responsible to an Indian elected Assembly.' One does not know if the Commission and those die-hards who think likewise really believe that the officers and men recruited for the army are of greater intelligence, culture, capacity or of higher social standing than the men who are annually volunteering to serve in the various public services under the authority of Indian officers. But how can it be consistent with one's dignity to refuse to serve under a Cabinet because it is Indian but stoop to be fed at the same time by the sweated cash of the Indian taxpayer. If the idea of a mercenary army is so jarring why is the idea of a mercenary empire not equally revolting? For, let it be remembered that the British soldiers and officers who may consider it *less*

majeste to serve under an Indian Minister for war have to be equipped, fed, maintained and pensioned off by an Indian Minister of Finance. It is surprising that the repugnancy has not struck those who argue in this fashion and it must be patent to anyone who has a saving grace of humour.

The idea of leasing out a few army corps in perpetuity to an inferior people for the defence of their hearths and homes on varying rates of rent reserved—for India is to share in the economies—so nauseating to a self-respecting race has, however, commended itself to the Statutory Commission not because of its intrinsic worth, but because it enables it to hurt the people of India in one of their vital spots. But it is forgetting that even an eastern people have their martial pride and are as much anxious to defend themselves by their own valour as the Commission is solicitous of helping them by the paid arms of their kith and kin. We feel and justly by critical lesson of history that as, an English poet sang, 'Greeks alone must free Greece and not the barbarian by his mask of peace; and if we are to preserve our national traits, characteristics and civilisation, it can only be by the strength of our own arms and not by the mercenary aid of alien troops. If we were an effeminate race unused to the wielding of the sword, the employment of alien mercenaries, even as the ancient Romans did in the days of the decay and final dissolution of the empire would be a timely endeavour. But there is no need for such a politic move. Expert opinion is unanimous that there are materials in the heart of Hindustan which if properly trained and equipped would

shake to the foundations the military glory of Europe. We have heard inferences drawn about the varying capacity of the different peoples and their aptitude for the military profession from the uncertain numbers providing recruiting material for soldiering both in the post-war and pre-war periods. But it is completely ignoring the policy of distrust of the entire population in the Higher Command which is increasingly suspicious of the loyalty of many classes to whom the doors of a military career are deliberately shut. It is not taking account of the purposeful aim of the military circles to confine recruitment to the border tribes, the alien Pathans, Afridis, Gurkhas and Baluchis who may be expected to have absolutely no sympathy with the nationalist aspirations of the people. The policy is one of calculated emasculation of the warrior races who won for Great Britain this vast sub-Continent at a time when their own forces were driven out of the new world by a young and aspiring people. Even a martial people must grow effeminate by the continued disuse of the arms and a policy of deliberate exclusion and ostracism for three quarters of a century cannot but produce a result which is now set forth as an impediment to the grant of self-government. One wonders if the increasing difficulty to get drafts to the British army is an argument that the British youths are losing their military spirit and developing the commercial one with unemployment figures ever on the increase.

The most insulting imputation, sometimes insinuated and sometimes openly avowed, now barefacedly stated by the Commission is that the presence of the British troops and

the leadership of British officers secure that the fighting regiments of India, though representing only a portion of India's manhood, shall not be a menace to the millions who are conducting their civil occupations without any thought of the consequences which might ensue if British troops were withdrawn and the Indian army consisted of nothing but representatives of the Indian fighting races. Why the representatives of the fighting races should be a menace to the peaceful citizens we are not told and, if they are, nothing can be more condemnatory of the policy of those who have confined the sources of recruitment to such desperate and suspicious characters. But what is there in the inherent character and traditional instinct of the Punjabi, the Pathan, the Sikh, the Mahratta or the Gurka soldier that he should upset a national government which might employ him once the British leashes are withdrawn? What evidence has the Indian sepoy given of his seditious habits or rebellious temperament for the inuendo that he cannot be expected to serve faithfully and loyally the master whom he binds himself to serve on oath? One can easily imagine that the lesson of the Sepoy Mutiny is not forgotten by British schoolboys but mutinies of soldiers are not the exclusive experiences of the East. Out of civil wars, treasons and party commotions ending in bloody feuds even Great Britain has been able to evolve a stable Government which has abolished the very Office of Commander-in-Chief except in a time of war. Why should it be impossible for a self-governing India to maintain an army equally subordinate to civil authority even though the drafts may come of the warrior races?

If the sepoy's loyalty is maintained by discipline now why should it be impossible for a self-governing India to retain the same by similar discipline?

Frankly the reckless imputation that the sepoy will overturn a national government unless held in check by a foreign master has for its excuse no higher purpose than the perpetuation of India as an eastern barrack for not an insignificant portion of the imperial army. This is scarcely denied. The astounding proposition is advanced that because an independent India was subject to to a series of invasions through the North-West Frontier over long centuries it must be open to attack through the same source, even though it might remain part of the British Empire, by aggressive powers bent on territorial acquisitions. It is stated that the defence of the North-West Frontier must ever remain an imperial concern as India is peculiarly vulnerable through the passes in strange contrast with other parts of the Empire which have longer coastline or land frontier. Canada is assured immunity from the United States for ever and Australia need fear nothing from either Japan or China not to say America till the end of time. The Singapore base was only a solution of the problem of the unemployed, a relief to the depressed industrial worker. As for South Africa and other possessions in the dark continent the neighbouring tracts are only in the hands of loving brethren from whom nothing untoward can be expected. The only Power of whom Great Britain need be afraid is Soviet Russia whose torrential onrush only a British army

can resist. Lord Beaconsfield said that the key to the North-West Frontier of India lay in London but his diplomacy spoke of days when the Foreign Office was a powerful force in international settlements. He laid down a dictum which it is inconvenient for imperial fire-brands to remember now. It is conveniently forgotten that if India is to be attacked or any part of the Empire for the matter of that it will be not because of earth-hunger or for the military glory of the invading power, but with a view to hurt Great Britain, and it may be the strategic point of attack will not be the North-West Frontier of India. It may even be the United Kingdom itself or any of the allies as the last Great War abundantly showed.

The problem of frontier defence is not a matter affecting India alone, but the whole Empire. If India is attacked for her own sake the justice of asking her to pay the defence bill in its entirety cannot be denied. But she is to be attacked as forming part of an Empire, the justice of the Empire sharing a part of the bill ought to be equally conceded. The question then which British statesmen ought to put to themselves is not whether India is worth anything for the foreign invader but worth anything for the Empire. Lord Rothermere, at all event, has answered the query. He has assessed the value of India to the United Kingdom at about four shillings in the pound of her annual income. She is certainly not a dead-weight hanging round the neck of the good-natured little Englander. The true perspective for one to take is to assess the value of the contribution which the Empire will have to make for the defence of India

and not the reverse. Or, in other words, the more equitable method of approach is to assess annually the cost of Imperial defence and distribute it rateably among the component parts of the Empire, in which case the problem would be confined to the share of the nationals who will enjoy the benefit of the expenditure. Such a measure of distributive justice is shirked by Great Britain as the Colonies will revolt against any forced participation in imperial burdens. They have been sticking to the Empire as it is financially advantageous to them to do so and will drop out the moment they are asked to shoulder any financial responsibility for the preservation of the Empire, and the singular apology is tendered by the Statutory Commission when it says that "in normal times they have no elaborate part to play in an organised scheme of national defence, for the simple reason that there is no quarter from which attack is to be apprehended or guarded against." As if in normal times India is exposed to perpetual attacks from foreign foes on her North-West Frontier. Anglo-Indian history abundantly shows that such attacks are inevitable only when the affairs of the Foreign Office are handed by amateur diplomats or ambitious jingoes and seldom by quiet, peaceful and unambitious statesmen never on the look-out for occasions to make history.

I am therefore, willing to subscribe to any recommendation that may involve the payment of a consolidated sum to the United Kingdom for the maintenance of an imperial army provided all the Colonies and Dominions propose to share in the legitimate cost thereof. If the Statutory Commission

had approached the problem in the true light, it would have given us an estimate of the cost of the Imperial army and the proportionate share that must be shouldered by us, leaving to us the right to raise such local levies which may be necessary for ensuring internal security. But the Commission is handicapped in any such attempt by the strong attitude of the Colonies. It has therefore adopted the safer course of inviting us to share with the United Kingdom the glory of protecting the Empire and asks us to pay an agreed sum for that purpose? It does not fix the amount of such contribution. Perhaps it is ashamed to declare to the world the monetary value of India to an Empire which is too poor or unwilling to maintain itself by its own pecuniary sacrifices but must needs indent upon the black man to carry him on. We can realise that 'the heavy contribution to the maintenance of the imperial army in India' will definitely restrict the funds available for the 'organisation, training and equipment of certain military, and it may be, naval forces of its own independently paid for and controlled, which would contain no British element'—in other words, an Indian dominion army. If an agreement is reached whereby we undertake to maintain the empire we shall have effectively bribed the imperial bounders to remove the block to constitutional advance which the problem of defence now presents. I suggest that though the proposal is so staggering in its naked selfishness it is a price we may agree to pay. If the terms are not unduly unconscionable, the bargain may be struck at the forth-coming Conference, India at all events will have vindicated her honour as a paying guest at the festive

board of the empire, though other members will have come in with begging bowls in their hands.

Indeed the proposal makes no violent departure from the practice obtaining at present though we have nothing to lose and everything to gain by it. For one thing we shall have purchased our freedom at a handsome annuity and so long as we honour the cheque we shall have assured the goodwill of every section of British political thought and a graduated scale of responsible Government. For another the War Office may be saved the trouble and the expense of finding drafts for the India contingent every troop-ing season to relieve the forces allocated to India every year. They can keep out of the sixty thousand and odd men earmarked for this country as large a portion in the United Kingdom itself or elsewhere, keep the cadres here on a peace footing and otherwise effect such economies as may be desirable consistently with efficiency, holding themselves in readiness to send any force that may be called for by emergencies. And they can give Indian statesmen a free hand in organising their own local levies which would qualify them for the degree of Dominion Status in action in the University of the empire. The United Kingdom even now maintains within its own boundaries the entire strength of the British reserves for whose creation we have paid our quota with Mathematical accuracy. Of that reserve not a single man will be available to India should she need him by any European complications, as is well-known to British military authorities; and likewise even if the regular force should not be available it will not matter very much we can recruit

within the country itself the force that may be required if the facilities for recruitment were only ready by the organisation of a dominion army. The problem will be simplified if the British Government while accepting a certain sum by way of tribute for the Imperial Army, agree at the same time to give a free hand to the Indian Government to organise their own military forces without any manner of control by them.

It is in fixing the amount of the tribute that I anticipate the greatest difficulty. The history of the tribute which Great Britain has been exacting on account of the army under the two heads of effective and non-effective charges has been a melancholy instance of the exaction of the predominant partner from the weaker one. To-day we are paying on these accounts about ten million sterling. This exaction has been condemned not only by successive viceroys and Secretaries of State of India but by any number of committees appointed to go through the question. The war office has triumphed through them all. It is needless to go through the history here. It is admitted by the Statutory Commission itself at all events since the war our expenditure has doubled whereas the expenditure of the United Kingdom and the Colonies has only partially increased. The normal expenditure of the army before the war was under twenty five crores; it was only

twenty crores in 1914. In the event of the Imperial Government taking charge of the British army for a consolidated payment the British officers who are in charge of the Indian troops will still have to continue to function till they are replaced by Indian officers trained in an Indian Sandhurst, which will be a generation. Their effective and non-effective charges will therefore be met out of the army vote by the Legislative Assembly. For the British troops then a payment of fifteen crores or three-fourths of the sum annually expended for both arms before the war should be considered a reasonable figure. I suggest we can agree to that figure as a tribute payable for a period of twenty years when the question may be open for reconsideration in the light of political condition then obtaining. The Indian army will be entirely under the control of an Indian Minister for war who will organise it in the best manner possible according to the needs of the country, of course with the consent and co-operation of the best military advice available. As the British officers are to be ensured all the conditions of the service till replaced by Indians duly qualified, there can be no difficulty in their aiding the Indian Minister for war in effectively organising a dominion army. Such a solution while relieving British finances by a definite sum, will leave India with funds enough to effectuate the creation of a defensive force at once national and cheap.

THE EVOLUTION OF DOMINION STATUS : A HISTORICAL SURVEY.

By Mr. K. T. PAUL.

THE British Constitution is proverbially something which has evolved under dictation of time and environment, and emphatically not the creation of master minds who sat down some day to work out what was suitable for the people or acceptable to their aspirations. For the latter we have no lack of examples. The American Constitution leaps immediately to the mind. We admire, for instance, the forethought and sagacity of Jefferson and his colleagues who contrived to set up machinery which could, on the whole, yield the best results in the conflicts and cross-currents incidental to relationships of human groups the like of which was entirely new to history and had to be visualised as a process of creative imagination. Not so the making of the British Constitution. In Britain nothing happens well ahead of time. The situation must actually arise first which insistently demands one step forward. The first response to it is from the fundamental conservatism which is characteristic of both the nations which make up the British people. Who is not conservative that has vested interests on a large scale? The group which has the largest and wealthiest vested interests in the whole world to-day is the British people. Moreover, to the small island of Britain in the North Sea and its forty-two million inhabitants their very existence now depends on the integrity of its vested interests far flung over the face of the globe. We often think of the Imperialism of Britain

and its grasp on power and prestige. We are right. We should at the same time think of the British people as a company engaged in high business and finance, all of them based on "unlimited liability," whose sole security is that that business should continue to be a going concern. Not the prosperity but the very existence of such a company demands the development of a spirit of great cautiousness and grasping conservatism. At every circumstance which asks for a big change in the accustomed trend of things, the first reaction in the minds of the responsible directorate of such a company is naturally one of conservatism. Commerce is no doubt born in enterprise. Its very breath when it grows to youth and manhood is courageous venture. But a stage is reached when all further success is dependent directly in ratio to the integrity and steady growth of the stock that is taken year by year. Thereafter the responsibility of the directorate to the share-holders of the company is in regard to the gigantic capital which now automatically provides occupation to its millions, a reasonable competence to thousands, and colossal profits to hundreds.

This spirit of calculating conservatism has been the sheet anchor of British public life for a hundred years at least, ever since Elizabethan enterprise gave place to Victorian prosperity and smugness. It spread to all branches of public life, more

especially to politics and constitution making,—and the development of the very idea of Dominion Status was in this period. Step by step the hill sides have been scaled, and the ascent at every single stage was purchased with a price.

To compare the end with the beginning is to wonder how the spiral was ever permitted to rise to such an altitude. It requires very close and intimate association with the British people, more especially in those planes of their life which are outside business and politics, to understand the mystery. For even now there is in the British people an element which has a sense of humour and a realisation of the true values of life. That section is seldom in the place of power. But it is always next door to the place of influence. Normally it keeps aloof of politics and business, leaving them as the responsibility of 'others'. But when the struggle arises calling for progress in the teeth of cold calculation and the struggle intensifies into red heat, the one side entrenched in what is usually allowed universally as 'Commonsense' or 'Business Principles' and the other side equally obdurate in what it claims to be 'Righteousness', then there comes slowly an awakening in that other half of the British people and of the British nature, which has been its salvation in every generation. To-day the hope for the people of India is there. For day to day the success of every Dominion has been there.

II.

Alfred Zimmern is an Oxford Don, an authority on Constitutional Law, a Lecturer at Oxford and at the International Institute in Williamstown in

U. S. A., a determining factor behind the success of the League of Nations, the creator of a most interesting school on international affairs at Geneva, of which he is the central figure during the League sessions. He brought out recently a book with the strange title of *The Third British Empire*. An examination of that book will be of timely value to us in India to-day.

The book is really an attempt to answer the question which must necessarily arise in the mind of every student of History—Will the British Empire survive? All other empires have disappeared. And the Treaty of Versailles having invented the principle of mandatory responsibility there is no possibility of any new empires arising in the future. Therefore the question is, what about the British Empire, which is already out of date in principle and must be becoming every day more and more of an anachronism?

In proceeding to answer this question Zimmern raises three others:—

(i) Why has the British Empire survived at a time (like the Great War) when other Empires (German, Russian, Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian) have dissolved and disappeared?

(ii) How (in what form) has it survived?

(iii) What must it do to justify its survival in an age which seems destined to dissolve empires?

Zimmern finds only one secret to explain all these:—

"The British Empire survived the War because it had in it the principle of vitality which other Empires lacked. And that principle, that seed of continuing life is the spirit of liberty.

The British Empire lives to-day because its institutions are free institutions. It survives as one of the World's guardians of liberty."

To the Indian reader this sounds like very high claim. But he is willing to allow it so far as the affairs of the White section of the British Empire goes. The doubt arises in his mind as to whether this principle of vitality will not break down when it comes really to extend to the various ethnic elements in the Empire which are in Asia and Africa. Zimmern is not without these doubts. He candidly admits it.

"Our benevolent trusteeship in Asia, and Africa is sharply challenged by the spread into these regions of the doctrines of European nationalism. Here we have to face, not (only?) a new strategic or a new economic situation but what is even more difficult for a Conservative and unimaginative people a new psychological situation."

Still he is optimistic. He finds cause for it in the fact that the process of transformation has been one of evolution upward, for in the struggle between "Unimaginative Conservatism" and "Liberty", the latter has finally prevailed every time. Taking Britain itself he feels that "Liberty is not a dead possession. It is an active power a developing power and at times like the present a transforming power."

Similarly when dealing with the far flung members of the Empire, he asserts that. "Self-determination in the true sense of a much abused word, is not a political principle but a spiritual principle and it is right and natural that it should be as potent under the British

flag as in other regions where it has won more resounding victories."

We shall not be peevish and quarrel with his conclusion. Let us see how he tries to make out his case.

According to Zimmern the "First" British Empire ended in 1776 when the revolt of the American Colonies smashed for it the idea of a Colonial Empire and gave to the "Mother Country" what they won from it,—the principle of liberty.

The "Second" British Empire developed rapidly through the 19th century, with the establishment of the silent and undisputed supremacy of Britain in all the seas of the world. The phenomenal growth of international commerce determined largely its direction and colour. But all through "its maintenance was ensured by the fact that place was found in its institutions for the planting of the seed of liberty."

III.

The test of this of course came in 1914. It was a fiery test. That the Empire survived it at all is, according to Zimmern, evidence of the fact of his claim. Nevertheless in the fiery crucible the 'Second Empire' ended and what has survived is really a new creature, the "Third" British Empire, 'new in its form, new in the condition which it has to face within and without its borders, new even in its name: for "The British Empire" of 1914 has now become "The British Commonwealth of Nations."

The author goes to India for evidence of the fundamental change which has been silently wrought in the spiritual make up of the Empire as it passed through the crucible of the war. The whole paragraph is worth quoting:

"Its first and most significant result has been to elicit from the Imperial Government a definite assertion of the aim toward which British rule over other peoples is directed. The Second British Empire did much good in its day. It established the principle of the trusteeship of the ruler on behalf of the ruled. But for all his good intentions and earnest efforts, the British administrator under the Second Empire had no clear aim set before him. It was an Empire without a philosophy, and the lack of a philosophy made itself felt more and more in the realm of practical policy, both in small matters and great. For the days in which it was possible for a colonial Power to govern wisely without a governing direction have passed once and for all. The age which has seen hereditary monarchies overthrown in Russia, Turkey, Persia, and China will only tolerate trusteeship if conceived in terms of developing liberty. The pronouncement of the Secretary of the State of India in the House of Commons on 20th August 1917, in which responsible Government is set forth as the goal of British policy in India, is a landmark in the British Imperial history. It marks the definite repudiation of the idea that there can be, under the British flag, one form of constitutional evolution for the West and another for the East, or one for the white races and another for the non-white. It marks the Imperial Government's realisation of the fact that the principle of nationality, with which the British people, from the days of Byron onwards, have been in sympathy in its European manifestations, is valid also for India, and if for India, for the other non-white British peoples also."

We are gratified at Zimmern's diagnosis, and we sincerely trust that the

change which he indicates with such enthusiasm is sufficiently dynamic to prevail through all adverse trials.

IV.

But we should now turn to examine Zimmern's account of the evolution of Dominion status in Canada.

1. In 1763 King George III became Sovereign of some 66,000 French settlers in what became Canada later on. "They were not accustomed to representative institutions and did not demand them."

2. In 1776 thousands of Loyalists moved across the border leaving the new born American Republic behind. They preferred to remain under British institutions. "Of necessity they must be given a Parliament. Should the French be given a Parliament too?" And so in 1791 two representative Assemblies were set up, one for the predominantly French-speaking province of Lower Canada, and the other for Upper Canada where most of the Loyalists had settled.

1791 marked a real turning point. "What has previously been *jus sanguinis* a right of Englishmen as Englishmen came to be acknowledged as *jus soli*, system inherent in the territories under British sovereignty and direction."

3. These two Assemblies were, however, only deliberative. Over them was an Executive appointed from London which they could not control. "The result of this system of semi-paternal government was friction, deadlock and eventually rebellion." Constitutional representations were made again and again and were rejected by large majorities in both Houses at Westminster. In 1837

both Upper Canada and Lower Canada (English and French) were in arms. Both risings were suppressed. But London had not forgotten 1776, and so, while it suspended the Constitution it sent out a radical, Lord Durham, as Governor-General with practically plenary powers.

4. "Lord Durham's Report is one of the classics of British constitutional history. Its main conclusion can be summed up in a sentence. It recommended the cutting off of King Charles' head." The Canadian Assemblies were given power over the King's representative and the Executive. But it took eleven years of struggle the entire ruin of Lord Durham himself, and various other costly things, before the principle of Responsible Government could secure statutory acceptance at Westminster (1849), and another eight years of firm impartial and high principled rule by Lord Elgin which involved him in much personal suffering before it could be established as a matter of fact (1854).

5. The vision and faith of Durham and the endurance of Elgin in securing for Canada what they felt was its right, really lifted permanently the constitutional standard in regard to the British communities over-seas: What was purchased at heavy price for Canada was extended as a matter of course to Australia, New Zealand South Africa.

6. In 1859 came the next step higher. Canada imposed protective duties on foreign goods, including goods from Britain. A violent tug-of-war ensued between Dominion rights and British manufacturing interests. Sir Alexander Galt (the Canadian Finance Minister) penned a memorable

despatch in which he claimed "that Canadian self-government would be utterly annihilated if the Canadian people could not raise their revenue in the way that seemed best to them. The Home Government yielded..... and from that day to this the claim of the complete fiscal autonomy of the Dominions has not been questioned."

7. Along with this came the freedom to enter into commercial treaties with any foreign country. This was first allowed with reference to the United States. Then gradually extended to other spheres. "By 1914 it had become an established principle that British Commercial treaties should contain a clause excluding the Dominions from their provisions except upon notice of their accession."

8. The next step was even more significant. Has a Dominion any say in matters which are not domestic at all but are of Imperial concern? The shadow of such a right was secured at the first Colonial Conference held in Ottawa in 1887, presided over by the Colonial Secretary. In 1907 it had given place to the Imperial Conference, over which the Prime Minister presided in person as an equal among equals, the Prime Ministers of the Dominions.

9. By 1911 Britain was feeling the strain of the approaching European cataclysm on its military resources. She hoped that the Dominions would decide to contribute either money or ships to the Imperial Navy. But Canada chose to develop her own land and sea forces. Australia followed suit.

10. With the outbreak of the war in 1914 came about most important developments. Britain was engaged

in a life and death struggle. Apart from anything that the Dominions (or India) could contribute, which were themselves not to be desired, it was as essential to it as life itself that all the far flung members of its Empire should hold together. And British Statesmen, including Edward Montague, clearly realised the psychological implications of such a high necessity.

The Imperial War Cabinet came into being. From 1917 onward Dominion Statesmen sat side by side with the members of the London Government on the small executive which was in supreme control of Britain's war effort. It should be remembered that the so-called "Imperial War Cabinet" had no Statutory standing. It was simply a standing War Conference, and it disappeared when the war ended.

V.

More permanently important was the "Imperial Conference" which also came into being at the same time, and passed a resolution definitely extending the principle of equality to foreign affairs, and wanted a constitutional conference after the War, laying it down that any readjustment of constitutional relations, "while thoroughly preserving all existing powers of self-government and complete control of domestic affairs, should be based upon a full recognition of the Dominions as autonomous nations of an Imperial Commonwealth, and of India as an important portion of the same, should recognize the right of the Dominions and India to an adequate voice in foreign policy and in foreign relations, and should provide effective arrangements for continuous consultation in all impor-

tant matters of common imperial concern, and for such necessary concerted action founded on consultation, as the several governments may determine."

The constitutional conference asked for has never been held. How could it be otherwise so long as Britain is Britain?

11. But Canada being the eldest born of Britain knew enough of the game. She was not behind in taking full advantage of the war psychology. "She wished to be represented at the Peace Conference and was even taking interest in the League of Nations;" which was all very inconvenient, but Downing Street acquiesced. Had to. And the other Dominions followed her lead. The result was that they signed the Peace Treaties in their own rights and were left free to submit them to their own Parliament or not as they pleased.

12. The status thus implicitly assumed by the Dominions led naturally to their enrolment as members of the League. This was no nominal enumeration of the component parts of the British Empire which was also admitted as a whole as a permanent member. The precise status in the League of each Dominion has been authoritatively defined as that of a non-permanent member. And it must be added that as a matter of fact the seven votes which lie together in the box of the British Empire are not always cast alike at the ballot.

13. The next big step was taken when in 1926 Mr. Vincent Massey was sent by Canada as its own Ambassador to Washington. Ireland immediately followed suit. Further extension of this privilege is only a matter of time.

14. Direct diplomatic relations mean inevitably possibilities of divergence in international interests outside the Imperial household. This was precisely what arose in 1921 when Great Britain wanted to renew its treaty with Japan, and all the Dominions were agreeable to it excepting Canada. Was one Dominion to veto the desire of all the rest? Impossible. Nor could one Dominion be permitted to isolate itself from the Treaty. The particular difficulty was got over with an ad hoc remedy which was curiously enough suggested by the United States. The great point gained was that in regard to all high diplomatic relationships it was thenceforth imperative to secure the common mind of all the Dominions.

15. This principle has been further elucidated both positively and negatively by the establishment of additional principles. In 1922 when Great Britain was decided to use force in the Dardanelles and called on the Dominions for cooperation the reply of Canada came back in clear tone.

"Under our system of responsible Government" the Canadian Premier stated 'the Canadian Parliament should determine, except in the case of threatened or actual invasion, whether the country should participate in wars in which other nations or other parts of the British Empire may be involved."

16. On another side, in consequence of the controversy over the Halibut Treaty between Canada and the United States, the Imperial Conference of 1923 laid down: "Bilateral treaties imposing obligations on one part of the Empire only should only be signed by a representa-

tive of the Government of that part. The full powers issued to such representative by the Crown should indicate the part of the Empire in respect of which the obligations are to be undertaken, and the preamble and text of the treaty should be so worded as to make its scope clear."

17. Even more emphatic than these was the refusal of Canada to sign Britain's treaty with Turkey on the sole ground that it had not participated in the negotiations. According to Zimmern :

"The Canadian Premier here lays down two doctrines: first, that the Canadian Government can take no responsibility for treaties which it has not itself helped to negotiate and secondly, that as an executive, it will not ratify a treaty without the approval of the (its) Parliament. The first is a doctrine of self-determination; the second a doctrine of democratic control of foreign policy. Together they constitute a considerable innovation in the British system."

18. A most interesting point was next contributed by Ireland. It will be remembered that the "Irish Republic" gave place to a new Dominion entitled the "Irish Free State" under an instrument which to this day Ireland calls a "Treaty" and Britain calls an "Act of Parliament." This instrument was deliberately deposited by Ireland with the League of Nations and accepted by it, as if it recorded a transaction between two Sovereign States. This fact has raised more than one issue. For our present purpose the interesting point is: "Whether engagements made between different members of the British Commonwealth who are themselves

members of the League of Nations are international documents or domestic documents—whether they are the concern of the society of nations or whether they are not.”

19. Yet one more contribution has come from Canada and that the most startling. In refusing to sign the Locarno Pact along with Great Britain on the ground of difference in interests she has maintained a measure of Dominion independence which it is difficult to distinguish from what is due only to a Sovereign State.

To realise this process, drawn out as it is through a century and half is to wonder what the realities are which enable the British Empire, to stand all this strain? Or is the British Empire today only a myth, the ethereal form of what was once substance? Possibly we may enter into this on a future occasion. The point to be noted just now is that it has all been a process every step of which was gained with *hard struggle* and *high cost*.

DOMINION STATUS AND THE RIGHT TO SECEDE

(By PROF. GURMUKH NIHAL SINGH)

THE publication of the correspondence between the Congress leaders, the peace emissaries and the Viceroy has brought the question: ‘Has a dominion a right to secede from the British Commonwealth of Nations?’ to the fore-front. The joint letter of the seven Congress leaders to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar states clearly that for them there can be no satisfactory solution ‘unless (a) it recognises in as many words the right of India to secede at her will from the British Empire’. The Rt. hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri has criticised the Simon recommendations primarily from the point of view that they have denied India ‘the power of exercising the right of secession and thus ruled out the possibility of ever attaining Dominion Status’. As he puts it in his paper read before the East India

Association, London, on July 22, 1930: ‘However much the meaning of Dominion Status may be changing, one aspect of it has for some years been accepted, not only as essential but as forming the very bond and cement of the Commonwealth—*viz.*, the right of secession’. The nationalist Premier of the Union of South Africa asserted on the eve of his departure to England to attend the forthcoming Imperial Conference that in no circumstances may the right to secede from the British Commonwealth be taken from the South Africa....Whatever happens, the independence of South Africa must outweigh cooperation. He ended by saying that the right to secede was now ‘above speculation’. The nationalist opinion in the Irish Free State is equally insistent and regards the right of secession as an essential part

of Dominion Status and a condition precedent for cooperation in the British commonwealth of nations. Indeed, in all the three countries—in India, South Africa and the Irish Free State opinion is quite definite on the point that the demands of nationhood require for their completion the express recognition of the right of secession.

It is, no doubt, true that there are a number of important men in India who consider the question of little or no practical importance and they regret its prominent mention, at any rate, at this stage, in the terms of peace laid down by the Congress leaders. It is also a fact that there is a party in South Africa, not very powerful at the present time, led by General Smuts which denies to Dominions the *legal* right of secession. According to General Smuts the Crown cannot *constitutionally* consent or give assent to a Bill passed by a Dominion legislature seeking to sever the connection with the Empire. It is also true that practical considerations force a number of persons in the Irish Free State to recognise the beneficial nature of its connection with Great Britain at the present time, till the League of Nations develops sufficient safeguards for the minor States, as stated by the Irish ministry in 1920. Similar considerations, I believe, are responsible for the discreet silence maintained on the point by the statesmen of New Zealand, Australia and Canada.

The British statesmen, true to their traditional policy, continue to maintain an attitude of utter unconcern and dignified aloofness, as if they are not concerned in the matter at all. They sit silent and allow

things to drift. They have full faith in their good luck and in Father Time to work some miracle and to muddle through. In the meantime, what is there to do but to wait and see? Let Hertzogs and Sastris interpret the Report of the Inter-Imperial Relations Committee, 1926, as they like and claim for the Dominions the right of secession as a *fait accompli*. Let Smuts and Keiths contend that the right of secession is utterly inconsistent with the conception of a Commonwealth and that the Crown has no constitutional right to assent to a measure which seeks to sever the Imperial connection. Let Duncan Halls argue that the right can only become a reality if it is exercised by almost the whole population of a Dominion and not only by a mere bare majority. And let Noel Barkers urge that legal considerations are of no avail in a matter like this; it is the political aspect of the question that is important; and politically the Dominions are independent; they are full-fledged nations and possess the right to secede. It is, I believe, in this spirit, *i.e.*, of political expediency, that the late Mr. Bonar Law had declared on March 31, 1920, in the Irish Home Rule debate in the House of Commons that 'there is no man in this House...who would not admit that the connection of the dominions with the Empire depends upon themselves. If the self-governing Dominions, Australia, and Canada, chose to-morrow to say, "We will no longer make a part of the British Empire", we would not try to force them. It is of course obvious that for Britain, statesmanship lies in preventing matters from reaching the stage where the question of applying or not applying force

arises; because before that stage comes the *raison d'être* of the British Commonwealth of Nations would have ceased to exist.

It is certainly in the interest, not only of Britain but also of the whole British Commonwealth, that the question of the right of secession be not pushed to a head; but long before the Indian leaders are able to raise it to that position, the matter will have been decided at the forthcoming Imperial Conference. From the speeches and interviews given by General Hertzog it is clear that he will force the issue in London next month and the Imperial Conference will have no option but to accept it in principle.

II

However, whatever the Imperial Conference may or may not decide it appears to me worthwhile to discuss both the legal and political aspects of the question somewhat in detail.

It is held by the Dominions that the British Commonwealth is a *voluntary* association of *free* peoples. This is accepted by the Report of the Inter-Imperial Relations Committee of the Imperial Conference of 1926 in as many words: *They are autonomous communities.....equal in status.....and freely associated as members of of the British Commonwealth of Nations.* 'It is a natural deduction' writes Dr. Keith 'which has often been made by foreign jurists that the Report intends to concede the existence of the right of secession.' It is rightly pointed out by Dr. Keith that the equality of status conceded by the Report does not extend to function. Indeed the Report itself states this

clearly though not as conspicuously as the other: 'The principles of equality and similarity, appropriate to status, do not universally extend to function.' This provision is conveniently ignored by those who are interested in establishing complete equality of the Dominions with great Britain. However, Dr. Keith insists that (1) the Dominion Parliaments are not sovereign bodies; their authority is limited by the purpose for which they were created; they have no power to terminate the membership of the Empire; they may pass legislation that goes beyond their constitutional power, but the 'enactments are simply without force or value, and no court, be it local or imperial, can properly give effect to them.' And (2) that there rests on the King the duty of disallowing Secession Bills passed by Dominion legislatures. In any case the Crown possesses the right to veto a Secession Bill both personally and through his representatives in the Dominions.

The first objection of Dr. Keith is technically valid in the case of Canada and perhaps of the Irish Free State: Canada cannot change its constitution except through an Imperial Statute and the Irish Treaty expressly denies Ireland the right of secession. The article provides: The oath to be taken by members of the Parliament of the Irish Free States shall be in the following form: I.....do solemnly swear true faith and allegiance to the constitution of the Irish Free State as by law established and that I will be faithful to his Majesty King George V., his heirs, and successors by law, in virtue of the common citizenship of Ireland with Great Britain, and her adherence to and mem-

bership of the group of nations forming the British commonwealth of Nations.' But in the case of other Dominions—South Africa, Australia and New Zealand—this objection appears to be of doubtful validity, because the Parliaments in these countries possess the right of changing their constitution. Even in the case of Ireland there is the right to amend constitution. It may, however, be pointed out that under the Colonial Laws Validity Act, 1865 'any Dominion legislation inconsistent with previous British (Imperial) legislation would be *ipso facto* null and void; that while ordinary amendments to a constitution could not be held to be in conflict with the original Imperial Act which created that constitution, this would *not* be true of an amendment which modified the fundamental basis on which the whole constitution was founded, namely that Dominions should be a "Union under the Crown of the United Kingdom".' But this difficulty appears to be a temporary one as the Imperial Conference had appointed a Committee to inquire into, report upon, and make recommendations concerning—among others—'the principles embodied in or underlying the Colonial Laws Validity Act, 1865, and the extent to which any provisions of that Act ought to be repealed, amended, or modified in the light of the existing relations between the various members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, as described in this Report (the Report of 1926)'. Under the circumstances it is not wise to attach great importance to the limitations that still exist on the powers of Dominion Parliaments as Dr. Keith does, though he is correct in holding that at the present time the Dominion Parliaments have no *constitutional* power to pass Secession Bills.

The second objection of Dr. Keith, in the form in which it is put by him or by General Smuts, is not valid, though there is another way in which it may be stated and in which the position may become very different. There is no such duty on the Crown which requires the vetoing of Secession Bills. On the other hand, the Crown has in past, as pointed out by Noel Barker, 'agreed to proposals made to him by Parliament for the Secession of British Crown Colonial territory to foreign powers'. And as to his legal right of veto, it is now generally recognised that it is 'as dead as Queen Anne'. Of course the question which is of fundamental importance in this connection is: who are the Ministers who must shoulder the responsibility of advising the Crown in respect to a Dominion Secession Bill? Is it the British Cabinet or the Dominion Ministry or all the ministries of the Crown in the United Kingdom as well as the Dominions? Everything depends on the answer given to the question: Is secession a matter which affects the particular Dominion alone *or* does it vitally injure 'the safety or essential interest of the United Kingdom' as held by Dr. Keith, or does it affect the interests of the whole group called the British Commonwealth of Nations? If it involves other interest, it is but right that they be consulted beforehand, according to the practice of the Commonwealth. It is for this reason that it may be held that the Crown should not give assent to a Secession Bill on the advice of the ministry of that particular Dominion alone but that he should hold a previous consultation with all the ministries of the Commonwealth in a Conference specially convened for the purpose.

III

Such then is the legal position in regard to secession. It is far from clear, though it must be frankly confessed, that at present the *legal* position is decidedly unfavourable to the Dominions. But I agree with Noel Barker when he says:— 'For, even if the doctrines which deny the Dominion right of secession are sound constitutional law, which is not certain, it is certain that they are not sound politics. And of the two the latter is by far the more important point... We may be sure that if secession becomes.....an issue of practical politics, which at present it is not, it will be, not the legal rights, but the political will of the various nations of the Commonwealth that will matter. Arguments in constitutional law are, in fact, beside the point.' It is a fact that cannot be repeated too often that the Commonwealth is held together not by any legal bonds but by the voluntary will of the component nations to co-operate for common ends. It is for this reason that the report of 1926 states:— 'every self-governing member of the Empire is now the master of its own destiny. In fact, if not always in form, it is subject to no compulsion whatsoever.. Free institutions are its (*i.e.*, that of the British Commonwealth) life-blood. Free cooperation is its instrument. Peace, security and progress are among its objects. And, though every Dominion is now, and must always remain, the sole judge of the nature and extent of its cooperation, no common cause will, in our opinion, be thereby imperilled'. This is the basis on which the British Commonwealth exists at this time— whatever may have been the position in the past—and it is obvious that

the denial of the Dominion right of secession, *or*, what is the same thing, forced retention of membership, is absolutely inconsistent with the present position of relationship as defined in report of 1926. In any case the sentiment of nationality in the Dominions demands that the right of secession be formally recognised by the forthcoming Imperial Conference.

It is pointed out by Dr. Keith that in case such a right is recognised 'it would prove extremely difficult to define the conditions under which the right should be exercised.' And he mentions some of the conditions that will be necessary—insistence on some form of referendum; imperial legislation when desired by both houses of a Dominion Parliament; provision for the retention of British nationality by those subjects of the seceding Dominion who may desire to do so; previous reference to an Imperial Conference specially convened for the purpose. In the opinion of Dr. Keith it is not enough to merely give notice for a certain length of time for withdrawal from the Commonwealth.

It is not necessary to discuss these or any other conditions that may have to be laid down for the purpose of secession at the present time, as it is recognised by all Dominions that secession is impractical in the near future. None of the Dominions is in a position to defend herself today. The position of Australia and New Zealand is in this respect specially difficult in spite of the fact that Australia maintains the biggest navy among the Dominions. But the case of South Africa is not very much better. Writes Dr. Keith: 'The

Union of South Africa has frankly and unashamedly declined to prepare for her own naval defence, and the whole of her trade depends for its protection on the British fleet.' As stated by General Smuts: 'The great sheet-anchor of South Africa's liberty is the British Fleet.' It may naturally be asked: Why is it then that the nationalists in South Africa, India, Ireland, and elsewhere in the Dominions insist on the formal recognition of this right of secession. The answer is given by General Hertzog in the following words:—

'No jot or tittle of our independence will be sacrificed. I am convinced that we possess complete independence. The people of South Africa will be prepared to an ever-

increasing extent heartily to maintain cooperation with Great Britain and with the other Dominions, but the cooperation will depend on national independence. Every nation worthy of the name will prefer isolation rather than subservient inferiority. In no circumstances may the right to secede from the British Commonwealth be taken from South Africa.'

The crux of the question is that National Freedom, National Honour, National Self-respect require that the right of secession be conceded to the Dominions. Beside the demands of Dominion Nationhood all questions of legal and constitutional difficulties and of practical needs are futile. All living nations are bound to prefer isolation to subservient inferiority.

CHRISTIANITY AND THE SOVIET REVOLT AGAINST RELIGION.

By Mr. NATHANIEL P. SIRKAR, B.A.

IN the January issue of the Hindustan Review Mr. Kenneth E. Wallace gave us an interesting description of conditions in Russia under the Caption "Russia: the Workers' Paradise." Mr. Wallace however hardly touched the question of religion, which has since much engaged public attention. We have heard a good deal lately of bitter persistent religious persecutions in Soviet Russia. The Archbishop of Canterbury has drawn attention to the subject in the House of Lords on more than one occasion. According to His Grace, the aim of the dominant party in Russia is to replace the ideals of the Old World by sheer materialism in which there would be no place for the haunting spectre of God. Christianity and Communism are World problems, and both are running on parallel lines. Both the systems condemn the accumulation of private property; but while Communism aims at the absorption of all proprietary rights in the State ostensibly for the common good, Christianity asks men to renounce wealth and seek first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness, the rest to be had automatically. Communism aims at bringing about a state of things when people will neither toil nor spin but will nevertheless outshine even Solomon in all their immaculate glory. The Communists have no further use for the Cross. As labourers in their masters' vineyards, they have already borne the "burden and the heat of the long day." It is now for the

unregenerate Capitalists to take up the Cross and forego all their worldly possessions in favour of the former. The whole atmosphere of present-day tendencies,—the widespread neglect and ridicule of religion, social and industrial unrest—all these are particularly favourable for the development of criminal propensity and moral delinquency. His Grace wants to hurl the dynamic, spiritual forces of Christianity against the cankerous subversive forces of Communism. It is significant that he has concentrated his attention on religious affairs in Soviet Russia when in his own country as well as in other European centres of civilization, the prospect of Christianity looms dark and ominous, and militant atheism is ready to strike at the citadel of religious orthodoxy. Those who have drunk deep from the modern or rationalistic spirit are potential revolutionaries in the domain of religion. Christ's great commandment to love our neighbours has been superseded by the more expedient principle of watching our neighbours. We are now more concerned with the watchful eyes of our neighbours and the neighbouring powers that be, than with the ever-vigilant eyes of God who was formerly supposed to keep a minute record of all our sins of omission and commission. Now-a-days neither the Christian priest with his paraphernalia of office befitting the trusted steward of the Lord, who pours anathema against his erring, sinning flock, nor the Brahmin priest

with his shining sacred thread, fierce fiery eyes hurling devastating, death-dealing curses, commands the awe and compulsive reverence which were once his monopoly amongst the ignorant, superstitious, simple people of the soil. The man steeped in modern ideas does not feel himself to be a solitary soul awaiting the crack of doom nor as a stray actor in an elemental cosmic drama. He is subject to, and has of necessity to adapt himself to the ever-changing demands of the civilization with whose conflicts and problems he thoroughly identifies himself. Man is at the core a social being. He cannot long remain aloof from the deep undercurrents of society; nor can he indefinitely suspend his thoughts on the void. The life of the individual becomes sooner or later incorporated into the infinitely larger sweep of humanity. The old popular Christian conception of the Kingdom of God is now regarded as a poetical but grandiose fiction originating from purely human needs and desires.

As regards the charge of materialism levelled against Soviet Russia, we may say that the essence of European civilization is "utilitarian rationalism." Only the things of the sense, those which are of the earth, earthy, are considered to be worth struggling or dying for. In Soviet Russia Karl Marx's *DAS CAPITAL* and his materialistic theory of economic determinism are held in greater veneration than Christ's notable Sermon on the Mount. In other countries also, the same tendency, the same worship of things divorced from pure thought are found in abundance though masquerading in manifold forms and colours.

We are told that in Soviet Russia the teaching of religion is prohibited

in public schools and institutions and that the priests have not only been deprived of most of their civic rights but also harassed and persecuted beyond measure. Churches, especially those in the bigger cities, have been converted into anti-religious museums, schools, scientific lecture-halls, workshops etc., with elaborate arrangements for belittling or making fun of religious ideas and dogmas. People are taught that the dogmas of the Church are all more or less reminiscences of Greek Mythology. Otto Rank in his *Trauma of birth* (English version from the German, 1928) has traced the origin of the adoration of Virgin Mary from early Egyptian culture with its high esteem of the primal mother, from religious, artistic and social considerations. The original purely maternal culture in the process of development and in contact with Greek culture lasting for thousands of years became transformed into Father-culture. The cross is a symbolical representation of the punishment meted out to the Greek God Ixion by fastening him on a revolving wheel the object of which was to effect a painful return to the womb, and thereby to master the primal trauma of birth, which stands for the Christian idea of the resurrection. We are here reminded of Christ's exhortation to Nicodemus on the imperative necessity of being born again in order to enter the Kingdom of God. This has an analogy to the Psycho-Analytical theory of "Repetition compulsion", i. e. a compulsion to repeat in phantasy, dream and symptom the original situation of the trauma and control the great amount of psychical excitation which it evoked by re-experiencing the trauma in "divided doses" (*International Journal of Psycho Analysis*,

Supplement No. 2 of 1928). The Christian idea of eternal punishment in hell has a close resemblance to the idea of punishment in the Greek underworld by hunger, thirst and anxiety. Carlyle considered ignorance as a great tragedy in human life. The fruit of the tree of knowledge however only reveals his nakedness to man.

Popular Christianity with its basic conception of sin and everlasting punishment begets fear, anxiety and superstition. It attempts to deflect man's social impulses by means of repressions only. Repression is considered the high-water-mark of culture. Man is doomed to suffer from fear and anxiety throughout his brief earthly existence from several factors, the first and foremost of which according to Otto Rank, is the great primal anxiety at birth. The origin of the vast majority of fear and anxiety lies in the psychic and not in the somatic realm. Every infantile or childish anxiety is in the last analysis, a repetition in miniature of the great trauma at birth. It is the mother who affords the first protection against anxiety. She soon gives way to the stronger father who is feared and loved at the same time. This ambivalence is found in all the great religions. The child discovers in the course of time that his earthly father is not the model of perfection he formerly imagined him to be. The Clergy taking advantage of the psychological roots of fear and anxiety aggravates the already helpless position of the child by constant threats of punishment and retribution at the hands of God, the all-perfect, all-powerful, omniscient being who rules the Kingdom of heaven. The child has then no other alternative but to

project his ideal of the visible father to the intangible figure of God. He magnifies to a cosmic scale his limited experience at home. God, to him, represents his father-ideal multiplied by infinity. In short, the "Father-Complex" becomes finally merged into "God Complex".

Churchmen have always shown great zeal in instilling religious dogmas and traditions in the minds of children before they reach the age of puberty. The child's brain is like a photographic negative which instantaneously takes impressions. He builds up his prototype very early in life by adjusting his inherited abilities to his earliest impressions. If the social feeling is not properly cultivated, if fear instead of love is utilised in training up children, they will fall an easy prey to Neuroses and the "Inferiority Complex". Freud attributes the feeble, uncritical mentality of the average adult in comparison with the blooming intelligence of a bright little child, to erroneous religious training with its imperatives and threats. He is strongly in favour of a non-religious scheme of education. A child brought up under strict religious discipline is in danger of falling into line with the neurotic with his swaddling cloth of infantilism, fetishism and superstition. It seems that the Soviet authorities have placed a ban on all religious teachings to prevent the priests from exercising any influence on the immature understanding of children for their own benefit to the detriment of society and humanity. The Clergy is moreover the special target for attack by the people in Soviet Russia because they were supposed to have abused their privileged position as confessors in the

Tsarist regime, for other than spiritual purposes. By extolling the virtues of the scriptural doctrine of poverty and asceticism to Himalayan heights, they attempted to reconcile the people to their hardships, and, privations. They particularly emphasised Christ's frequent references to the Rich and their ineligibility for the kingdom of heaven. They were therefore held responsible for the perpetuation of poverty and slavery. Religion with the priests had, in the pre-revolutionary age, become an empty profession. In the poignant scene at the burial of the poor, unfortunate but radiantly intelligent sinner Jennka, depicted in the powerfully realistic Russian Novel of Alexandre Kuprin, "Yama: the Pit", the officiating priest not only greedily seizes the handsome fee offered by Tamara for the privilege of a Christian burial for her friend, but shamelessly demands more money and only after receiving the same proceeds to utter in a professional tone the solemn words:—"Thou alone art deathless, who hast created and made man; out of the dust of the earth were we made, and unto the same dust shall we return....."

Is this the end? Is death the be-all and end-all of life? Only the cold bare earth and nothing more? Popular Christianity gives the emphatic reply No. It holds out high promises of compensation, if not in this life, at any rate in the hereafter, for all the miseries, for all the tribulations patiently endured in this world. All the hardships and injustices of life will be amply rewarded in Heaven, in the New Jerusalem, a city possessing walls and pavements bedecked with sapphires and pearls of great price where God Himself will meet the

Faithful on the "Field of the cloth of gold." All this is a source of supreme consolation to the poor, toiling suffering humanity. Man cannot endure the thought of total annihilation. It would be too shocking to his self-esteem to harbour the idea that he is a mere animalcule in the universe and that all things must ultimately come to an end. It is comforting to us to believe that the eternal power within ourselves that makes for righteousness will not allow us to be the playthings of the stark pitiless forces of nature. Have we not been told time and often that He giveth his beloved sleep, ease from shame, and rest from fear, though there is always the lurking doubt of this gentle, kindly sleep being swallowed up by that eternal sleep of death, in which all conception of colour sound and emotion would vanish for ever and from which there would be no awakening. According to Freud, the cardinal feature of Christianity is "Wish-fulfilment," "fulfilment of the oldest strongest and most insistent wishes of mankind". (*The future of an illusion* English translation from the German 1928). Salvation means a joyful, long-deferred reunion with the beloved. Christianity not only gives compensation, it also enables one to side-track an uneasy conscience, a feeling of guilt—inseparable from all neuroses—by means of identification with the Supreme Being. The Supreme Being is after all considerate. He is always willing to meet us half-way. He punishes severely no doubt, but also sends us Manna from heaven when we feel hungry, heals our soul-wounds with the balm in Gilead and is prepared to redeem us though our sins be as scarlet. Yes, the soothing words of the prophet Isiah have great

significance for our destiny :—" He was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities: the chastisement of our peace was upon him; and with his stripes we are healed."

The Russian revolt against religion is a revolt against this childish, this sentimental, this begging style of life, against the pursuit after the compensatory considerations of Christianity. They are feeling that man cannot remain a child forever. Childish hopes and beliefs will not avail us against the dark realities of this world of ours. They are realising the truth of Emerson's Words, " Our housekeeping is mendicant, our arts, our occupations, our marriages, religion, we have not chosen, but society has chosen for us. We are parlour soldiers. We shun the rugged battle of fate, where strength is born." It is really a reaction from the " Inferiority Complex " closely associated with the popular interpretation of religion. Christianity is essentially a class institution. Inferiority Complex results from acceptance in the Unconscious, of the fictitious valuation of caste. Unlike the religion of Mahatma Gandhi, popular Christianity is not the religion of strength and does not tap the " permanent element in human nature " (from the striking article on " Mahatma Gandhi and religion " by Mr. S. C. Mukerji published in the *Hindustan Review* of February, 1930). It is helpless against the beastial instincts of humanity though it makes superlative promises. Through its accredited agents, the priests, it loves to dwell on one's past, whereas it is always best to leave the past alone and fight the present evil. Confessions cannot

undo the psychic fixations and can never touch the deeper layers of the Unconscious. Guilt-Complex, the cousin of Inferiority Complex, seems to flourish under the Christian system of worship. A Guilt-Complex fixes one on the useless side of life. (Alfred Adler : *Problems of Neuroses* English version from the German, 1929). Its aim is to achieve cheap notoriety by making capital of one's minor transgressions. The Russian intelligentsia are now beginning to feel that the only way to tackle the deep under-valuation of themselves caused by a perverted system of religious education, is to drag it into the limelight of consciousness and destroy it by understanding its nature, by laughing at it and by shouting from the depths of their soul that they will not submit to it any more.

The present confusion in regard to religion is due to cruel disillusionment on the subject of a future life. Abstract, impersonal religion does not give universal satisfaction, as like the Pharises in Christ's time people will always be looking for a sign from heaven, for a tangible, almost materialistic conception of God. There is no exact substitute for the religion that has held sway for centuries. In Russia, religion is considered to be the opium of the people, but science also with all its brilliant achievements and prospects does not hold out any consolation. Science is no respecter of persons. The result is anarchy and megrim of the soul. The modern human race is mostly unhappy. Individual unhappiness is reflected in social unhappiness. Like the great Hebrew Psalmist we would fain possess the wings of a dove wherewith we could fly away and be at rest. In spite of the widespread use of Aeroplanes,

Seaplanes, Graf Zeppelins, in spite of the laudable attempts to scale the heights of Everest and Kanchanjunga, the brand of Cain will for ever prevent man from finding peace. So long as he is bound up by his desires, he will be denied the view from Pisgah, he will be flung back into his circumscribed sphere by every fact of life, and will continue to be so flung back to the end of time. What we need above all is a transvaluation of our standard of values by the searchlight of understanding.

The war on religion in Soviet Russia which many of us look upon with horror is only symptomatic of the elemental outbreak of repressed desires. It is a primordial reaction which breaking the barrier of stern repressions asserts itself under favourable atmosphere. In religious, as in other oppressions, the guiding factor is hate. Hate is always the weapon of the weak. It thrives under disguise but reveals its malignant devouring character suddenly like a stroke of lightning. It is the hatred born of the conviction that the theocratic principle of religion which the people had been beguiled into accepting, is nothing but a cloak for upholding autocracy. The psychic pendulum swings from one extreme to another. People always find greater joy in destroying than in creating. In the movement against religion the Psychology Analytical 'transference' of repressed emotions, of free-floating ideational complex takes place. Repression of hatred inaugurated with the avowed Christian motto of loving one's neighbour must sooner or later be discharged with a violent explosion. Hatred does not recognise tradition. As we know, the Un-

conscious takes no cognisance of time or reason. The stronger social freedom is suppressed by religious ordinances, the more ruthlessly does the lower, beastly nature seek for an outlet. In Psycho-Analysis this is known as "the return of the repressed." Sexual freedom has assumed immense dimension in Soviet Russia especially amongst the intellectual youths. The moment people see others openly defying the mandates of religion, the tendency to follow suit becomes well-nigh irresistible. Michael Artzibashev in his grim, desperately realistic Russian novel *Sanine* makes us see spectacles where sin sits enthroned amidst chaos and darkness, the black waters of destruction gliding past swiftly in the night.

The propaganda against religion expresses the conflict of the "Me-World" against the "Not-Me-World". Its essence is narcissism. Human nature is absolutely egoistic. In religious as well as in other revolutions, the inevitable confusion is caused by reason of the Father-Complex, the symbol of authority, being rudely shaken. It is the religion of joy not of fear of divine wrath that can stand us in good stead against the storm and stress of life. Pure reason alone is insufficient to secure us from the temptations of the flesh. The happiest people in the world are not the selfish but the selfless, not those who cherish vaulting ambitions but those who are lowly in heart, not those who own most but those who love most. For only love can cast out fear. In love the distinction between "me" and "thee" is swept away. Only love can hold us fast amid the wash and

welter of this work-a-day world, where life ebbs away swift and sure, time spins fast and ceaseless change undermines the tranquil strength of men. Popular Christianity has had its days. It is at best the land of Beulah where the weary pilgrim can rest and solace himself for a season. Salvation is not to be had by placating a remorseless power nor by building altars to an unknown god. Love, and not fear of God, is the beginning of wisdom. Christ, not organised Christianity will continue to be the life and light of the world. In true religion, as in art, man is aware of more than he can express in words. Genuine prayer is not begging but deep calling unto the primal deep. It is creation's voice murmuring the profoundest thoughts and chiming in tune with the infinite. "In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God, and the Word was God."

The campaign against religion in Soviet Russia illustrates what the Psycho-Pathologist Wernicke called "Overvaluation of ideas." The idea is fixed permanently in the mind which neither logic nor persuasion can displace from the Unconscious—the great storehouse of all our emotions. The compensation or rather the over-compensation of Christianity made life barely tolerable. An overvalued idea might make men feel that they are free from trammels of all kinds and that morality or religion having no legislative sanction are only matters of convenience. An overvalued idea is very contagious attacking not only individuals but the masses as well. An overvalued idea is a kind of Superiority Complex which acts as a set-off against the Inferiority Complex from which latter none can claim to

be entirely free. The Superiority Complex enables one to think himself a hero. He wants to prove to the world that he is no coward, whereas in fact he is an out-and-out coward. He cannot screw up enough courage to think and act guided only by the orbit of his own soul. His position is no better than that of the drunkard who longs to escape from life's thorny problems by drowning all his cares in the rejuvenating nectar. He can always justify himself by saying that he is not alone in holding on to his cherished ideas. He is backed by the multitude and that is enough for him. He does not think it necessary to pause and enquire objectively whether the multitude is right or not. True to his secret goal, he deliberately goes over to the useless side of life.

It is futile to expect to attain absolute goodness in this life. Our zoologic nature cannot be entirely eradicated. Even Christ himself could not lay claim to absolute perfection. He said "Why callest thou me good? there is none good but one, that is God." Let us however not lose heart. The light of self-knowledge can make it possible for us to transform the feeling of despair which must in the nature of things assail us at times, into a feeling of hopefulness, into a song of victory, which only can call forth the dynamic energies necessary for the performance of useful social service. It is the lack of courage closely associated with the Inferiority Complex which ruins a person's whole career. There is no sorrow in life, however great, that cannot be made sublime in the crucible of the soul. God has no concrete existence. 'God' represents the sum total of our highest ideals whose pinnacle will

always remain hidden from and unscalable by that little puny selfish creature called man because of the infinitude of the distance, the fulness, the vastness and the blinding brightness of its glory. Only the pure in heart, only the beautiful in soul, can, in the midst of his deepest and loftiest thoughts, get a momentary glimpse of the Holy of holies, or walk, perhaps once in his life time, with Christ to Emmaus.

After all is said and done man cannot live without religion. Freud is perhaps right in his opinion as to the

psychological origin of religion. Granting all that we agree with Mr. C. E. M. Joad when he says that what really matters is not the origin of religion but, what religion may ultimately become. Genuine religion is not merely a bundle of emotions, nor can it be destroyed by mere outburst of emotions. It came into being with the beginning of the world and will end only when the world comes to an end. The Messiah cannot come from the clouds. It is already in us. As Christ said, "The Kingdom of God is within you."

SOVIET RUSSIA : ITS PROGRESS AND DEVELOPMENT.

By BHIKHABHAI BHAICHAND KAPASIA, B. A.

IT is necessary for every politician to study the real state of affairs of the recent Russian progress, and the political currents and cross currents in Russia are the preliminary truths to be chewed and digested by the intelligentsia for the same purpose. We do not know Russia as it is. We know it as Russia told by the capitalist nations of the west. The recent progress of Russia in all the different aspects is very remarkable. The following lines will clear the issue.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a nation of different communities, castes and creeds. There are different languages and diverse customs and conventions. But there is the sense of National consciousness which has made unity in diversity, a practicability and a possibility. The peasants are happy. Farming is based on mechanical lines and

methods. People have become intelligent to know their responsibilities and liabilities. Lenin is the soul of the Russian revolution, and Stalin is the governor of all different machines of the present Administration of Russia. The surrender of Tomskey, Bukharin and his followers opened a new leaf in the Russian history. Russia has made a history and the influence of the means and methods of making history have got a very wide and rapid circulation. The industrialisation of Russia is remarkable. The cultural propaganda is unique. The revolt of the fair sex is surprising. In the words of Lenin "Ten or twenty years of proper relations with the peasants and victory is guaranteed; either that or twenty to forty years of the torments of the terror."

After the revolution of 1917 the public of Russia has made very wide

and varied changes in the economic problems and political life of Russia. International trade is carried on by the State and there is a whole sale change in the methods and means of the cultivation of land. The agricultural production that was 50 % in 1921-22 became 73.5 % and 92% in 1924-25 and 1925-26 respectively. The industrial production has also increased to a great extent. Trade is also thriving. The railway lines that were 58,162 kilometers in 1913 have increased up to 74,429 kilometers in 1926, and a plan is made to make new lines up to 2000, kilometers every year. The water ways that were 39,942 kilometers in 1913 have come up to 42,087 kilometers in 1925-26 and reconstruction is going on, on a heavy scale for building harbours, to suit the present purposes. Education is given on a very liberal scale and the increase of expenses is nearly 25% over the pre-war period. About defence only 14% was spent of the whole income in 1926-27 as compared to 42% in India during the same period. The expense for education which was 34.7% of the budget in 1924-25 was increased to 40.7% in 1926. The trade Union movement is progressing. There is a trade union for every 2000 persons and 33 to 35% of the members are women. There are 6803 libraries and 8914040 books. All these figures will tell their own tale about the remarkable progress of the Russian people.

The rural problem of Russia was a complex one and that problem demanded a solution. The after effects of revolution resulted in a class of peasants who increased their productive capacity of land. The

state intervention resulted in decreased sowings and this told on the rural progress of Russia. There were three classes of peasants "wealthy" "middle" and "poor" The Five Year Plan of Stalin gave priority to goods for production for trade over goods for mere personal consumption. This plan is to end in 1933. They want to realise the slogan "Not only catch up with, but also surpass the capitalist west."

If Karl Marx wrote the old testament and Lenin wrote the four gospels of communism, then Stalin is responsible for another character in the new Testament, the Book of Revelation. The Five Year Plan became part of the breed of communism—papers and individuals used the very phrase: "I believe in the Five Year Plan". This oft-quoted phrase is sufficient to bespeak of the utility, the advantage, and the importance of the whole plan. With Russia a prosperous nation the East will compete with the West.

The literary revolution of Russia is worth studying. Tolstoy, Bunian, Krupin and other famous writers witness to that. There is a new age in the making of a new Russia, and the factors at work are very formidable and firm, and stable and strong.

A vivid picture of Russia and its comparison with England will be very useful. Britain has accepted the present Soviet Union because they have failed in their commerce; and the recent Trade Mission was sent to Russia for the same reason. The treaty will render economic and commercial benefits to Britain. The Russo-German friendship has made Russia benefit

much and there is every possibility of a Russo-German-French Union. While in Russia the number of unemployed is lessened to the extent of 500,000 in 1929 and the relief has increased from 69,400,000 roubles in 1927 to 139,100,000 roubles in 1929 and the number of workers as apprentices are 163,000, in England after 1929 the number of unemployed increased by 449,346 and the applications for aid of 407,813 unemployed have been dismissed, while those that are accepted are given 9s., a week. These figures will tell to the world the position of the two nations. The Russian intellect can best be seen in the building of Turk-Sib Railway covering about 1000 miles which has joined Russia with Turkistan in the South and Siberia in the North. According to the prospectiveness and the protectiveness of the scheme there will be an intensive and extensive cultivation in 7,500,000 acres, mainly of cotton. This will add a good deal to the agricultural and industrial progress of Russia and the prosperity of the East.

The equality of sexes is the unique outcome of the Russian Revolution. The emancipation of woman has been a decision and not a mere discussion. There is economic independence and in politics they equal men in matters of franchise. Great precautions are taken to give proper medical aid to

the fair sex. One writer has said that the female labourer is given leave with pay for the period of 4 months, 2 months before and 2 months after pregnancy. The rearing of children is done in a unique way and the State is the central factor to give proper attention to the progress of the child. At seven children are sent to school and every effort is made to make them proficient in academic as well as athletic affairs. This is the real picture of the Russian woman and her progeny.

Russia's rapid progress may serve as a death blow to the capitalist movement of the West, but will give the greatest good to the greatest number. The opposition of Kuluks is waning day by day and Stalin's word is the law. Russia is an agricultural nation. The progress of farming through mechanisation and electrification of the scheme is very wonderful. In Russia the week is of five days. Stalin is the pioneer of all the progress and he can be styled as Lenin's real successor.

The people of India are not aware of the realities of Russia. It is necessary to study a nation in all its aspects before one hates it. This is the case with Russia. Let the East study the East before it imitates West. In the end Russia will play a prominent part in Asian politics of today and tomorrow.

THE MALABAR GOBLIN : FOLKLORE

By Mr. N. K. VENKATESWARAN

IT is hardly necessary to imp the wings of imagination to 'fable' about a fabled land. Malabar lying between hills of mingled green and rock and a sea of blended azure and oil brought down by underground vegetable rivers is, according to a half-historical tradition, said to have been created from the sea by one of the incarnations of *Vishnu* the God. And the folklore of Malabar is not unbecoming of its magical origin. Perhaps, the most interesting facet of this folklore relates to the spirit-world, and in the spirit-world of Malabar the *Kuttichathan* is by common consent the undisputed king. The use of the term folklore must not blind us to the fact that the *Kuttichathan* is in all conscience very much alive even to-day. There is no hamlet in Malabar but has its haunted houses. It may almost be said that ghosts and spirits are a part of the psychological outlook of the bulk of the people of this land. The first impact of the scientific spirit from the west was not favourable to the domain of the supernatural in Malabar, but to-day, helped by the many astonishing experiences of contemporary European explorers of the spirit-world, it seems to be again assuming its normal dimensions. Those who do not believe in spirits may be reminded that the intellectual habit of educated people of trying to distinguish between fact and fiction does not often bear fruit because the

two are not always distinguishable and are often even one. Many things live in belief not any the less really than actual realities apprehensible by sense. Living images rise from faith as the young plant springs from the seed. Has not the earth many wonderlands that are not the less true only because they are wonderful ?

II. The *Kuttichathans* in general

Of all kinds of spirits believed in by the people of Malabar the most extensive and the one that has the most intimate relations with their daily life is the *Kuttichathan*. Whether any one has ever really seen a *Kuttichathan* or not almost every one is able to furnish without the aid of much invention a life-like portrait of the imp. Vivid impressions about *Kuttichathans* are, as it were, part and parcel of current thought. These small devils are said to be immortal, mischievous, innumerable. Their thirty inches of height have come from the beginning of time and must, it is said, outlast its end. *The Kuttichathans* can, therefore, continue to exist even after the universe has vanished.

The Kuttichathans are believed to be a heavy race, steel-framed, dark-skinned and deep-eyed. They have been often known to lift things much heavier than themselves and to travel

faster than fancy. Their oily ebony backs have often been seen to shine sombrely in the thick darkness of night, and on the few occasions when they and poor human beings have caressed or fought each other the odour that is reputed to have come from them is by no means considered excessively sweet. Other physical peculiarities of *Kuttichchathans* are supposed to include thumbless hands, four fingers on feet and heels turned backwards.

The *Kuttichchathans* are often good friends but nearly always bad foes, and as a matter of fact they seem to incline more to fighting than to friendship. However, as once upon a time a Prospero enslaved an Ariel to do his bidding, even so some people in Malabar armed with powerful secrets have been known from time to time to enlist *Kuttichchathan* or even more than one to carry out their words. These 'domesticated' *Kuttichchathans* unlike Ariel seldom aspire freedom and their masters know how to keep their secrets to themselves.

III. An Escaped Secret

It is, however, the nature of all secrets to struggle for liberty, and, as we know, they do not always struggle in vain. One of the ways of conquering the *Kuttichchathans* has, for example, recently escaped from the guarded archives of an ancient house and is gaining effusive circulation. The secret runs as follows :—

"The *Kuttichchathan* likes few things as much as buffalo's milk. Whenever a baby buffalo arrives he is, (says the document), invariably the first to touch the mother buffalo's udder. Those who would see the spirit must be hiding somewhere near

the place where the she-buffalo awaits the coming of the calf. At the same time it is impossible to see any *Kuttichchathan* with unqualified human eyes. To overcome this difficulty the hidiers should smear their eyes with wax from a dog's eyes. Reinforced thus, they would be able to see the *Kuttichchathan* coming to the place almost as soon as the birth is over. He would come with his heavy walking-stick, which he prizes more than anything else. He would put the stick on the ground and then bend under the udder to suck the new milk, and he would be lost in ecstasy for a time. Now is the chance to run away with the stick. One must run away with it, say, to the nearest tank and stand neck-deep in the water. The *Kuttichchathans* cannot enter water, which is about the only thing they perhaps cannot do. One needn't be afraid, therefore, when one stands in water. Presently, the *Kuttichchathan* would come to the tank in anxious search of the stick. The stander in the water must be holding up the stick for the imp to see. Seeing it, he would ask for it in all manner of ways, politely, in the pink of courtesy, persuasively, threateningly, humbly, beggingly. But there is no cause for fear as long as one stands in water, especially neck-deep in it. However, it is better to oppose the spirit with a smile. After a time the helpless dwarf would become very submissive. This is the moment to state one's terms. One must say, "Swear you would obey my orders and I would give back your stick." And he would swear, there being no help for it and then the stick could be returned as there is absolutely no fear that any *Kuttichchathan* would ever break an oath.

Thereafter, the *Kuttichathan* is your man for all time."

Such is the secret recipe that has broken away from jealous monopoly. One may fail to catch the spirit with this recipe as one may fail to shoot him with the gun. Those who oppose the spirit's existence will perhaps succeed in doing both. The attitude of the individual is often a matter of mere idiosyncrasy, and let us leave the escaped prescription at that.

However, very many people in Malabar are positive that a captured *Kuttichathan* would do anything for his master, anything included in the gamut of desire. They are positive for example, that *Kuttichathans* have appeared in courts as witnesses, stolen examination-paper from universities, milk from the domestic kine, money from the miser's chest. If the sceptical reader feels like dismissing these as falsehoods he can remember with advantage that if the object were to deceive the help of a lie is not always essential. In many cases at least there is no smoke without fire. Current ideas about *Kuttichathans* are valuable, even if they are untrue, as no small aids to the study of the average human mind.

IV. The attack on a woman.

"Science may scoff, but we know better," said one to me referring to a woman living in a haunted house and possessed by its *Kuttichathan*. "It is little less than like the wonders of the age of miracles what I saw happening to her," he expostulated. The manner was provoked by the somewhat amused air on my face, but I did not disbelieve the story that he had brought. The woman belonged to a respectable family, but *Kuttichthans*

are proverbially no respecter of persons. Frail of body, she all at once began one day to do the most astonishing feats of strength, easily carrying household furniture that six strong men would hardly be able to lift. She also continually produced from beneath her bed many things supposed to have had been stolen from the house some years ago. She constantly performed things fearful and wonderful so that her family was plunged in dismay. But a remedy came in the shape of a famous master of magical spells, and he made one incantation after another for many days the while the *Kuttichthan* overtaken by a power greater than that of his own slowly began to disappear till at last he went away for good. Then the house breathed freely and the woman forgot the miracles she used to perform.

It must, however, be confessed that the *Kuttichthans* are more accustomed to victory than to defeat. They are many while the masters of spells are few and the prices for incantations are always high in the market.

V. A Personal Recollection.

I remember a house where I lived for some months once. Several others lived with me, all young spirits shaking the tree of knowledge that the state with fatherly forethought was growing at a great expense in an imposing educational house. We had our meals in a hotel but studied and slept in the house. The lonely tenement had an ill-name on its head. Everyone said it was a haunted house. We held out against the rumour for many days, as the rent was small and as the house itself was commodious, with extensive premises containing a splendid well

and a very fine large tank inviting hourly baths and much competitive plunging and swimming. But it was not long before the insistent rumour got the better of us. Our sleep began to be disturbed by sounds of pounding paddy from the dark upper story of the house. These unaccountable sounds gradually became bolder and louder. They soon began to invade our studies at night and then we would all together invade its source with a great show of courage and annoyance only to find nothing to catch or conquer there. How often did we return from these expeditions blaming ourselves that it was all the work of our own fancy. "No, it isn't," those sounds would assert starting even braver than before as soon as we had settled down to our books again. "What is this?" all of us would simultaneously cry in angry bitterness, again girding the loins to grapple the mystery. We would then proceed to search every little crevice and hole for the mortar, the pestle and the paddy, for the elusive people, for there were evidently more than one judging from the sounds which were making it impossible for us to study or sleep in the house. Vain search, vainer than for the proverbial needle in hay! Within a few days we had learnt to submit to the inevitable, each trying to be the first one to go to sleep that we might bang the doors of consciousness against the impossible spirits and their still more impossible behaviour. But new things soon began to appear on the scene. There was often fire in the tank at night. There was often an amazing clamour of sounds in the well as if a lawless procession of people were tumbling into it one after another and all together and as if it would have no end. Then strange agonising sound

would begin to swell now and then round the house, tragic cries seeming to rise from some great human suffering. These *Kuttichchathans*, if they were such, were exempt even from the race's ordinary dread of water. So one day we spread our wings and flew away to the College Hostel, where the grave bye-laws made the house inaccessible to arrant invaders from the spirit-world.

VI. The Bible no defence

Recently an interesting conflict was reported from a far-away village. The molested house belonged to a Christian gentleman with circumstances nearer poor than otherwise. The faith of the man is interesting. While most Hindus of Malabar irrespective of personal experience or knowledge concede the existence of *Kuttichchathans* most Christians often despite proof favour disbelief. Banking no end of hope on the Bible they would often show their teeth at their alleged doings, and the *Kuttichchathans*, egoistic, intelligent and mischievous, often give more impressive attention to 'unbelievers' than to the mild and believing folks. The beginnings of the trouble consisted in the production of intermittent sounds resembling those which are produced by the dragging of heavily-leaved little branches of trees over pebbly ground. After a few days the children's satchels often came to be seen in the compound, slates, books and pencils lying scattered here and there. The household vessels soon followed suit and most of these got broken into the bargain. Mats, blankets and pillows next received attention, being treated, with mud and filth from time to time. Before long the members of the family themselves came in for their

share getting occasional blows on the face or cheeks. A sympathiser somewhat loudly tricked out came to visit the house. He came sceptical if not mocking and such attitude was naturally not calculated to promote peace. A heavy little kitchen-vessel was seen to whistle through the air and to hit his back in a way that not only made him beat an alarmed retreat but also taught him to say that it must be an intelligent source from which the enemy-energy had started.

Near the house was a school and its headmaster overcome with pity for the distressed family offered to help with his literacy. He came to the house and wrote on a slip of paper, "when will the *Kuttichathan* depart, and on doing what?" He left the missive on the floor to be picked up by the sprite and answered. In about ten minutes there was seen a reply written on a slate. The handwriting though unsteady was legible enough. "I will go immediately if they take back the fifteen rupees given to the Brahmin sorcerer to force me to leave." The story of the money was a fact but it was at the same time clear that the *Kuttichathan* was only trying to establish himself permanently in the house by pretending to be willing to go if they did not seek to eject him with the aid of the spells of the powerful Brahmin. After sometime the headmaster's note itself was found hidden in the eaves. They did not take back the fifteen rupees and the conflict went forward while the Brahmin gathered his secret forces. The vanishing of food served in plates for the house-people to eat became common. But the Brahmin eventually disarmed the truculent spirit and

the house emerged from its storms. However, as the saying goes, a haunted house is always a haunted house and even if the spirits desist men will not let it alone.

VII. A Long Story.

Not very many years ago the machinations and maledictions of a *Kuttichathan* assumed such horror at a certain house in a big town that the popular mind is still disturbed by the weird reminiscences of that event. The house is there still 'to let' but only the veriest stranger takes it up only to leave it within a few days when his ignorance is enlightened by the persistent whisper of the neighbourhood. The few members of the family that survived the disasters built other houses to live in fearing for their lives. It was a large family consisting of about thirty members that lived in this famous house, harmoniously, to all appearance. In reality, however, there were little rifts. The eldest member who, according to the custom, held the management, preferred his son to his orphan nephew of the same age. This partiality provoked a distant relation, skilled in black magic, to let loose one or two of his *Kuttichathans* to play havoc in the house. It was in some such way that the sinister incidents that followed were explained by the neighbours. The beginnings of the drama were sudden in coming. One day stones began to fall on the house. None could see where they came from but from the way in which they invariably fell on the house there seemed to be little doubt that they acted as if they were, every one of them, animated by strange consciousness. These stones were succeeded by erratic sounds that would start

suddenly from anywhere in the house. One day there was a ceremony in the house to be concluded by a feast to which a goodly number of relations and friends had been asked. The plantain-leaves, on which the food was to be served, were laid on the floor and the guests had sat. When the cooks went to the kitchen to bring the various dishes they discovered to their horror that all the tasty preparations were profusely mixed with mud and excreta. There was a tutor engaged for the favoured son and the orphan nephew. As was only natural under the circumstances, he used to teach the son while the nephew simply attended the class. It so transpired afterwards, that the *Kuttichathan*, who must have been as wise as he was wicked, and who, therefore, wished to improve his time in the house, also came to attend the class and to learn all that was taught there. Seeing the partiality with which the instruction was given, the stocky being from the invisible world soon developed an affection in his heart, and so bestowed the fruits of his learning on the neglected pupil. And even though character-building, may have not been attended to in the class the character of the *Kuttichathan* apparently underwent a change, for he presently began to use his newly acquired literacy in a somewhat chivalrous practice of his art. In Malabar the oil-bath is given a prominence which it has hardly attained anywhere else. Various medicated oils are fancied by those who can afford them. The son had an excellent oil specially prepared for him while the nephew had to be content with the ordinary oil as it came from the mill. One day a bit of paper was seen falling in front of him by the father

of the son. He picked it up to find that there was a note written on it, which was to the effect that his partiality was bad and that there was something, therefore, in store for him. The same night the man and his wife were chatting pleasantly in the house when from beneath the ceiling that jar of precious oil came falling violently between them and broke into many pieces. The oil capered madly on the floor and the husband and wife exchanged frozen glances. The uncle, however, continued to keep up an impenitent front. The son had a cot and bed and mosquito-curtains for his sleeping comforts. The nephew slept on rough mat on the cold floor. One morning the nephew was seen sleeping on the son's bed; and to make the situation more piquant, the dear boy was not to be seen anywhere in the house. People searched everywhere for him, while he was grovelling in a pit in the compound. The beloved child was found in the same pit in the mornings often after that day.

A European gentleman unable to swallow the story came to the house with a loaded pistol to try conclusions with the spirit. No sooner had he entered the premises than his hat was flicked off by an invisible hand. Nothing daunted, he came and sat on the verandah. Then something gave him a heavy smack on his back, which convinced him that there should be wiser and better ways of spending his time than hunting *Kuttichathans*, whose existence itself was doubtful.

Several deaths occurred in the house in quick succession. All the members of the family, were severely beaten from time to time; the nephew alone enjoying immunity, to whom

the *Kuttichathan* was all kindness. In fact, the spirit very often supplied him with sweetmeats, coffee and other nice things from the best restaurants in the town. The *Kuttichathans* have never been known to foot a bill. Gradually the death-roll in the house became alarming, and it was clear that unless the *Kuttichathan* was got rid of he was certain to extinguish the family. Several exorcists had already tried their hands at getting rid of him and a mint of money had already been spent. But now the most famous man in the field was thought of. The price was very high but the need was great and the money was accordingly found. The great man is said to have come in a racing boat with a hundred oars pulled by invisible hands. It was not an idle tale that said that this mighty necromancer ruled over a thousand *Kuttichathans*. A big pit of fire was made in the house, and a great heap of sacred flowers was piled on its edge. The exorcist would put the flowers one by one into the pit of fire chanting incantations to make the sprite quit. The ceremony would last seven days and when it was over emancipation would be at hand. On the first day when the man came and sat behind the flower-hill to begin the crusade what should he see but that the whole fragrant collection was mixed with mud and filth. His eyes burned to see the sight and his voice seemed like the breath of fire itself. "And you have done even this?" he said beginning to offer the flowers and mud and filth to the pit while his quivering lips muttered the most powerful spells. Exactly at this time the necromancer's only son met with a sudden death. The *Kuttichathan*

had gone away only to destroy the only son of his conqueror.

But there is a curse hanging over the house even to-day, a shadow from the spirit-world haunting its premises. Those who do not believe its story must come to the spot and hear what the people thereabout have to say. I know they have to say many more and wonderful things than I have ventured to set down.

VIII. The Story of the Schoolmasters.

This story comes from a village, whose only boast was a primary school. Some years ago three young teachers belonging to other parts of the land were employed in the school. The house in which they lived was a small one and before they began to live in it none had lived in it for many years. It gave upon a dark lane sinuously guiding the few wayfarers that happened into it either to a distant field at one end or to an open plain at the other. The advent of the schoolmasters made things somewhat hum in that lonely lane whose only passion in life was to put a half-forgotten house in touch with the outer world.

The schoolmasters lived like hermits scorning comfort, and if one of them was a trifle worse than the other two, it was only because there were a rubber-piece and a pencil, that properly belonged to the exiguous school stationary, in one of the pockets of his coat, but he explained their presence in that place by suggesting that although in departmental matters he was so much lesser than the headmaster his coat, he fancied, was capable of almost as much hospitality to alien property as his chief's coat itself. However, he little thought that this

highness of character appertaining to his coat was soon to lead to an unforgettable chain of events. One day that rubber-piece was found to have gone from its place in the coat. Unimportant as this departure of a bit of rubber might seem, it produced an upheaval in the equilibrium of the good man. Like a flying electron he penetrated all substances to find out the missing thing. He told anybody and everybody about it. He punched the cook's head and kicked his shins, and for several days he went to school for no purpose but to picture to his pupils the peccability of this world. Some days afterwards when the schoolmaster had nearly ceased regretting his rubber he found that it had really come back to the same pocket from which it had so mysteriously disappeared. And since it had come back the mystery of its going and coming did not seriously tax the thoughts of the three teachers. If a thing like rubber might go and come just as it pleased, could not a pencil with its higher place in the hierarchy of human uses do the same thing? At any rate without waiting for an answer, that was what the pencil in the schoolmaster's pocket did. It went away and came back in the same mysterious manner affected by the rubber. These two happenings were separated by an interval of time but others followed in quick succession. A sash belonging to another of the three gentlemen went and came. Stones rained on the house one night, happily, none falling inside. One day as the three were sitting in the verandah making small talk to while away the time they suddenly became aware of bucketfuls of water crashing down on their heads. The next day water was poured into their porridge as they

sate eating it from their plates, and when they fetched and put up their umbrellas, water was splashed on them from right and left, which all their skill in the management of umbrellas was unable to parry. The headmaster heard the story and came to the house to see for himself some of the queer things but his courage happening to waver before his curiosity was satisfied he left the place sooner than he had intended and without his umbrella which was not to be seen in the place he had put it. As he went some distance down that lane what should he see but the lost umbrella itself hung from the hedge ready to return to the possession of its owner. In a few days more life became intolerable in that house. By way of pouring oil on the troubled waters they began to call the invisible spirit all the endearing names they could invent in their lonely life. It is not always possible to square a *Kuttichathan* by mere blandishments and it was not so on this occasion. The three teachers, therefore, prepared to pack. They put their worldly possessions into a big box. As they were about to leave, this box, which was far beyond the power of one man to lift, was not to be seen anywhere. For a whole hour they turned the small house inside out to find the box and searched every inch of the compound also. These activities were of no avail and they must leave the house without the box, which they reluctantly proceeded to do. Just then they heard a sound. Someone, they thought was beating on their box with a stick. They renewed the search with new hope, and as the sound of beating continued for sometime they were able to track it to its source and find the box hidden in the narrow space between the ceiling and the roof where a

child could not stand. The three teachers never again went to that house and that is all there is to know about them.

IX. How a Young Man fell from his Horse

In a certain village there lived a law-abiding man, who if he did not boast a *Kuttichchathan* certainly used one for various purposes all of which were right and honourable. One day he felt a great need for an enemy to keep him in good trim. He was one of those spirits who could never do well in friendly relations with others. The result of this feeling on his part was that in a certain house in the same place, the members of which were addicted to a vegetarian diet, no food could be cooked but there were pieces of meat in it. As the loyalty of the family to plant-food was of long duration this apparition of flesh utterly upset the metabolism of the house. A famous *sannyasin* had newly arrived at the place, and he was entreated to come and see the desecration. He said that he would stop the horror. The holy man knew nothing about the house, its affairs or the disposition of its members. Sacred flowers and the thrice-sacred *tulsi* leaves were brought and there was also *ghee*. In a small pit a young fire burned propitiously. The *sannyasin* sat with these things in front of him like a superman on the threshold of light. Then began the *homa* (sacrifice) and the incantation and when these were over and done he announced that the pariah interpolator of meat would trouble them no more. But he also said that just at that moment a young member of the family living in a far-away town must have been disabled by the departing *Kuttichchathan*. It was true that there was such a man,

a clerk in a government office. He was a strong man. Some days afterwards news reached the family that this young man had fallen from horseback and broken his hand. After a ride he had pulled up his mount preparatory to alighting when the animal shied causing him to fall badly. Medical skill failed to reduce the dislocation and the beaten spirit remained the winner still.

X. Brother Kuttichchathan

Whatever is this *Kuttichchathan* and whether he lives or not let us anyway call him brother. He would not hurt a fly if he was left to himself and he would not harm anybody for nothing. The other day an eye-witness told me how he saw a woman belaboured. Stones simply came and hit her from all sides. Other persons went and stood round her to receive a share but not one got any of those stones while they still continued to hit the woman. A 'gunman' took offence very unnecessarily and went there to try and shoot the spirit. He immediately received such a strong cluster of stones that he forgot to pull the trigger and flew. That was all right. But I have a quarrel with the *Kuttichchathan* on one score. Several years ago he attacked a woman in a very strange way. The woman would cry, "My hair is going; My hair is going?" and it was gone and the shaven head of the poor lady could be seen by all. That hair would grow again only to meet with the same fate and the woman suffered until she died. Still it is better to call the sprite brother. For I have a feeling that the *Kuttichchathan* does not exist and there should be no harm in calling him brother. But if he does exist all considerations must urge us to call him brother and to live at peace with him.

ABELARD AND HELOISE : THE IDEAL LOVERS*

By Mr. KUNDAN LALL.

DURING the Middle Ages in Europe, Abelard, the Frenchman, was justly regarded as a great scholar, logician and philosopher, but his fame in those spheres is long since dead and only his love letters live; while his beloved Heloise, the beautiful and the learned French maiden, who stands amongst European women but second to Sapho, is remembered chiefly as a great example of the passionate devotion of woman. And so they come down to us as but typical and ideal lovers—Abelard representing man's deep-seated longing to master woman, and Heloise with woman's one strong desire, to submit to man. Thus it is that, though the world possesses several collections of love-letters in many tongues, it is the *Love Letters of Abelard and Heloise* that stand out supreme in the world-literature of love epistles, as unequalled in their eternal passionate struggle to forgive and forget, and so to merge the human love into the divine.

The *Love Letters of Abelard and Heloise* were written in Latin about the year 1128 A.D., and were first issued as a book in Paris in 1616—nearly five centuries later. The Latin text has been rendered into numerous modern languages of Europe, though as yet we do not know of any translation into an Asiatic tongue. An English version from the Latin—more of a paraphrase than a translation—

appeared anonymously in England in 1722 which has been reprinted in Messrs Dent's "Temple Classics". And lately an excellent rendering of the full text was placed before the English-knowing public by Mr. G. K. Scott Moncrieff, through the publishing house of Guy Chapman. This is practically the first complete version into English of these memorable love letters, and in the result it is a beautiful and strange book; it is a work of permanent interest to students of psychology and human nature. But Mr. Moncrieff's edition, though sumptuous and a thing of beauty and joy for ever, is issued in an expensive and limited edition,—what is called an *edition de luxe*. The publishers—who have been enterprising enough to have given this great work a suitable form and a worthy expression—would confer a boon on the reading public in the English-knowing world by issuing early a cheap and popular edition of this highly distinguished translation of an immortal work.

Seemingly a very important question at the outset of our study of these love epistles would be that of their authenticity. Whether and how far these letters are genuine it is now impossible to decide. We cannot find trace of any manuscript earlier than the fourteenth century, and that has now disappeared. Mr. Moncrieff does not say from what text he made his

* *The Letters of Abelard and Heloise*. Translated from the Latin by G. K. Scott Moncrieff. (Guy Chapman, 8, Buckingham Street London, W. C. 2) *Heloise and Abelard*. By George Moore. (William Heinemann Ltd., 99 Great Russell Street, London, W. C. 1)

their love-meetings continued but under circumstances of great difficulty. This is described by Abelard in *letter V*. Fulbert was so furious at his niece being hurried off to a convent, that he burst into Abelard's room, and, while he slept, mutilated him disgracefully. This atrocious incident is the turning-point in Abelard's life. Till now he had been torn between love and fame. Now he lived for fame alone, and his physical tragedy obviously caused him to feel horror at the thought of this sensual adventure in his life. However, he continued to look after Heloise, and eventually arranged for her to direct a nunnery, where he himself had previously retired. The idea of seeing Heloise was obviously revolting to him, but he never forgot his responsibilities towards her. Such was the situation when Abelard's autobiography fell into Heloise's hands. She herself, having no love of fame, and having received no physical shock, would have liked to continue the relationship on a romantic plane. No one can but be moved by her opening letters: "And though exceeding guilty, I am, as thou knowest, exceeding innocent. For it is not the deed, but the intention, that makes the crime. It is not what is done, but the spirit in which it is done, that equity considers. And in what state of mind I have ever been towards thee, only thou who hast knowledge of it can judge. To thy consideration I commit all. I yield in all things to thy testimony. Tell me one thing only, if thou canst, why after our conversion, which thou alone didst decree, I am fallen into such neglect and oblivion that I am neither refreshed by thy speech and presence, nor comforted by a letter in thine absence?... Concupiscence

joined thee to me rather than affection, the ardour of desire rather than love." The receipt of this heartrending letter must have placed Abelard in an extremely disagreeable position. He had not, in fact, neglected the welfare of Heloise; but he had been violently cured of love, and had sublimated his whole life on to a different plane. All memory of his emotional past had become painful to him, and he evidently desired to repress it. This was, no doubt, in part the reason that in the ensuing correspondence he deepens the purely sensual colours of the connection. Also feeling that he can hardly emerge with credit, he adopts an uneasy, egotistical tone. On the whole, he does not come out so badly in the exchange of letters. He could not give Heloise what she wanted, but he makes no attempt to break off the correspondence brutally. Further, his logic-chopping style would not seem so cold to her as it does to us. The tone of the letters changes. They no longer treat of love, but become letters of direction for the management of a nunnery. It was probably impossible for Heloise to be happy, but Abelard may have succeeded in changing the direction of her thoughts, and making her more interested in her new and the only possible life. It is difficult to see how he could do more. He was a man of violent passions, both intellectual and physical, and he was led by both sides of his nature into continual strife. Life was in some ways easier for Heloise, who had a whole-hearted and instinctive character. She had far more charm than Abelard, but he perhaps had the greater virtue.

III

All these factors must be kept in view in appreciating how Abelard, a

brilliant dialectician, the leader of the Nominalists against the Church party—the Realists—presented himself at Canon Fulbert's house as one who would pay a good price for rooms, the house in which he lived being noisy, and unsuitable to the preparation of the lectures he delivered in the Cathedral cloisters, and how the Canon, foreseeing how he might increase his income and likewise obtain the honour of entertaining a European celebrity in his house, agreed readily to Abelard's proposal and confided to him the direction of his niece's studies. Heloise, the Canon's niece, had just come home from her convent school with a great reputation for learning, and together the twain sat by a table overlooking the Seine reading the Latin poets and the Greek philosophers in Latin translations till "Love made himself of the party with them". Abelard was then thirty-eight, an age at which very often all preceding loves are absorbed in one consuming passion. So it seems to have happened with Abelard, for he tells us that he began to neglect his lectures. His interests turned to songs, lute-playing, and love, and the folk wondered at the change, attributing it to his love for Heloise; and the hearsay at length reaching the Canon's ears, he bade Abelard from the house. But Heloise was now with child, and Abelard, not daring to leave her to make the best terms she could with the Canon, arranged for her flight to Brittany, where she gave birth to her child in the house of Abelard's sister. After the birth of the child Abelard went to Brittany with the intention of bringing Heloise back to Paris and marrying her, but he met with a stout resistance to this plan from Heloise herself, who warned

him that if he persisted in the marriage he would compromise his career; and animated by a spirit of prophecy she predicted many misfortunes. But Abelard was not to be deterred, and it must have been fear lest he should fall a victim to her uncle's vengeance that eventually compelled Heloise to follow him to Paris and be married to him in the presence of her uncle and some half-a-dozen friends. The marriage was to be kept secret from everybody, but Fulbert soon began to talk about it to all and sundry; and Abelard, learning from Heloise that she was treated with unkindness, even with harshness, by her uncle (they having parted after the wedding at the church door), arranged that she was to return to her convent and take the veil. The letters, as we have them now, are magnificent reading. Those first two which Heloise wrote after a silence of ten years are perhaps the most moving as well as the most famous love letters ever written, but they are far from being the only ones of interest. What is particularly fascinating is the way in which these letters reveal the characters of both of them. There is no need to condemn Abelard, as the world has always done, for the priggishness of his later or the sensuality of his earlier attitude. We can indeed sympathise with him in his difficulty in finding any answer to that superb outcry of passion, and can understand that the attitude he was honestly bound to assume should probably appear unsympathetic to many who would be moved by the great simplicity and overwhelming directness of Heloise.

IV

The most satisfactory general account of Abelard for English re-

aders is to be found in Chapter V. of R. Lane-Poole's "*Illustrations of the History of Medieval Thought and Learning*", to which the reader may refer. But to turn to the epistles: the latter part of the correspondence, more than two-thirds of the whole, is taken up with the "rule" for the nuns which Abelard prescribes at Heloise's own desire. It contains much of historical and social interest; but it is the personal romance which will always attract in this exchange of letters, and for this it is the first two which are of poignant interest. The first was written by Abelard—not to Heloise, but to a friend unnamed—and it contains a brief yet complete account of all the mishaps of his varied life up to the time of his Abbotcy in Brittany. Nor, indeed, were his adventures yet at an end; for his flock, a set of wild robber-monks, had several times tried to poison him and were then planning to resort to the steel. This letter fell into the hands of Heloise; and in the second letter she writes to the lover from whom she has been separated for so many years, ever since the violent tragedy that had altered the whole of his life: every word in that letter rings true, it is a direct appeal to the heart. In the first letter there is one passage which has always greatly intrigued their admirers. When Abelard was settled in Fulbert's house as tutor, and had seriously begun the task of making Heloise his mistress, he recounts how "if I found time to compose a few verses, they were amorous, and not sacred hymns of philosophy. Of which songs the greater part are to this day, as thou knowest, repeated and sung in many parts, principally by those to whom a like manner of life appeals". Now,

were these songs, it is asked, in French or Latin? Consider the language of this correspondence and the generally learned nature of the communion between Abelard and his love, even in their youth, it seems more probable, that they were in Latin. We know Abelard as a master of both metre and rhyme, as is attested by the Latin hymn-book which he wrote. Heloise's first letter is both beautiful and strong. Its author so abounds in love for her master-lover, her monk-husband, that she will accept anything from him, so long as she has something to accept; will have relations of any kind, so long as there be relations. "For, who among kings or philosophers could equal thee in fame? What kingdom or city or village did not yearn to see thee? There were two things, I confess, in thee especially, where-with thou couldst at once captivate the heart of any woman; namely, the arts of making songs and of singing them, which we know that other philosophers have seldom followed". Which other philosophers have seldom followed! Alas for Abelard, alas for Heloise, but this philosopher commanded an amorous rhythm. And then comes the tremendous injunction: "Write to me, if you will not visit me. I became a nun because I loved thee. God will not reward me, for I did this for love of thee, not of Him. Consider, I beseech thee, what thou owest me, pay heed to what I demand; and my long letter with a brief ending I conclude. Farewell, my all." "My all"! You have only to contrast the addresses of these letters to understand the whole tragedy. Heloise writes: "To her master, my father, to her husband, my brother; his hand-maid, my daughter, his

spouse, my sister; to Abelard, Heloise" And again she writes: "To her all, after Christ, his all in Christ". And Abelard replies to his wife: "Dearest sister". He beats her down to decorum. He de-personalizes their relations. Finally, if the last letter is his, indeed he reduces their correspondence to a discussion of conventual discipline, in which particular attention is paid to body-clothes and the use of wine. A pedant and a prig, you suggest? A saint and martyr, answers another. The remains of two lovers lie in a single tomb in Paris. The best epitaph would be borrowed from Milton, "He for God only, she for God in him."

V

As the latest translator naively points out, the popularity of these lovers is due to ignorance of the facts that they were actually, though belatedely, married, and that Abelard was not a priest. Mr. Moncrieff, while removing these illusions, ensures the lovers a more brilliant immortality. His translation which, as stated above, is the first yet made into English, is suave, delicate and delightful. There are certain men and women who always run in couples—Nala and Damaynati, Leila and Majnoon, Shireen and Farhad, Troilus and Cressida, Hero and Leander, Paolo and Francesca, Romeo and Juliet—as if it were only together that they could live at all. There are others as famous in the records of love as these—Dante and Beatrice, Antony and Cleopatra, Laura and Petrarch—who can be, and often are, thought of in couples, but who also continue to live on alone by token of some other achievement besides love. But one of the curious

injustices of history is that the names of Abelard and Heloise should belong rather to the first class than the second. One would have thought that their achievements separately were great enough to justify the belief that, though perhaps the pity or the scandal of their love would last, it would not be on that alone that their future fame would rest. Yet so it almost is. Abelard, that superlative debater, that overthrower of the mighty, that adversary of St. Bernard, that teacher whom scholars of every nation were willing to follow into the wilderness and poverty—that Abelard is dead. Heloise, whose wise rule became the foundation for all the monasteries for women of her time, who in youth was the wonder of her age for learning, and who, by her life and in spite of her unconquerable attachment to Abelard, was respected and blessed by Popes, Cardinals, Bishops and Saint Bernard himself—Heloise too, as a separate character, is dead. All that is left is Abelard and Heloise, and as Abelard and Heloise they will remain—the Abelard and Heloise of the letters.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the theme of the love of Abelard and Heloise has interested generations of men and women, especially since their *Love Letters* were published and translated into the continental languages and in English. Interest in this subject has never flagged since the seventeenth century and Pope took it as the text of one of the most beautiful and famous poems in the English language. Lately Mr. George Moore in his *Heloise and Abelard* has woven a romance round the theme and the result is a notable addition to historical fiction. But after all, it is neither Pope's poem, nor Mr. Moore's romance that will

continue to appeal to readers in the same way as the famous and immortal *Love Letters* themselves, which consti-

tute one of the classics of world literature, of absorbing and eternal human interest.

THE LAST CRUSADE

By Mr. G. COOPER. A. I. B.

SINCE Sir Walter Scott utilised the period as a setting for romantic fiction, the "Great Adventure" of mediaeval times has become, so to speak standardised. As, with a large body of the public, serious reading is limited to school age, it is not surprising if the impression left by Christmas gift books has a tendency to persist. When General Allenby entered Jerusalem there were not a few who saw in him the logical successor of Robert of Normandy and Richard Cœur de Lion. Nor was the reasoning that prompted that vision, in the main, faulty. To proceed further with the analogy, however, and to seek the cause behind the Man, it is necessary—or at least advisable—to supplement our first impression by a further study of the problem—particularly in view of the present situation in Palestine. This situation, with a slight change in personnel as regards the contending parties, bears a striking resemblance to that resulting from earlier incursions of European forces into the area. Confining the discussion, however, to the Christian era (as must be done with due consideration of the space available) it will be interesting to trace the causes underlying this similarity.

It would be the confession of monomania to attribute the concerted action

of large groups of civilized humanity to one particular motive. It is a risky proceeding in dealing with one human individual, and although 'mob psychology' may explain isolated—and usually, in consequence, abortive—action, it is inadequate as an explanation of a policy that has consistently reasserted itself at intervals through a period of nine hundred years. That such a policy must have its foundations in some common interest is nevertheless obvious, and it is worth while tracing its influence, and through that obtaining a clue to its nature.

The political and economic condition of western and west central Europe at the time of the first crusade has been described in detail by many historians. It is a period, however, singularly poor in valuable historical remains. The wealth of detail is therefore in many cases inaccurate, in some more or less conjectural, and in a few wholly imaginary. By a careful sifting, and with due weight being given to the laborious and skilful research of later historians, it is still possible to obtain a fairly clear idea of the economic influences underlying the more spectacular movements. These are of particular interest in connection with this subject of Jerusalem and of the wider issues its possession raised.

The religious aspect of the case it is not our province to examine here. Suffice it to say that dissension had raised its hydra-head within the Church. Rome was compelled to adopt the Crusade as a deterrent from these disintegrating forces. [It is interesting to note that the end of the mediæval Crusades coincided with the rise of unorthodoxy.] The principle that there is "nothing like a good old war to get a people to hang together" can be extended—and is extended—to bad wars as well. The Crusade, on the face of it, was a good war, and whoever mooted the idea lengthened the supremacy of the Papal chair by some four hundred years. That the suggestion was prompted from within the Church itself—in spite of the legends of Peter the Hermit* (of whom more anon)—is extremely doubtful. Rapidly as the wealth of the Church had grown, the demands of a luxury-loving priesthood easily kept pace with its income, and this same priesthood, by the same token, was quite unwilling to deny itself any part of those emoluments for the express purpose of regaining possession for the Church of a shrine which, if regained, would inevitably reduce the income to be derived from local, second-rate shrines which *faute de mieux* served as receptacles for the cash out-pourings of mediæval devotions.

As to the 'flower of Chivalry', when analyzed the personnel seems to have consisted mostly of unruly or high-spirited nobles whose overlords or neighbours were only too willing to

assist in fitting them out for an Eastern expedition which promised to the Crusader the possible glories of an Asiatic potentate*, and to his well-wishers a prospect of temporary tranquillity at home. Incidentally, as regards their followers, there seems to have been at this period—when intercommunication was difficult, trade negligible, and the practice of agriculture in a most primitive state—what the modern economist would call "a depression in the curve of production." In other words, the men could be easily spared from Western Europe.

At a first glance, the most puzzling feature of these early Crusades is their finance. The commissariat of this vast horde—and, with the exception of one or two isolated cases of well organised and properly led units, the term is not too strong to use—is a problem impossible of solution, if we accept the romantic outlook and attempt to combine it with what we know of the economic conditions ruling at the time in the districts through which these heterogenous forces made their way to the East. It is only reasonable to suppose that the difficulties besetting the return of war-scarred, impoverished Crusaders had some relation to the high-handed depredations they had promiscuously indulged in on the outward journey. Once arrived at their destination, though, this source of supply was stopped, or at least seriously diminished, and imports of foodstuffs were called for which could not escheated at their source of origin. Whence, then, were

* Sir Richard Garnett, LL. D., in his life of Thomas Carlyle, remarks. "M. Rio, the apostle of mediæval sentiment, thought how well his *son sucré* mixed with Carlyles' asquebaugh as he heard Carlyle award Peter the Hermit the palm over Demosthenes" [p. 115]

** "Even the common purpose of the national chiefs, *their intention to conquer and occupy Syria or Palestine*, was a further cause of separation." *Camb: Medieval History* Vol. V. p 273.

these supplies forthcoming, and by what methods were they financed? The following considered judgments placed in juxtaposition may explain:—

(1) "This trade* was vigorously organized. From the seaports *caravans* (merchant fleets escorted by galleys.) sailed twice a year to the Levant. At Constantinople and the Syrian ports existed colonies of Venetians, Pisans and Genoese, governed in a fashion we should now call extra-territorial, by Consuls or *baili*, with storehouses (*fondachi*) for wares and shipstackle. It was the aim of each city to gain exclusive privilege and turn out its rivals, and much of their best energy was spent in these bitterly fought commercial wars. One rival they overcame: *the Byzantines faded from the sea and from their own export trade.*"

(2) "The Italian or "Lombard" banker was indeed hated abroad, and often at home, for his usury, both fair and unfair. The risk was great, the monopoly hard to break through, the interest usuriously high. Then, although a logical series of exceptions and relaxations was gradually worked out, the trade of money-lending, the taking of interest, was in principle forbidden by Canon Law. The perplexing limits within which interest could be taken were always being over-stepped and we have the curious spectacle of the merchant-class, the factors of the Papacy, making their living by a mortal sin, as they thought it, and perhaps the more extortionate because a reasonable profit in a loan was in theory forbidden."^{*}

Another source of information on this point whence illuminating sidelights can be obtained is Shakespeare's "Merchant of Venice." Although the play was first published in 1600, some of the material of which the plot is composed considerably antedates that. For instance, the incident connected with the bond is narrated in the Latin "*Gesta Romanorum*" [see Cap. XLVIII of MS. Harl. 2270]. Again, it closely resembles the tale of the fourth day in "The Pecorone" of Ser Giovanni Fiorentino, [first printed in 1550, but written nearly two hundred years before.] Further evidence of its existence contemporaneously with the Crusades is found in a translation of an old ballad of "Geruntus", containing the same fable, included in Percy's "Reliques". The Jew money-lender was a necessary adjunct to the activities of the Catholic merchant adventurer, whose field of operations was then more cramped than in Shakespeare's day.* The character of the operations was just as international in tone, though, as Shakespeare explains it through the mouth of Antonio.

The duke cannot deny the course
of law

For the commodity that strangers
have

With us in Venice: if it be denied,
'Twill much impeach the justice of
the state:

Since that the trade and profit of
the city

Consisteth of all nations."

[Act III. Sc. iv.]

* The cloth trade of Lombardy is here referred to.

* Camb. Mod. History. Vol. V. p. 240.

* Act I. Sc. iii. *Shylack* [speaking of *Antonio*] Ho! No, no, no—My meaning in saying he is a good man, is to have you understand me that he is sufficient: yet his means are in supposition: he hath an argosy bound to Tripolis, another to the Indies: understand moreover upon the Rialto, he hath a third at Mexico, a fourth for England."

There seems to be, then, some justification for the suspicion that the protection of the trade routes to the East was in part the object—not of the Crusaders themselves, perhaps—underlying the financial assistance given by the commercial fraternity of the Mediterranean littoral to their altruistic military allies.

The suspicion growing in the reader's mind must not be allowed to formulate definitely, though, without recourse to a more convincing experiment in deductive reasoning and comparative analogy. The developments taking place in other parts of the globe at the time the Crusading spirit was waning must be considered in relation to this waning spirit. Before leaving this part of the subject, however, it is necessary to quote at length to support the reasoning underlying the attitude here adopted towards Peter the Hermit as contrasted with Carlyle's.

Peter the Hermit was one of the most successful of the preachers who stirred enthusiasm after the Council of Clermont*. He preached at first in Berry in central France, and afterwards, perhaps, chiefly in the districts to the North and North-east of his starting point. He, like Walter, made his way to Constantinople through Germany and Hungary. He is known to have passed Treves on 10-April 1096, but before he finally turned eastward he preached the Crusade for a week at Clogne (12-19 April). In South Germany he and his French followers were joined by considerable numbers of Germans gathered from those districts which favoured the Pope in his quarrel with the Emperor. Wal-

ter of Teck and Hugh of Tubingen, Count Paletine of Swabia are two of some twenty knights who were their leaders.....Hungary was traversed peacefully and uneventfully as far as Semlin, just on the Bulgarian border. Here the French Crusaders stormed and plundered the town, on the alleged ground of injuries recently done to stragglers.....In Bulgaria, which they now entered, they were beyond the reach of Hungarian retaliation, and having given hostages to Nikita, its governor, they were permitted to purchase provisions in Nis. Here again, however, trouble arose, owing it is said to the burning of some mills and houses by a party of Germans. Peter's baggage train, including his money-box, was completely plundered by the Bulgarians, numbers of women and children.....were taken captive, and Peter himself and his followers were driven in headlong flight into the woods."

Again :—

"As Peter the Hermit still plays an important part in the popular accounts of the origin of the first Crusade, some additional observations regarding him may be permitted in conclusion. His actual role as an early and successful preacher of the Crusade has already been indicated. His legendary history originated, we must suppose, amongst those inspired by his preaching, and who knew him as the originator of *their* Crusade. Along with other legends it was elaborated in the popular songs of the period, the *Chansons de Geste*. From there it made a partial entrance into the narrative of Albert of Aix, and in a more developed form entered the history of William of Tyre. Through

* The reader will now agree, a most appropriate venue !

William of Tyre it has so fixed itself in modern literature that no historian of mere fact seems able to root it out.

According to legend Peter stirred the Pope and all Western Europe to the first Crusade. The four writers who were present at the Council of Clermont report Pope Urban's words in terms which are quite inconsistent with this representation. Besides, the chief authorities for the history of the Crusade made it clear that Peter began his preaching after the Council and in consequence of it. His journey as far as Constantinople has already been related. In the later stages of the Crusade he appears as a personage of some influence among the poorer classes, but not as one whom the leaders particularly respected.*..... Between Nicaea and Jerusalem he plays a recorded part five times in all. This minor figure is not even an appropriate symbol or representation of the mighty forces, religious, political and economic, that created the First Crusade.**

The Crusading convention—if the term may be used out of its present-day contract Bridge monopoly—was continued in the first voyages of discovery that were a feature of the fifteenth century—

[Speaking of Henry of Portugal—
“The Navigator.”]

“His immediate object was to subjugate and convert the not yet Islamised heathen in the North-West of Africa, beginning with the Senegal River, and to create here a great Portuguese dependency, the spiritualities of which were with the consent of

the Holy See, to be vested in the order of Jesus Christ, and were destined to form a fund for the aggrandisement of the order, and the furtherance of its objects.”

Again—

“The model of conduct and policy affected by Dom Henrique was the heroic and sainted French king who had flourished two centuries before. Louis after ascertaining by disastrous experience the impracticability of driving the Saracens from the Holy Land and Egypt, had sought to convert the Sultanate of Tunis into a dependency of France as the first step in recovering Northern Africa for Christendom.”

That this convention did not long survive the success of these voyages is not surprising. Diaz rounded the Cape of Good Hope in 1486. Columbus discovered America in 1492. Vasco da Gama completed a voyage to India in 1499. The overland trade routes lost their significance, and the fact that for nearly five hundred years the Crusading connection slept so soundly as to make the legends of those Medieval Knights but a pretty Christmas story is but to be expected. What, then, caused the twentieth century press to burst into almost poetic, seemingly inspired, and wholly unnecessary acclamations when Jerusalem was again “delivered”? The Jewish Colonial Trust had pursued its chequered career for many years without procuring any of that gratuitous publicity that has been so generously accorded to later developments in the same area. The fact was proved, and tacitly admitted, that the Jews were doing

* Reference to previous footnote emphasises the dissimilarity of aim held.

* Camb : Mad : Hist. p 299, vol. V.

** 1426, 1441

far too well in other countries to want to exchange cocktails and coronets even for a land flowing with milk and honey. *But*.....with the coming of the internal combustion engine an entirely new factor intervened. The world's production of crude oil was as under.—

	1913.	1921.
Persia. [galls.]	61,100,000	578,042,910
U. S. A. „	8,695,618,050	16,526,305,000
do [proportion of world output]	64.115 %	62.576 %
British Empire	2.298 %	1.813 %

The capitalisation and personnel of what may be termed the controlling interest in this Production is as under.—

Royal Dutch Co. Capital. Fls. 600,000,000.
 "From Jan 1, 1907 came into intimate association with shell Transport and Trading Co., Ltd., as the result of which certain assets and undertakings were transferred to two new operating companies [Baafsche Petroleum Mij and Anglo-Saxon Petroleum Co. Ltd.*—the latter registered in England." (Stock Exchange year Book 1920.)

Shell-Mex Ltd. Capital	£6 500,000
Shell Transport & Trading Co., Ltd.	„ £43,000,000
Shell Union Oil Corpn.	
[Market capitalised value. No par value]	\$70,000,000

Debentures. \$49,7,5000
 Shell Pipe Line Corpn. \$30,000,000
 Also—
 Asiatic Petroleum Co. Ltd. £4,000,000
 the board of which consists of—
 Viscount Bearsted
 Sir H. W. A. Deterding. K. B. E. *

(Mg. Dr.)

Sir R. W. Cohen K. B. E.
 F. Godber.
 A. Agnew.
 A. S. Debenham.
 J. G. F. de kok*
 Dr. J. Th. Erb.*
 J. B. A. Kessler.*

And:
 Anglo Persian Oil Co. Ltd.
 Capital £24,000,000.
 [Plus £2,000,000 6½ % notes. Mar. 1924] Holds 23¼ % of the capital of Turkish Petroleum Co. Ltd., 23¼ being held by Royal-Dutch Shell Group and 23¼ % by American Group.

This short study can be best concluded, therefore, with a third quotation from the immortal Bard—

"I will have my bond; speak not against my bond;
 I have sworn an oath that I will have my bond;
 Thou call'dst me dog, before thou had'st a cause:
 But, since I am a dog, beware my fangs."
 Shylock in Merchant of Venice Act III
 Sc. III

*This Anglo-Saxon Company's directorate consists of.—

Sir R. W. Cohen. K. B. E.
 Sir H. W. Deterding. K. B. E.
 Viscount Bearsted and
 Messrs. Kessler, de Kok and Samuel.

* Also on the Board of Royal Dutch Co.

THE SEA: A PHANTASY.

By Mr. SYED MEHDI IMAM, Bar-at-Law.

"Many have sung of the terrors of storm,

"I will make me a song of its Beauty". (Sir W. Watson.)

Who has seen the white waves churned into a phantasy of motion and can deny the magic of their appeal to the brush of the painter or the eye of the poet? When the summer winds have lulled each pulsation, and the heaving ocean is a mirror of stainless blue, who would divine that within its abysmal depths a thousand currents are contending and a thousand springs are bubbling with a resistless energy which will throw the sea into earthshaking convulsions? Yet so it is decreed by Nature's inexorable law that the majesty of the sea's enthroned strength upon the billows must emerge from the fury of the tempest: and the splendour of her brow from the riven cloud and the lightning flash. The storm is the garment of her loveliness, and the thunder the music of her march. Aphrodite, as the Greeks fashioned her, rising from the morning mist and the glistening spray of the Aegean has left the imprint of her presence upon the wave. For when the power of the hurricane has subsided, the sea, morning and evening, sings the song of beauty on the long leagues of undulating sands. She breaks with flowering foam upon the sharpened rock and in sunny ripples in the blue bay. She speaks in grotto and inlet in musical murmurs. She thrills to the cry of the seagull from the hidden hollow or the dipping of the seabird's wing in the frothing surges.

Creatures of glittering scales has she as the handmaids of her adornment. Palaces of pearl are the roof of her repose; and blossoms of seaflower and coral the gardens of her pleasure. The thorn and the thistle have no place in her haunts. No sound does she know save the song of her springs, no voice save the meeting of streams. Her delicate feet walk upon ways paved by no stone; and rough winds touch not her scented tresses. The light of the sea-waves is the flush of her cheeks, and the liquid glance of her streams the loveliness of her eyes.

Moods of her anger are mirrored on the waves: the furrows of her brow enhance her fascination and her charm. Variable as the foam of her tides,—changeful as the shadows of her clouds, she is constant only in the infinite variety of her designs to bewitch the eye. Loveliness sleeps in the warmth of her vesture; and behind the woof of her veil the countenance of Beauty. An elf-like shape she runs upon the winds and palpitates upon the waters. Prospero's rod cannot arrest her nor stay the swift movement of her feet: Nor for all the soft breathings of his enchanted isle will she surrender her serene dominion. No Ariel would she be subservient to command; but an elusive presence beyond the domain of the eye or the ear—a spirit, beautiful and free, travelling in the orbit of time without lord without master.

THE DISSOLUTION OF HINDU MARRIAGE.

By PANDIT KRISHNA PRASAD KAUL.

(*Member of the Servants of India Society, Poona*)

THE question of the dissolution of Hindu marriage, was raised for the first time at the annual session of the Indian National Social Conference, held at Lucknow in the year 1924. The subject being new, it naturally created excitement and differences of opinion; but the opponents of the resolution generated a great deal of heat in the course of the discussion, perhaps to make up for the paucity of their arguments. After a prolonged debate of several hours, the proposition was put to vote and declared lost. It came up for discussion again, at the session of the Provincial Social Conference, held at Cawnpore only a few months later. This time the discussion was less heated and the resolution was lost by a lesser majority. The rejection of the proposition by the two successive sessions of the Conference, however, did not lead to its annihilation, on the other hand these discussions set people thinking and the forum of debate was shifted from the platform to the press. In 1927 Dr. Sir Hari Singh Gour introduced a bill in the Legislative Assembly, to provide for dissolution of Hindu marriage, on certain conditions. The attempt was feeble and rather premature. The Bill was summarily rejected as it was bound to be. Yet public opinion has been veering round steadily though slowly, a tangible proof of which was offered at the United Provinces Social Conference held at Lucknow, under the Presidentship of Mrs. Uma Nehru, in March 1929. In spite of strenuous

opposition a resolution, in favour of the dissolution of Hindu marriage was carried in the Conference by a clear majority. But the most courageous and momentous step in this direction, has been taken by the enlightened State of Baroda, which only this year has introduced, in its Legislative Council, a Hindu Divorce Bill, providing legal facilities for dissolution of marriage, for those castes of Hindus, who were not entitled to it by custom and for registration of such dissolution amongst those, who are permitted to obtain it by usage. This in brief is the history of this question.

The proposition itself may be stated in the words of the resolution, as it was placed before the social Conference in March 1929 at Lucknow.

"This Conference is of opinion that steps be taken at an early date, to enact legislation to sanction dissolution of Hindu marriage at least in cases of (1) desertion and (2) cruelty by husbands."

In other words it does not mean more than this that in cases where the sanctity of the home has been destroyed by the cruelty and misconduct of the husband and the harmony and felicity of marital relations has ceased to exist or where the wife is leading a life of practical widowhood and is in a helpless position, because she has been deserted by her husband for no fault of hers, she should be afforded relief by law and permitted to get her marriage dissolved, and begin life anew if she so desired.

If we would set aside our preconceived bias for a moment and do a bit of clear thinking, we shall have to concede that this proposition is nothing but a corollary to the resolution of widow marriage, which the champions of social reform, have been passing year after year from the platform of their Conference. One can very well appreciate, though one may not agree with the viewpoint of those conservative minds, who from the very start make a dead set against any change or reform in our social life and cling to the age-long ways and customs of the days of Manu or swear by Sanatan Dharma. But how those champions of the cause of women, who enthuse on the need of women's education, declaim against the evil customs of Purdah and Early Marriage, earnestly plead for widow marriage and are further prepared to concede to women the rights of inheritance on the basis of equity and fair play,—in short, who advocate equal rights and freedom to women, can sum up courage to oppose and that too vehemently, such a modest and reasonable demand, passes one's comprehension. We have armed women with the most effective weapon of political warfare in the right to vote, we would not mind to concede to them a fair opportunity for participating in the administration and the governance of the country, along side with us; but we resist and obstinately resist their demand to have even restricted freedom, to pursue their legitimate and undisputed vocation of motherhood, in decent and clean environments. Could perversity go farther?

That it is a legitimate and growing demand admits of no doubt. Mr. M. R. Jaykar, one of the foremost pillars

of the Hindu Sabha and Hindu Sangathan movement, speaking from the Presidential Chair of the Indian National Social Conference, at Calcutta in December, 1928 said, "Women demand that the present day laws relating to divorce, remarriage, and maintenance which in their opinion, are foolish, irrational, and one-sided, should be altered in accordance with the requirements of modern society. In many places the cry has gone up for the right to apply for a divorce under certain conditions, not inconsistent with Hindu scriptures. They are aware that marriage is a sacrament, but feel that even under orthodox conceptions of marriage, the right to divorce will have to be conceded under conditions which have a foundation in Ancient Hindu law. If marriage is a religious sacrament it can only be performed once. Sacraments are not intended to be repeated as often as a well filled purse can desire. A sacrament is usually bilateral. Women contend that men have broken through their obligations. They urge that if a man can marry as many times as he likes, why cannot a woman separate herself from such a person. It is difficult to give a rational answer to this question..... Women claim that if in Ancient India remarriage could take place in such cases *e.g.*, (1) owing to husband's impotency (2) disappearance (3) incurable disease, there is no reason why at least a divorce should not be permitted now. There is no doubt that the present day law is deplorable in many ways; for instance, it allows the right to ask for a dissolution of marriage to a husband, who has changed his religion. His wife in her old faith however cannot do so. This may seem strange, but it is one of the anomalies of the pre-

sent day legislation.....These are all important questions relating to women's rights. I have touched only a few of them, to indicate the nature of women's grievances. The discontent amongst women is growing and unless legislation is taken up in proper time a stage may be soon reached when they will openly rebel and perhaps carry the rebellion into the peace and harmony of domestic life. It will be wise therefore to help this movement rather than let it drift into futile and bitter channels." Signs are not wanting to warn us, that the stage which Mr. Jaykar has referred to above is soon approaching. In spite of strenuous resistance of our social reformers to the demand of the dissolution of marriage, women have taken up the question in right earnest. During the last few weeks, the demand for divorce, has been put forward from the platforms of at least four Conferences of women. It was passed at Madras and Benares, withdrawn under pressure at the last moment at Lucknow, and defeated at Cawnpore. And what is more significant it figures prominently on the agenda of the All-India Women's Conference to be held at Bombay at the end of this month. News also comes from Lahore that during the last Xmas week, Dr. Lakhshmipati Bai, presiding over the All-India Mshila Conference and Mrs. Vidyavati, as president of the All-India Aryan Ladies Conference have raised their voice in support of the demand for divorce in unequivocal terms.

The opponents of the proposition base their arguments mainly on two objections. First, that the marriage amongst Hindus is not a contract, which can be easily set aside, but a

sacrament which binds two souls together for life and the tie is held sacred even after death. Secondly, granting that there may be a few cases of hard-ship such as desertion and ill-treatment of Hindu wife, this is not sufficient reason to change the law. Hard cases make bad law. Let us closely and dispassionately examine these objections. I may observe at the very outset that I do not profess to make out a case for dissolution of Hindu marriage on the basis of Hindu Scriptures only. Nor do I pretend to have much knowledge of the Shastras. I plead for equity and fair play on a rational basis. But as this argument of sacrament is very persistently and seriously advanced, it should be closely analysed. The word sacrament, in connection with Hindu marriage is generally used with much looseness and not a little of mawkish sentimentality, if I may be permitted to use the phrase. If by sacrament we mean that marriages amongst Hindus have been performed since ancient times and are being performed even today under priestly rituals and with religious ceremonies, no sane minded man is going to dispute it; nor is it being pressed that we should give up our time immemorial rituals and ceremonies if we do not want to do so. But if it is seriously contended that sacrament is used in the sense of indissolubility of marriage tie then it is emphatically refuted. Under the fabric of all the priestly rituals and ceremonies which go by the name of marriage there is a very solid foundation of contract. Otherwise how can it be explained that those Shastric authorities on which our opponents rely, while prohibiting a second marriage to a woman during

her whole life time and under all circumstances, have permitted an unlimited license to a man to marry as many wives, as he wishes, at the same time. This would be killing sacrament with ridicule. The sacrament which binds two souls together can only be bilateral and not unilateral. Not one but several illustrations can be given from the prehistoric period of ancient India, where marriages were made clearly on a basis of contract and with little semblance of sacrament. The story of Urvashi and Pururava in Rigvedic times, the marriage of Dropadi with Pandavas during the period of Mahabharata and the romance of Nala and Damayanti bear ample testimony to my contention. Urvashi broke the marriage and left her husband, because he had failed to perform his part of the contract and keep his promise.* The Pandavas had got to keep a contractual relationship amongst themselves as well as Dropadi, and Arjun had once to be temporarily banished because he had failed to abide by the terms of the understanding of the contract. It must have been a usage in those days for a wife to get a second husband, in case of her first husband's disappearance for a considerable period, otherwise, how could have Damayanti declared a second *swayambara*? I go further and assert without any fear of contradiction, that not only marriage amongst Hindus has not been proved to be a sacrament, in the real sense of the term, but valid and clear authorities are to be found in our Shastras, which amply prove that a marriage could be dissolved and a wife was allowed to contract a second marriage under certain conditions. I

quote below from Mr. Ranade's paper "On Vedic authorities for widow marriage published in the volume called "Religious and Social Reform."

Prajapati :— If she is a girl widow, or has been abandoned by her husband by force or violence, then she is fit to be taken as a wife by any man upon a second ceremony of marriage.

Katyana :— If a husband is of another caste or a Patita or a eunuch or of bad disposition or belongs to the same gotra or is a slave or is afflicted with chronic malady, in all such cases a Kanya i. e. daughter, though the marriage rites have all been performed, is fit to be given in marriage to another person with ornaments and clothing.

Vashishta :— If he comes of a low family or is evil disposed or is afflicted with epilepsy or is diseased or is an actor or belongs to the same gotra in all these cases the daughter though given in marriage may be wrested back and given again.

Even Manu whose authority governs the present day Hindu law has prescribed five conditions under which a wife can marry a second time. One of these conditions is desertion by the husband.

Even more explicit evidence on the subject is forth-coming from the Arthshashtra of Kautilya, brought to light very recently.

"In married life, the subjection of woman was admitted. A certain degree of scolding, stopping short of indecent abuse, three strokes from a bamboo bark, a rope or with the palm of the hand, might be used, to teach manners to refractory women. Cruelty

*Rigvedic Culture by Amarnath Chandra Dass P.101.

to husbands was punished with the same indignity. But neither scolding nor strokes were prescribed to bring husbands to manners or humanity. Yet all hope of relief from domestic unhappiness was not shut out. Divorce, conspicuous by its absence from modern Hindu law, was permitted on the ground of mutual enmity with the consent of both parties. Apprehensions of danger from either partner justified the other in claiming divorce. Hatred on either side was a ground for separation, though not for a regular divorce. Transgressions of decorum and slight lapses on either side were punished with fines and in certain cases with whipping. Not only may widows freely remarry, but wives are permitted by Kautilya to contract temporary unions in the event of prolonged absences and uncertainties of the whereabouts of their husbands. Kautilya on the whole favours monogamy (Vide Dr. Beni Prasad's "Theory of Government in Ancient India" P. 99.)

All this goes to show that not only have our Shastras given definite and clear injunctions for dissolution of marriage under certain conditions, but divorce was actually permitted by law and was prevalent at a period, somewhere about the 2nd or 3rd century A. D. That it is prevalent and customary even today on a large scale amongst the so-called lower classes of Hindus, is a fact which cannot be disputed. Thus the objection that marriage amongst Hindus is a sacrament and our Shastras do not allow dissolution of marriage under any circumstances falls to the ground.

Now let us take the second objection, *i. e.* the cases of desertion and ill treatment of wives are so few and far

between, that it would not be justifiable to change the law for this sake. At the face of it the objection seems to be plausible and it is really difficult to refute this argument by quoting chapter and verse in proof of the contrary. Purdah screens the dusty cobwebs of our domestic and social life so effectively that it is next to impossible to throw any light on these. No statistics are available; nor is it possible to make any comprehensive investigation in these matters. One can cite only such cases which have already got notoriety through the newspapers or law courts; or make use of such information which can be safely given publicity. A case of very ugly and shocking nature was reported by the newspapers of the Panjab and United Provinces, some two years back, in which an innocent and inoffensive girl wife was actually butchered by her mother-in-law and husband who was a student of law and belonged to a middle class family. Almost about this time another case of a decent Gujrati family was published in the newspapers in which a young man, though having a Hindu wife at home, had married a Parsi girl, for whom he cherished intense love. It may be said to the credit of the Parsi girl that she was prepared to accommodate the first wife of her husband but the sense of self-respect in the Hindu girl, did not allow her to share the husband with her rival. A case of unbearable torture and suffering came up before the Allahabad High court only some time back, in which the wife after having been given a thrashing by her husband was locked up with her two children in a small room and was starved for three days. Some how she got herself released and finding life unbearable threw herself and her two

children in a well near by. The children died but she was taken out. She was charged with murder and sentenced to transportation for life with a recommendation for mercy. No doubt these are extreme cases and limited in number. But for every such extreme case, there are dozens of cases of a similar nature, though not of the same intensity which come up before our law Courts but are never reported by the newspapers. Besides there are hundreds of cases of ill treatment and desertion of a Hindu wife which never see the light of day, either because the wife is too helpless to take action against her husband or a sense of shame prevents her from making an exposure. It is not a rare occurrence now that some of our youngmen, who are sent to western countries for education return with European wives and the Hindu wife is left to lead a life of practical widowhood, at her parents' house. It is an open scandal that a Kulin Brahmin of Bengal marries several girls at the same time for each of which, he gets a handsome amount of money from his father-in-law but he never keeps more than one with him. The rest are deserted. Some of those wretched girls commit suicide, several seek redemption by going out of the Hindu fold and many bid good bye to their homes and take to the life of the streets. And yet our conscience is not aroused. Perhaps we are waiting for the appearance of another Miss Mayo, who would put us to shame, by exposing the hidden deformities of our social life to the public gaze of the civilized world. The Kashmiri Pandits' community, outside Kashmere, in the rest of the country, does not contain more than eight to ten thousand souls. In-

vestigations of only two individuals interested in the question have been able to unearth sixteen cases of deserted wives in such a small community. If more thorough investigations on some systematic lines are made, in all probability this number will be easily doubled. Leaving aside the actual cases of desertion, if we take those cases also in consideration in which wives are subjected to all sorts of indignities and cruelties and still are compelled to stay with their husbands it would not be an exaggerated estimate to put them at a figure double than that of deserted wives. Thus the total number of such distressed wives would roughly amount to one hundred. Now out of a total of ten thousand about five thousand would be males and five thousand females. If we put the number of unmarried girls and widows at about two thousand five hundred, the number of wives would be reduced to two thousand five hundred only. Surely if one hundred wives out of two thousand five hundred *i.e.* 4 p. c. are leading a life of misery and helplessness, can it be said that the evil is of such a trifling magnitude that we can shut our eyes to it and rest contented with a clear conscience.

During the last few years a large number of Widows' Homes have sprung up in the country. Besides several institutions for the education of adult women, have also come into existence. Efforts were made to get information from these homes and institutions about the number of deserted wives, who may have taken refuge under their roofs. I regret to say that these efforts have not succeeded to any appreciable extent, on account of the apprehensive and secretive attitude of the authorities of these

homes and institutions. Most of them have not replied; only a few have given the desired information. But whatever information has been available, is of utmost value. I have been authoritatively informed that the number of deserted wives in the Lucknow Widow's Home, managed by Dr. T. Bahadur, is roughly speaking about 45 p.c. It is estimated, I mention on the authority of one who is in close touch with these institutions, that the number of deserted wives, in the different Widows' Homes at Lahore would not be less than 20 p.c. The total number of inmates at the Poona Seva Sadan, including unmarried Girls, wives and widows, is 290; of these the number of deserted wives is 30. The total number of inmates at the Madras Seva Sadan is 65; of these 25 are unmarried girls 20 are widows and as many as 18 are deserted wives; 2 being wives sent by their husbands for education. These figures are by no means exhaustive or conclusive. I have given them here by way of illustration. But these illustrations bear ample testimony to my contention that the number of such Hindu wives, who have been either deserted by their husbands or are being ill treated at home is not as meagre, as the opponents of the proposition make it out to be. It is striking enough to compel our serious attention.

So far, I have dealt with the statement of the case for dissolution of marriage, the support that the demand has so far enlisted on its side and the main objections that the opponents of the proposition raise against it. Now I would consider one or two constructive proposals in relation to this question. My first suggestion is that the Indian National Social Conference and its constituent branches should now take up the question in right earnest and should

not fight shy of this demand. The women have already begun to claim and press for this right and as the time passes on the demand for dissolution of marriage, from the side of the women, is bound to grow. As Mr. Jayakar, has very prudently pointed out "it will be wise to help the movement rather than let it drift into futile and bitter channels." The second suggestion is that some prominent leader and reformer like Mr. Jayakar should introduce, at an early date a private Bill for the dissolution of Hindu marriage in the Legislative Assembly, on the lines of the Hindu divorce Bill of Baroda. The Bill which is going to come up for discussion before the legislative council of Baroda some time next month, and in all probability is going to be passed by that body, is a very comprehensive measure. It embraces almost every aspect of the question and provides for dissolution as well as nullity of Hindu marriage. It also deals with the custody of children, alimony and the grounds of judicial separation. I am afraid, I cannot discuss that measure here at length for want of space; those who may feel interested enough in the question, I believe, can get a copy of the Bill from the judicial secretary of the Durbar from Baroda. However, I would point out one or two important modifications, which in my opinion will be absolutely necessary if we are going to frame our Bill on those lines. In chapter II of the Bill, dealing with dissolution of marriage, the grounds of dissolution are stated in sec. 10 as follows:—A major husband or wife, or in case of minority the next friend may bring a suit in court for obtaining a decree of dissolution of marriage upon one or more of the following grounds:—

If the husband or wife against whom the suit is brought (1) has disappeared for seven years (2) has become a recluse (3) has been converted to another religion (4) gives consent to such dissolution of marriage being childless for five years, after cohabitation has commenced. (5) is guilty of cruelty (6) is guilty of desertion without reasonable cause of his wife or husband as the cause may be for more than three years after cohabitation has commenced. (7) has ceased to cohabit as husband and wife for more than three years on account of incompatibility of temperament. (8) has been addicted to the use of intoxicants for more than three years and thereby is unable to fulfil the marital obligations. (9) is sentenced to life imprisonment by the final court of appeal. Additional grounds for a wife to bring suit are:—(1) if the husband be impotent, (2) is convicted of rape (3) commits unnatural offence.

Additional grounds for husband to bring suit are:—If the wife (1) commits adultery (2) has committed bigamy (3) was pregnant at the time of marriage by a person other than her husband and that fact was not known at the time of marriage to the husband, his parents, or guardian marrying him. Now, two things would strike as significant even to a cursory glance. The first is that while divorce is being introduced the institution of marriage has not been legally declared monogamous. The second is that adultery by wife has been declared a ground of dissolution of marriage but adultery by husband has not been declared so. This is not merely an act of omission. Perhaps it has been done so purposely with a view to placate the Hindu sentiment. But in my humble opinion in

such matters of vital concern, we should be guided more by reason and equity than sentiment. When we are going to introduce divorce, marriage must be legally declared monogamous particularly when concession has already been made to the Hindu sentiment by adding such a superfluous ground for dissolution as No. 4 in the section quoted above. Further if adultery is a crime or sin for a woman how can it be otherwise for a man and if it is to be a ground for dissolution in one case, it should be so in the other case also. Besides in my opinion "Incurable Insanity" should also be added as one of the grounds of dissolution of marriage. The Bill mentions it later on as one of the grounds of judicial separation but curiously enough not amongst the grounds of dissolution. But these are matters of detail. When a Bill is introduced in the Legislative Assembly and is published for criticism wiser heads than mine will have to say a lot about its details and we would be able to thrash it out at our leisure. For the present it is enough that we may concede to the principle of dissolution; details do not matter.

Before I conclude, I may passingly refer here, to a very common objection raised in this connection by almost every one, who is opposed to this reform, but which in my humble opinion does not carry much weight. And it is this' "Look at America! Look at Russia! what havoc divorce is playing with the very existence of family life and the sexual morality of the people in these countries!" I have studiously avoided a discussion here, over the fundamentals of ethics or the controversy of equality of woman with man. I have purposely limited the

scope of discussion to a single issue of social reform? and I am going to stick to that position. But I may be allowed to say this much that the rapidly increasing rate of divorces in America or the drastic changes of marriage laws in Russia, do not necessarily indicate or conclusively prove that marital relations there are becoming increasingly immoral. Increase in divorces is a symptom, not a causation, of the great changes that are happening in the social fabric of these countries. They are raising bigger issues there. In fact they are challenging the very standards and the fundamentals of the present day civilization. It is a mistake to confuse this revolution in feelings and environments of the social and economic life of these countries, pregnant

with vast changes and vital consequences, to the present civilization, with our parochial views on sexual morality. The question has to be studied in its entirety and dispassionately. To those who may feel interested enough in the question, I would make a request i.e. they may obtain and peruse a copy of an admirable treatise on "Divorce, A Study in Social Causation" by James P. L. Lechten Berger A.M., Assistant professor of sociology of the University of Pennsylvania. This thesis was submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of doctor of philosophy, in the faculty of political science of the Columbia University and I believe can be obtained from the authorities of that University.

N. B. This article was written several months ago, since then the Council of Baroda State has passed the Divorce Bill in a modified form.

SOME THOUGHTS ON INDIAN ARCHITECTURE.

BY SIR C. V. RAMAN.

NATURE herself is the greatest architect of all. The investigations of crystallographers and of the physicists have revealed the amazing skill with which she builds her structures. The architecture of a crystal reveals both in its exterior form and its internal construction an eye for beauty rivalling that of the greatest artists and an appreciation of geometric principles such as even Euclid could never claim. When she chooses to exert herself, as for instance, when she builds a sparkling diamond out of the blackest coal, her technical perfection of finish puts even the Taj to shame. In the inanimate world of crystals, Nature shows an infinite variety of form, but she is restricted by the severity of her mathematical laws. To witness her highest efforts, we have to pass into the world of living things and see the delicateness of touch and the exuberance of fancy with which she fashions the tendrils of a creeper, the opening buds of a flower or the grace and strength of the trees and wild animals of the forest.

It follows that Nature herself is the greatest inspirer of man in architecture. To build a shelter from the sun and rain is a necessity for man. But he would be untrue to himself and to Nature if he did not seek to make the dwelling worthy of himself and express in its design an appreciation of beauty and a sense of the fitness of things. It is no accident that the highest architectural efforts of man have usually

been reserved for houses of worship, for it is inevitable that man's deepest emotions express themselves in appropriate surroundings. But for architecture to exhaust itself in building temples or memorials for the dead is a negation of its real purpose. The spirit of the builder should exhibit itself also in dwellings intended as a home or for the daily task of life. Only there can the subtle influence of the environment make itself felt in the spirit in which the daily life is lived or the daily task is done.

India to-day, if she is to be true to herself, must seek to find her own soul in architecture. Scattered over her length and breadth, we find priceless vestiges of her ancient glory in "viharas" and temples built by her pious monarchs and in the magnificent relics of more recent Mahomedan rule. India can proudly claim these as her own, built by men who claimed India as their home and who sought to express in brick or stone or marble the spirit of her age-long culture. If history teaches us anything, it teaches us the immense strength of the civilization of India which has conquered and made vassal even those who have sought to destroy or enslave her. The waves of invasion which passed over India left the essential continuity of Indian culture and the essential solidarity of the sub-continent unbroken. It is this essentially Indian culture that has expressed itself in the architectural monuments of India, and it is in

these remains of the past and in the ever present spirit of Nature, that we must seek to find the inspiration which will maintain and enlarge our architectural heritage.

If there is any aspect of aesthetics which has an intensely practical value, it is architecture. A recently published symposium on the Benares Hindu University illustrates my meaning. This volume contains a series of illustrations of the buildings of the University and reviews of its activity by the various eminent persons who visited it. It is easy to trace the subtle influence of the distinctively Indian and very striking architecture and lay-out of the buildings of the University in inducing the tone of enthusiastic admiration of the University which pervades the pages of the symposium. A Hindu University of Benares, housed otherwise than it actually is, would have left the visi-

tors cold and would have failed to elicit the enthusiastic sympathy and support which it rightly claims and receives. Mr. Srish Chatterjee has done valuable service by his advocacy of the Indianisation of the architecture of both public and private buildings. In my opinion, this is a subject of vital importance which should receive the earnest attention and practical support both of public bodies and of private individuals throughout the country. By practical examples Mr. Chatterjee has shown what can be done even with the restricted opportunities at present available. An enlargement of those opportunities is much to be desired. The endowment of a scheme of education in architecture with a special Indian outlook may be commended as an object worthy of public or private generosity. Such education is much needed in India at the present day.

CHRISTMAS IN LITERATURE

By PRINCIPAL J. R. BANERJEE.

CHRISTMAS means the Church-festival of Christ. It is the season for commemoration of the birth of Christ. It has been known as Yule-tide, or simply Yule. Thus Drayton says :—

And at each pause they kiss ; was never
seen and rule.

In any place but here, at bonfire, or at
Yule.

Tennyson in his poem 'The Epic' says—

On the Christmas Eve,—

The games of forfeits done—the girls all
kissed.

Beneath the Sacred bush and past away.

So the season is associated with kindly thoughts and feelings, social and family unions and gatherings. It is a time of joy and concord, peace and goodwill. But it has a deeper significance still. The thoughts connected with the birth of Christ have been enshrined in prose and verse. Reference may be made to Milton's *Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity*, Irving's *Sketchbook*, Dicken's *Christmas Carol*, Tille's *Yule and Christmas*, Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, *Collection of Carols* printed by Wynkyn de Worde, Christmas Carols by W. Sandys, Saboly's *Recueil de Noëls Provençaux*, Wentworth Webster in *Gypsy Lore Journal*, Vol. I, Tennyson's *In Memoriam* and Browning's *Christmas Eve*.

"Ring in the True."

Tennyson represents the spiritual aspect of the season very forcibly in *In Memoriam*.

For who would keep an ancient form
Thro' which the spirit breathes no more ?

He sings in an optimistic vein. The old year is dying at the Christmas season to usher in the New Year or era with its joys, love of truth and right, the common love of good and peace, etc. It is to ring in the Christ that is to be that the old year is to be rung out.

Ring out the false, ring in the true
Ring in redress to all mankind,
Ring in the nobler modes of life,
With sweeter manners, purer laws,
Ring in the thousand years of peace,
Ring in the valiant man and free,
The larger heart, the kindlier hand.

But while Tennyson brings out in bold relief the moral and spiritual significance of Christmas, the Lordship of Christ, the disappearance of feud and strife, the triumph of truth and right, the ushering in of peace, and the disappearance of all that is opposed to the acknowledgment of and belief in the Lordship of Christ, he does not forget the geniality and social festivities associated with the season.

But fetch the wine

Arrange the board and brim the glass.

Love and life.

Browning with his deeper spiritual vision than Tennyson's, in his poem *Christmas Eve*, after much reflection, as to what to believe about Christ and the reason for that belief, finds it to be certain that though the vision of Christ may not be clear, there is a close connection between Love and Life, and the reality of Christ as the Lord of Life bursts upon the soul bathed in a flood of love :—

Believe in me,
Who lived and died, yet essentially.
Am Lord of Life. Whoever can take
The same to his heart and for mere love's
sake,
Conceive of the love,—that man obtains
A new truth.

Browning is right. The Christmas message essentially is that any one who loves love—aye the wonderful love of Christ—realises intensely that Christ is the Lord of Life. To him Christ is no mere myth. His life becomes transfigured and transformed by the pulsing of a new life born of contact with the Lord of Life and he becomes a new man, lives a new life, by the dynamics of Christ's all-encompassing, all-purifying, and all-saving love.

Inspiring Angel.

Dickens in *A Christmas Carol in Prose, being a Ghost story of Christmas* teaches that the Christmas message is that the spirit of goodness and humanity should be diffused. Lord Jeffrey wrote to the author, "We are all charmed with your *Carol*, chiefly, I think, for the genuine goodness which breathes all through it, and as the true inspiring angel by which its genius has been awakened." Scrooge in this work is "a wrenching, grasping,

scraping, clutching, covetous old sinner." His nature is transformed by a series of visions which he has in a dream on Christmas Eve.

Man's Redemption.

In conclusion, Milton's grand thoughts couched in musical and soul-thrilling words as recorded in the *Ode on the Nativity* may be cited. They bring out fully and forcibly the significance, attached by us, Christians, to the birth of Christ, the advent of the Lord. Christ's coming into the world signifies the Incarnation, the reign of Peace, Truth and Justice, the disappearance of sin and Non-Christian gods, and the redemption or salvation of mankind. These are the blessings associated with His birth.

That glorious Form, that Light unsufferable.

And that far-beaming blaze of Majesty
Wherewith He wont at Heaven's high
council-table,

To sit the midst of Trinal Unity.
He laid aside ; and, here with us to be
Forsook the courts of everlasting day,
And chose with us a darksome house of
mortal clay.

But He, her fears to cease,
Sent down the meek-eyed peace.

But peaceful was the night
Wherein the Prince of Light
His reign of peace upon the earth began :
The winds, with wonder whist,
Smoothly the waters kissed,
And leperous sin will melt from earthly
mould.

Yea, Truth and Justice then
Will down return to men,
Orb'd in a rainbow.

The Babe yet lies in smiling infancy
That on the bitter cross
Must redeem our loss.
He (Osiris) feels from Juda's land
The dreaded infant's hand;
The rays of Bethlehem blind his dusky
eyes :

Nor all the gods beside
Longer dare abide.

THE HINDUSTAN REVIEW LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

MOTTO—A reviewer of books is a person with views and opinions of his own about life and literature, science and art, fashion, style and fancy, which he applies ruthlessly or pleasantly, dogmatically or suggestively, ironically or plainly, as his humour prompts or his method dictates, to books written by some body else. The two notes of the critic are sympathy and knowledge. Sympathy and knowledge must go hand in hand through the fields of criticism. As neither sympathy nor knowledge can ever be complete, the perfect critic is an impossibility. It is hard for a reviewer to help being ignorant, but he need never be a hypocrite. Knowledge certainly seems of the very essence of good criticism and yet judging is more than knowing. Taste, delicacy, discrimination—unless the critic has some of these, he is naught. Even knowledge and sympathy must own a master. That master is sanity. Let sanity for ever sit enthroned in the critic's armchair.—*The Rt. Hon'ble Augustine Birrell; M. P., on "The Critical Faculty."*

A CHALLENGING BOOK ON INDIA*

By Mr. V. B. METTA.

THIS is one of the most challenging books on India which has appeared in recent years. The author cannot be denied the right to express his views on the Indian problem on grounds of ignorance. He is not a mere tourist who went to India during a cold season and wrote his book. He was in the Indian Medical Service for more than a quarter of a century. Nor can he be called an Indophil like Miss Margaret Noble and such other writers, for he does not feel any attraction towards the Indian ideals of life and conduct. He does not even pretend to have treated the Indians better than did his fellow officers while he was in India. He says he is a lover of fair play, of justice, of humanity. If Britishers do not agree with him, he would be glad to know what facts and personal experience they can bring forward to refute his statements.

We shall not try to refute or agree with the author's statements. We shall only give a brief summary of the main ideas in his book and the remedies which he suggests to create better feelings between India and England.

There is no parallel in the whole of human history to the haughty aloofness which the British have maintained towards Indians. The French, Russians and other European conquerors of the East come far more in contact with the Asiatic races whom they govern than do the British. And the English have not only kept aloof from the Indians, but treated them with the utmost contempt, as if they were less than human. The author retails a number of incidents which he personally saw, and the conversations which he heard between Britishers to prove his statement.

There is no Magna Charta, no Habeas Corpus and no Sermon on the mount for the Britisher in India. If any other people had been treated as the Indians have been treated by the British they would have rebelled long ago. But the Indians—thanks to their patience and their pacific nature—have not yet done so. The East India Company used to send back to England any Britisher who acted in such a way as to render the British rule in India unpopular. But the Government of India under the British Crown does not do so.

Colonel Osburn is of the opinion that the overbearing attitude of the British is due to the public school system of England, a system which gives opportunities to the physically strong to bully the physically weak, encourages snobbery, brutality, and caddishness of the very worst sort.

British advocates of the British rule in India say that India has made great progress under British rule. But the author points out that other Asiatic nations—Japan, China, Turkey, and Persia—which have not been under British rule, have progressed as much if not more than India.

The author's criticism of Miss Katherine Mayo's *Mother India* is interesting. Granting for a moment that the state of Indian society is as bad as she paints it, whose fault is it if not of the British, he asks. They and they alone are to blame if such evils exist in the country after two centuries of their rule. The evils of Indian society he argues are the result of poverty—appalling, heart-rending poverty—ignorance, and lack of sanitation. If the British Government really wanted to improve India it could have spent more money on education and sanitation and less on the army, Britishers' pensions, etc. But it has not done so.

Indians, says Miss Mayo, are weak, because they are immoral. The Pathan, points out Colonel Osburn, is far more immoral than the Bengali and yet he is not weak. He also points out that child marriages and the injunction against widow remarriage in Indian society are due to economic causes; the extreme poverty of the people. He also points out that there are more commandments east of Suez than west of it. Orientals are less dirty than the Europeans; they wash their hands before taking their meals. They also show more mercy to their enemies, are less cruel to animals, and forbid the use of alcohol.

He ends up his criticism of Mayo's book with the remark. "It is safe to say

that there is no cruelty, degradation, or vice existing in India which could not be matched by equally abominable things in at least fifty of the larger cities in England and on the European Continent."

The author appeals to the Government of India to stop employing Indian spies and *agents provocateurs* to create communal dissensions. He also wishes that unimportant Indian news should not be exaggerated and cabled to British newspapers.

He has very little to say in favour of the Indian police, which, helped by the army, make the continuance of the British rule in India possible. It is unfair, he argues, to give so much power to the police and make it impossible for anyone to complain against it. (Since the book was written the Simon Commission Report is out, which, among other things, suggests the transference of the departments of law and order to provincial government.)

The author considers it unreasonable that Indians should not be allowed to carry arms, seeing that thousands of them are killed every year by wild animals, who also do a great deal of harm to the crops. If Indians are allowed to carry rifles they would not only be able to safeguard themselves and their crops but also be able to defend themselves against the frontier tribes in case those tribes invade India. The right to carry more rifles by Indians will not help them to rebel against the British who have machine guns, tanks, aeroplanes and railways at their command. Then again the army in India is recruited in such a way that unity for mutiny is not possible. A Hindu regiment contains Mohammedans and a Mohammedan regiment contains Hindus.

He regrets the total lack of sympathy and interest which British women show towards Indians. He wants them to help Indian women in their attempts to improve themselves.

He is amused at the idea that if there is any communal quarrel in India, the

British at once hasten to proclaim to the world that Indians are not fit for self-government. And yet they—the British—do not say the same thing when the Greeks, Bulgarians or any other European people ill-treat one another.

The following is a brief summary of the remedies which the author suggests if England wants to prevent a revolution in India.

(1) Every Englishman before going out on service to India should pass a test in the elementary history of India and two main religions.

(2) No Englishman should be allowed to say anything contemptuous about Indians in public or private.

(3) The punishment for striking an Indian should be the same as for striking a soldier in the army.

(4) Britishers, who after a few year's stay in India, have been found temperamentally incapable of getting on with Indians should be sent back to England.

(5) A Habeas Corpus should be enacted and respected in India.

(6) Indians should be given every opportunity to reconstitute again their communal institutions which has been partially or completely destroyed by the British.

(7) Indians should be encouraged in all manly exercises and the Boy Scout

Movement should receive Government recognition.

(8) No exportation of food stuffs should be allowed until the price of food has fallen so far that there is a danger of food being wasted.

(9) Every Englishman living in India should be obliged to pass an examination in the language of the province in which he is living or in Hindustani.

(10) A knowledge of Indian history, art, life and economic difficulties should be spread in England by means of lectures, films, and books.

(11) Taxation must be reduced. Military expenditure and the expenditure on New Delhi should be reduced, and more money should be spent on health and education.

(12) The salaries of British officials in India should be reduced. If French officials in France's Asiatic and African possessions are paid between £500 and £1,00 there is no reason why British officials in India should be paid more.

(13) Missionary propaganda at public and preparatory schools in England against Indian immorality should be discontinued.

(14) The Indian police should not be militarized, and should be placed under provincial control.

(15) The Indian Penal Code should be humanised.

A STUDY OF THE CASTE SYSTEM.

By Dr. H. ZACHARIAS (*of The Week*)

THE author of *Caste in India*, a well known French Indologist, published the first edition of this work over thirty years ago, basing himself on the census of 1891. Since then much water has flowed down the Ganges (and the Seine), but M. Senart has the satisfaction of issuing to-day, after such a lapse of time, not a new edition, but a reprint of that original study of his, to which as he says, he has nothing to add and from which he has nothing to retract. A proud boast indeed amidst the ruins of so many ephemeral scientific theories—and on the whole one well justified. That the details of his argument are all quite solidly established, would perhaps not be granted by all his brother Indologists; but his main thesis is undoubtedly true and remains to-day uncontested.

This thesis, put briefly, is that the Indian Caste (*jati varna*) is the equivalent, not of profession, but of race; and the four (or five, counting the out-caste) traditional castes are merely later abstractions and not early starting point at all. As we all know, there are in India to-day more nearly five thousands than five Castes, within which alone the individual is allowed to marry: as we likewise know, a member of a caste can and does change his profession without at all necessarily changing his caste. In fact that caste taboos are racial taboos is so evident that nothing more need be said on the subject, except that for this very reason the British for instance form a true caste in India, hedged about with all the social taboos customary in such case—as do also the "Whites" in the United States, in South Africa etc. Monsieur Senart does not mention this fact but he draws attention to the other very relevant fact, that in Ancient Rome Patricians and Plebeians

likewise were true castes, not classes at all, as they were contending about the *jus connubii*, the matrimonial taboo; and that the helots of ancient Greece correspond closely to our *sudras*.

The great difference between India, and the rest of the world has lain in the development of the racial idea common to all mankind: here all races coming in contact with the Aryan invader wanted to copy him rather than mix with him. Hence they also developed the Brahman caste system on their part, and on their part isolated themselves from the rest of the population, with which the Aryan domination brought them more and more in contact. Thus they were, one and all, able to maintain their separate existence and culture: for each caste is self-governed and self-determined in the most approved democratic fashion—a factor not to be overlooked by those who would apply these latter principles to the Nation, at large. This "live and let live" policy, so congenial to the Indian mind has since been turned into the basic principle of British empire making as well: both being the very antithesis of the American ideal of the "Melting Pot"—on the relative merits of which two policies the American "Red Indians" would perhaps be the fittest to pronounce an opinion!

Our author has naturally enough some caustic things to say about those easy theorists who see in the Indian caste-system nothing but the result of a "crafty priesthood" of Brahmans, who wished to get all power into their hands (p. 18); and he is equally sarcastic (p. 28) about "all those tender souls who since the days of Bernardin de Saint-Pierre" have lavished their pity upon the Pariah, as an ostracised and proscribed individual, expelled from

human society ; and who fail to realize that though the group to which the Pariah belongs, may be wretched and despised, it is at least a group to which he belongs—and one which always finds other groups, to consider more wretched still and to despise. That the caste system is wrong just because it thus bases itself on mutual contempt, needs no saying ; that today it has passed its usefulness, is quite arguable too : but let us not forget that the real rock of offence of the caste to-day lies in its very virtue, of enabling the State to be, not merely "simple collection of individuals, but an agglomeration of corporate units" (p. 24). This is what the "modern" person, who still lives in the ideology of the French Revolution cannot tolerate : his "ideal" being a radical atomization within the State, so that there may nothing intervene between the solitary individual and the all-powerful, centralized, State. It is the Caste which today proves the most powerful obstacle in the way of proletarianizing India "a progress" attempted in India at both ends of the Social ladder, with the manual labour proletariat of our industrial centres and the intellectual labour proletariat of other educational centres : where in both cases a new caste-less and adharmic folk of *deracines* is being produced, which losing all the old sanctions of their tradition and all the material backing of their tribe, is today drifting about, without rudder or compass, a ready prey to the passions of their exploiters and of their own.

Once one looks at "Caste" from the natural, i. e. Catholic, point of view, it becomes evident that the ruthless destruction, preached especially by Protestant

Missionaries, is not a line for statesmanship to take. Public opinion must indeed by all means be educated to respect all castes equally and to drop taboos which are, or at least have become, indefensible. Especially must intermarriage be rendered possible, without at the same time promoting wholesale promiscuous intermingling of castes. That normally one person should marry another person within his own caste should remain uncontested and be even reaffirmed, seeing that the sharing of like customs, manners of life, traditions etc. is the best guarantee for the future happiness of the young couple. But the exception should become acceptable and this would perhaps best be effected through the girl being adopted into the caste of her future husband. There is of course much leeway to make up, before such views should become common : but the important point today seems to me to lie in aiming at least at such a true policy instead of continuing the false *delenda Est Carthago* cry against caste, which a pernicious Liberalismus and Libertinism has already only too well popularized in India.

And perhaps—if I may be permitted to end up with my "King Charles head"—a good way of strengthening, and at the same time purifying, caste and canalising it into desirable channels would be to work into the future constitutions of India a communal Second Chamber, where all racial and cultural groupings would find a legitimate vent and could on their part be ordered to subserve the *bonum commune* of India as a whole,—of the new Indian Commonwealth that is to be.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A HINDU WIDOW*

MRS. Parvati Athavale's *My Story: The Autobiography of a Hindu widow* has been rendered into English from the original Marathi by an American scholar—Dr. J.E. Abbott, author of the *Peet Saints of Maharashtra*. Told in a simple straightforward manner, this interesting story marks the change in attitude toward education for women in India. Mrs. Athavale, imbued with the hope of freeing her sisters from their ignorant bondage, aided Professor Karve in organizing a Home for Widows which has grown into a University for Women at Poona. As summarised in a critique by the *Madras Mail*, the daughter of a Brahmin father, who, even as early as 1870, kept a pot of water at which out-castes might drink, and whose other daughter, Baya, was allowed to marry a few years after becoming a widow; Parvatibai, from her earliest years, was in touch with high-minded people who cared more for the finer aspects of humanitarianism than for the rules of castes. We have, in this book, a brief glimpse of the hardworked mother, the sisters, and the short married life. Soon after the death of her husband, Parvatibai came under the care of Baya's husband, Professor Karve, and we find him inducing her to come to Poona for education. Recognising her rare gifts, this far-sighted man chose, Parvatibai as the warden of his widows' home. This was started in 1896 with Parvatibai as cook, and general factotum. A number of interesting photographs show, how under her care, and with the money which she collected in various parts of India, the institution grew from a three-roomed hut to a women's University, with Professor Karve always in the back-ground as teacher and counsellor. How Parvatibai tried to learn English in

India, and how she finally went to America in 1918 to learn the language and get some idea of women's education in that country, her struggles to earn her living, her privations and hardships because of her vegetarianism, and finally her success and return to India are all told in a simple and straightforward manner, and the reader shares with her her inmost thought.

II.

The book ends with a brief exposition of Parvatibai's ideas on marriage, social customs and women's education. She criticises impartially the customs in both east and west, though her reasoning, in parts, is a little mixed. We agree that women should receive a somewhat different education from men, but she does not seem to realise either the possibility or the desirability of a woman being the intellectual help-mate and companion of her husband. It is a pity that Mrs. Parvatibai does not give a more detailed description of the institution to which she has devoted her life's energies. We are left to gather most of the information that the book gives on this subject from the pictures, which are delightful. Should the work run to a second edition, as we hope it will, we hope Mrs. Parvatibai Athavale will add one or more chapters on the working of the institutions and perhaps a few short sketches of the women who have come under her care. The book has been translated from Marathi by Justin E. Abbot, and perhaps the highest praise that one can give to his work is the fact that nowhere does the change of language become apparent. The language flows as smoothly and directly as though it had first been put down in English. The story of a Hindu widow, who, after several years of pilgrimage and sorrow,

* *My Story*. By Mrs. Parvati Athavale. (G.P. Putnam's Sons, 24 Bedford Street, London, W.C. 2) 1930.

devotes her life to the education of widows, is bound to be full of interest, and one reason why Mrs. Athavale grips the reader's attention from the start is that she takes us into the innermost places of her heart. It is doubtful whether Mrs. Athavale made the fullest possible use of her time, or followed the best methods, but she did perhaps the best she could in her limited circumstances and brought back a mind charged with observation, and ripe and developed ideas on the proper lines, along which the education of women in India should proceed, but she warns her compatriots against following too slavishly the methods of the West, and against the education of girls following that of boys. Their education should fit them to make happy and healthy homes and she urges particularly, improvement in the sanitation of the Indian home. She says:

"True sentiment regarding filth, is not that working in filth for its removal is degrading, but being willing to live in it is degrading". Though the book contains no spectacular accounts, it is a simple record of an awakening consciousness which is spreading among the women of India and if rightly directed will tend to ameliorate much that is amiss in Indian social matters, but as the author points out with a warning note, if education deflects India's women from their highest duties in the home, it will defeat its own ends. Mrs. Athavale's *My Story* is a useful straw indicating the direction of the wind along channels surcharged with tremendous potentialities. We commend to the careful attention of all social reformers in this country this *Autobiography of a Hindu Widow* as a highly interesting record and a store-house of instructive information.

GALLIPOLI CHRONICLERS AND MR. MACKENZIE*

By Prof. K. R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR

I

FOR a few years immediately after the War people had become so much tired and bored and exhausted by that four-year catastrophe that writers had not the ghost of a chance of finding an audience for books written about the War whether in the form of fiction or diary or chronicle. One or two indubitable masterpieces which made their courageous appearance were greeted with suppressed enthusiasm in isolated quarters. In the main however the public ignored the chroniclers and positively disliked any raking up of old memories.

Then suddenly the tide turned. Exhausted in limbs and armaments, men learned to

fight with the written word. War books appeared first singly, then in dozens and anon in thousands. The market was glutted with War books. The War was presented from every point of view and wearing every possible cloak. The Central Powers sent an interminable stream of novels, diaries and correspondence, repudiating the War Guilt that almost had become gospel truth for the world at large. The Allies on the other hand reiterated their former accusations in voluminous records and War Office publications. The Colonial House Papers were published. People spoke in hushed whispers. They thought anything might be released thereafter. Some English and American Historians themselves tried to wash the superimposed guilt clean

* *Gallipoli Memories*. By Mr. Compton Mackenzie.

from bled Germany's bowed forehead. The persistent and unclean propaganda of 'the Daily Mail' 'Le France' and other allied papers stood all but revealed and exposed in the white light of historical investigation. The Hun wasn't after all such an inhuman monster! So people murmured in the stillness of solitude.

And War Novels,—they took the literary world by storm, yes, literally by storm. The German "All Quiet On The Western Front" within a month of its publication became the talk of the two worlds. It caused in an incredibly short time, a record sale. Within October of last year England had consumed 260 thousand copies, France 300 thousand, America 240 thousand and Germany 800 thousand. And it has already been translated into twenty different languages. Ludwig Renn's "War" too created a sensation on its appearance. In England Mr. R. C. Sheriff's "The Journey's End" proved sensational on the stage and ever since has been holding enthralled crowded audiences in every corner of the world. It is passing strange that a movement so recent could be so intense and so world wide. But it is so. And one thinks with due justification that the present vogue of War literature has but begun.

II

It was remarked that War books are largely of a controversial nature. Controversial, however, is too mild a term, for they often neatly cut one another's throats. Literally perhaps: one fancies, at odd moments, that the war was never fought with greater earnestness than now. The war of intellects is more acute than the clash of swords: and War literature is nothing if not the arena whereon the choicest remnants of that world explosion indulge in yet more biting bits of intellectual scuffle—the more bitter in much as they wear the more permanent. Herr Remarque's "All Quiet" was all War that strived for future peace. It displayed a wholesome indignation against War as War and not as War caused by the Germans

or made inevitable by the impossible stand of President Poincaré. But there are others—by far the largest group of War chroniclers—who think otherwise: they like Mr. Compton Mackenzie do not display "as much moral indignation as the mood of the moment expects from a writer about the War." They pride themselves over the fact that they are mere chroniclers. They are sublimely content to keep humanity out with military thoroughness. Their minds, so would they pretend, are made of sterner stuff: and they would never give way to sentiment. Their ambition is but to reproduce with photographic accuracy the War as it was actually fought. We might take it or leave it. They reckon not.

In this category of War chroniclers are found the most uncompromising disputants over the origins of the War or over the justification of this expedition or that offensive. They are scientifically vigilant to load you with facts: having taken a more or less conspicuous part in the operations of the War, they are careful to be unduly remonstrative to justify every idiocy of which they were guilty. At the same time they would miss no opportunity when they might conveniently throw the odium of some disaster on a third person. The truth as it did happen, we, who were never there, will never know. Nor do we care to know. The complexities, jealousies, enmities and loves of that singular epoch in modern History are too much intertwined with one another that an impartial account of it, no more than a full account of it, is humanly impossible. The only thing one might care to know and one might with ease get to know is that it was an epoch the like of which none in his sense would like to be repeated. To quote Mr. Priestley: "Muddle, waste, misery, horror were all there, and Heaven knows we want no more" Wars. All remembrance of it were well if wholly wiped out. If talented authors would not leave it so, let them at least make their books as impartial and as inte-

resting and as concise as possible, ensuring in every page of the writing that it shall make for righteousness, peace and harmony among peoples and nations in the world in ages to come. Then would they have satisfied the urge of their ambition and served in very truth the world of the future. But.....

III

About the obscure repercussions in political Europe that led to the Great War a staggering volume of contentious writing has issued from the British and the foreign Press. The old dogmatism is happily on the wane. The deferred publication of Viscount Morley's "Memorandum" and Dr. Ludwig's "July 1914" has exploded the myth—it was never more than a myth—of the violation of the German neutrality of Belgium and Chancellor Bethmann Hollweg's outrageous talk of the "the scrap of paper." Though the War Guilt question remains in the forefront of academical discussions there are not wanting minor subjects that have received their quota of controversial ink. One of these, from the inauspicious hour of its first motion has been the wisdom of the Gallipoli campaign. Happily or unhappily here it is a question of one Englishman flying at another's throat. With all the bull-dog tenacity of purpose, the infinite help rendered by the Sikhs, the Gurkhas and the Egyptians, and the excellent cooperation by the British fleet, the Gallipoli campaign came to an unsuccessful conclusion. There are those who say that the expedition in any case was foredoomed to failure: others who voice forth the opinion that, had other circumstances prevailed, it might have turned out otherwise: still others who maintain, indeed with malevolent spite, that the leaders of the Expedition were incompetent, petty and querulous and that the disaster should be attributed to them alone.

The purpose of the Gallipoli Expedition itself was ever vague. The main consideration however was that fighting should be going on wherever possible. And

Gallipoli afforded a splendid scene for War operations. Its proximity to Constantinople, the enemy's strong-hold, to Servia, an allied nation, and to Greece, then a neutral state, above all the paramount convenience of making Dardanelles an English base—all proved wonderously tempting and the English War Office took the plunge. The latent possibilities too were not to be ignored. Constantinople might be taken (why not?); a lightning dash across Hungary could be effected with incredible ease; Germany—impregnable, invincible, impenetrable,—she herself might be pierced from below (again, why not?); and then,—Breslau taken, even Berlin perhaps,—the possibilities were endless, as you will see! Sir Ian Hamilton's eyes glared: the future Commander-in-chief's eyes perchance transmitted a flash that found an inner echo in Earl Kitchener at the War Office. The Gallipoli Expedition was decided upon. Sir Ian set out as head of the Expedition: there were with him among others Captain George Lloyd, the future Governor of Bombay and later the High Commissioner of Egypt and Sudan. With super-human perseverance, with dogged pertinacity, the fighting went on. In vain the expositions of Sir Ian; in vain the fierce outpourings of Lloyd's Celtic Imperialism; in vain the literary gymnastics of Mr. Mackenzie; in vain too the daily, hourly carnage of thousands and tens of thousands of Sikhs and Gurkhas and Egyptians and Australians and New Zealanders. All to no purpose. Constantinople remained untaken.

IV

Books on the Gallipoli campaign are legion. One has long given up a count of even the more important of the contributions to that literature. Yet for the purposes of this article three or four of the most significant of these might be mentioned. First among them all should come General Sir Ian Hamilton's "Gallipoli Diary." Second, the portions relating to Gallipoli in the slightly overpraised

"World Crisis" books of the Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill, will find an honoured place in any enquiry. Third perhaps might be mentioned the much misunderstood and hyper-critical "Uncensored Dardanelles" of Mr. Ashmead Bartlett, sometime press-correspondent of the Gallipoli operations. Last and most recent of all comes "Gallipoli Memories" by Mr. Campton Mackenzie. *

England had no braver nor wiser general during the War than Sir Ian Hamilton. But even the wisest general need not be always victorious. It was possible too that Lord Kitchener did not repose that confidence in Sir Ian and render him that help in the form of men and provisions as he might have otherwise done. Now was it improbable that insubordination among his lieutenants and misrepresentation at home were responsible in no small measure for the mental reaction in Sir Ian who found to his utter disillusionment that he was after all to function as the silent and grim spectator of a pre-ordained tragedy. Be that how it may, Sir Ian's "Gallipoli Diary" made a timely appearance to dispel once and for all the unworthy doubts of his personal honesty which sensation-mongers had for years assiduously propagated. It remains still the most authentic as well as the most sincere of Gallipoli documents.

As for the Churchill contribution, the world is already staggering under the overwhelming weight of his ponderous volumes. One is lost in the maze of rhetoric and detail which in their double fury aim more at swallowing the reader than in instructing him. As keen and capacious an intellect as Mr. Churchill's is needed to grapple successfully with the strain of the narratives. Yet one might venture to remark that in the ex-Chancellor's opinion the failure of the Gallipoli campaign was due more to "the insurmountable mental barrier" which pervaded

the allied armies—a superhuman inner conviction that shot every soldier through and through with thorough pessimism as to the ultimate result—than to anything else. The supple-subtle brain of a Churchill alone could have formulated such a subtly convenient hypothesis. Well, there it is.

Mr. Ashmead Bartlett on the other hand makes no secret of his motives. He was from the beginning an anti-expeditionist. The idea, the leaders, its conduct, the circumstances—everything was in fault. The miserable story was a singular budget of blunders. Mr. Bartlett's is a terrible book, scathing in its uncompromising accusations. The indictment is bitter but documented throughout in a haphazard fashion. It is almost a malicious and a regrettable performance. But it is eminently readable.

V

Then there is Mr. Compton Mackenzie's *Gallipoli Memories*.

Mr. Mackenzie was already a successful young novelist when he chose to contribute his mite to the Gallipoli campaign.

He came into intimate contact with many eminent men of that time not the least of them being no less a person than Sir Ian Hamilton himself. The more Mr. Mackenzie realised the latent profundities of a success in the expedition, the more apparently he grew to dislike the pernicious influence of Mr. Bartlett's press propaganda. The War over, the novelist in him gave him no rest. He had "an immense affair in seven volumes mapped out;" he desired to write a War novel on such a monstrous canvas. Years passed and he kept quiet. He thought, if his work must be, interesting truth alone was stranger,—and accordingly more interesting—than fiction. The seven-volume affair vanished into thin air and a new four-volume affair arose in its place. So here we are. The first of these four volumes, "Gallipoli Memories",

* Of course Mr. John Maxfeld's "Gallipoli: A Short History of the Dardanelles Campaign", remains still the most perfect, from the literary point of view (K. R. S.)

has been published. "Earlier Athenian Memories", "Later Athenian Memories", and "Aegean Memories" are to follow—in due course. We may set our hearts at rest and hope that more such volumes may not be inflicted upon us.

I have sincere admiration for Mr. Mackenzie as a novelist. I retain a vivid recollection of "Sinister Street", "The Heavenly Ladder" and "Fairy Gold". I have believed and sworn that these are among some of the most finished novels of the present generation. But as it is I cannot but deplore his gravitating from fiction to history. There is in it the suspicion that Mr. Mackenzie is utilising his "Memories" as his apologia; there is in it the suspicion that in its pages "Gallipoli Memories" does too often lift the veil off a pendant, and a former don of Oxford; there is in it again the suspicion that Mr. Mackenzie is holding a brief for Sir Ian. And all these suspicions are not ephemeral. It is an irritating book to read when at every turn a classical allusion for no reason whatsoever is allowed to intrude upon the easy, gay and natural course of the narrative. It is impossible not to discover a grain of vanity in the author who would introduce a number of people in the body of the book, say that he has had something to do with them all and then describe in footnotes how distinguished they have become in subsequent life. The manner of his quoting the letters of Mr. Hoover and Mr. Henry James tells the same tale. Obviously, Mr. Com-

pton Mackenzie should be a very great man indeed who was once spoken in such eulogistic terms by a future President of U. S. A. and a novelist of international reputation. We unequivocally concede him this honour if that were his real purpose in writing the book. But one hopes it was rather not. It was perhaps an unconscious desire to swell the number of pages that made it natural—even inevitable—for such extraneous documents to appear in print and for such irrelevant facts to be recorded. As Mr. Sadleir wrote in a recent number of the "London Mercury", our writers would do well to remember that voluminous books are not necessarily the best sellers. One honestly wishes that "Gallipoli Memories" had been shorn of about a third of its bulk. That would have eliminated much of its boredom.

Besides these, there is a more fundamental reason why this book will never make convincing reading. It was within the competence of Mr. Mackenzie to record merely his "Memories" and try "to recapture the spirit in which I passed a memorable experience." It was within his competence too to construct an edifice of argument in favour of or against the campaign as a whole or some item of it in particular. But, it is not merely bad taste, it is even the very negation of art, to begin with the first object and get in the middle inextricably entangled in the labyrinth of partisan vituperation. And yet this is precisely what Mr. Compton Mackenzie has done.

BIRD'S-EYE-VIEW CRITICAL NOTICES

RECENT WORKS ON INDIAN ART

Mirror of Indian Art. By G. Venkatachalam. (D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co. Hornby Road, Bombay) 1930.

The *Mirror of Indian Art* is a collection of articles contributed by the author to the *New India*, *Rupam*, *Roopa-lekha*, *Triveni* and the *Hindu Illustrated Weekly*. These articles have been classified under proper headings and printed in attractive book-form. The writer has most properly pointed out in his preface that it is essential to awaken interest and enthusiasm on a much neglected side of our rational life, that India is on the threshold of a new era, in the throes of a new birth, and that, therefore, once again Indian Art must prepare a suitable shell for India's quickening life. It is true that the derationalisation of India lies deeper than in her political bondage; the glitter of cut glass, the hediousness of western dress, the noise of the gramophone and the harmonium, the tawdry and tinsel productions of Western plays on our stage, cheap prints of degenerate European paintings, sensuous statuettes from the sex-worn studios of Paris, these have buried deep the noble national expressions of our soul, which lies mangled and suffocated. The work of rescue begun so ably by Havell and Coomarswamy has to be carried on: The *Mirror of Indian Art* is a very useful contribution towards it. In it the writer touches on a large number of Arts and Crafts ranging from music, dancing and painting to textiles and wood-carving. There is also a very suggestive chapter on national dress. The book should be of great interest not only to the Indians, but also to others. India has contributed not a little to the culture of the World, says the author, "the ideals of Indian art are rooted in the permanent and the funda-

mental and not in the transitory and the ephemeral" from which Europe is slowly beginning to emerge. We cordially welcome this addition to the literature of Indian art and art criticism, and congratulate the author, Mr. Venkatachalam on the able and vigorous manner in which he has put forward his arguments.

Seventeen Silhouettes. By Kanu Desai (D. B. Taraporevala Sons and Co., Hornby Road, Bombay) 1930.

Kanu Desai the creator of these *Seventeen Silhouettes* had a very interesting career. He joined the Vidya-pitha of Mahatma Gandhi, after the usual school education. Thanks to his humble circumstances he was saved from higher education, and did not have to waste his energies in mastering useless sciences and foreign languages. In the peace and calmness of the atmosphere of the Vidya-pitha, and the surrounding countryside, he communed with nature and spirit, and found his vocation. His penchant being discovered by his teachers he was sent to Shantiniketan to study under that gifted artist Nandalal Bose. He has justified all hopes. Now at the young age of twenty three he has given us these noteworthy silhouettes—he is the first Indian artist to express himself in silhouettes—they are noteworthy for their technique no less than for their poetry and the masterly restraint remarkable in such a young artist. The landscapes depicted are not mere backgrounds, but integral, vibrant parts of the pictures. The village-grove (plate No. 10) where enchanting Devayani is turning round to listen to the measured foot-falls of her studious lover Kacha, is perhaps even a more living setting for this episode than that of the famous painting of the same subject by Abanindranath Tagore. The artist's understanding and interpretation of our rural

scenes, our romances and mythology is indeed unique. We look forward to acclaiming great achievements of this youthful artist of Gujarat.

Nritanjali. By Sri Ragini (Hari G. Govil Inc. New York) 1930.

Nritanjali, Introduction to Hindu Dancing by Sri Ragini, herself a gifted dancer, singer and performer upon the Sitar and Tambura, is a charming monograph on the classic Hindu Dancing—an ancient and divine art which has drawn expression from vast spiritual resources. It is beautifully illustrated with dancing postures and gestures posed by the inimitable authoress. Music and dancing is one of the finest phases of Hindu art, and this book gives a very illuminating outline of the technique and significance of Hindu dancing. With even a superficial understanding of the motifs and conventions of appreciation of the religious aspect, which is so integral a part of it, the lover of dancing can gain an entirely new power of comprehension. The dances of various people offer a rich field for research. The dance expressions of different races are in a sense race-modes, or the plastic embodiment of the race spirit. The interest in this treatise is therefore not confined merely to the devotee of dancing. Sri Ragini has done a great service to India by helping—along with dancers like Udaya Shanker—in the revival of the art of dancing, and lifting it out of the ignominy of the routine rituals of the *Devadasis* or the leap-frog contortions of the *Nautch*.

Indian Aesthetics. By Ramaswamy Sastri. (Sri Vane Press, Srirangam) 1929.

Mr. Ramaswamy Sastri's work called *Indian Aesthetics* discusses the nature of aesthetics in general and of Indian aesthetics in particular. It traces its history in India from the Vedic times, and its development through the early and mediaeval centuries and explains its concepts of the various arts, specially the literary arts. The writer contends, and

rightly so, that in the Indian renaissance of today, educational, industrial, and political work is not more important than the pursuit of art and religion. Art is the true mirror of a peoples soul. With this object he has set out in this book to reveal the fact that India possess a deeper life of greater loveliness than that of the romance and beauty which is outwardly visible in the pages of her history. We heartily commend this suggestive and thoughtful-book to the students of Aesthetics.

An Introduction to the Study of Mediaeval Indian Sculpture. By K. de B. Codrington. (Edward Goldston, 25, Museum Street, London, W. C.) 1929.

Mr. K. De B. Codrington's *Introduction to the Study of Mediaeval Indian Sculpture* contains a monograph which discusses the modes of classification and art criticism of Indian Sculpture with some vigour and heat, and without any lack of self-confidence. Whatever the merits of the argument, the book contains twenty-four plates depicting representative Indian sculpture of the early, Gupta, mediaeval and Jain periods, which have been chosen with fine taste. The book should interest those engaged in the study and research of ancient Indian Sculpture.

LATEST BOOKS ON INDIAN HISTORY.

(1) **Historical Literature of pre-British India.**

History of Pre-Mussalman India. In nine volumes. Vol. I. Pre-Historic India. By V. Rangacharya, M. A. (Huxley Press, Madras) 1929.

Indian Civilization and its Antiquity. By Bhudeb Mookerji (41/A Grey Street, Calcutta) 1929.

Ancient Indian History and Civilization. By Dr. R. C. Majumdar (Dacca University, Dacca) 1929.

An Introduction to Indian Citizenship and Civilization. By S. V. Puntambekar. 2 vols. (Nandkishore & Bros., Benares) 1929.

Ancient India. By Upendra Nath Ball. Second Edition. (Sudha Bindu Biswas, 24/1 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta) 1929.

The above five books deal with the history and antiquities of pre-Muslim India, in their different aspects and from different standpoints. Of these the first, when completed in nine volumes—will be the most comprehensive. The present volume is strictly not historical but pre-historical, but it is all the more interesting on that account. The materials of the present volume are derived from geology, physical anthropology, and archaeology. The author has followed the great epochs into which the geologists have divided the history of our earth, and brought forward the available evidence to indicate what may be said with special reference to India, concerning the great geological periods. In particular he has dealt with the palaeolithic and neolithic ages, and with the evidences available as to palaeolithic and neolithic cultures in this country. Concerning many of the matters under discussion scholars differ but the author gives a fair presentation of the different views held, and his reasons for rejecting some and accepting others. The book is scientific and scholarly and should interest a large circle of readers.

Mr. Bhudeb Mookerji's *Indian Civilization and its Antiquity* is not a history but an historical disquisition on points connected with some especial aspects of the subject. It contains in a small compass much new and useful information. The essays included in it are (1) Phallic Worship, (2) Gypsies, (3) Indian Chemistry and (4) Words borrowed from Sanskrit. All are interesting and try to prove that Indian civilization is very ancient. The matter contained in the first and second chapters gives sufficient evidence of the research done by the author and a clear proof of his independence of thought. The author unhesitatingly asserts that Indian civilisation is the oldest hitherto known, and furnishes the educated public with sufficient

materials to warrant a revision of the ideas hitherto entertained by them. This is a scholarly work on the subject. We commend the volume to students of the antiquity of Indian civilisation, on the origin of which this book throws a flood of light.

Dr. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar's *Ancient Indian History and Civilization* is an excellent compendium of the subject. The book deals with the political history, as well as the religion, literature, society, trade, commerce, colonisation, art and industry of ancient India. Though based on the results of latest researches it is free from abstruse discussions and written throughout with a view to the needs of general readers. A bibliography to each chapter is added at the end as an aid to further study. It is one of the best books of its kind and no one desirous of having accurate knowledge of India should be without a copy of it. The book presents, within a small compass, a connected and comprehensive view of Indian life in its various aspects, political, social, religious, literary, aesthetic and economic, from the earliest times to the Muhammadan Period. Side-light has as well been thrown on such phases of it as domestic and civic conditions, judicial system, maritime activities and foreign relations. It is written in a lucid style. The author has appended bibliographical and critical notes as a help for advanced studies on different branches of the subjects dealt with. The work is well suited to the requirements of general readers. The printing and get-up is good, but we would suggest the addition of some maps to the text, in the next edition.

Professor S.V. Puntambekar's *Introduction to Indian Citizenship and civilization* is beyond all doubt the best text-book of its class and kind, and may safely be commended to students and teachers alike. The scholarly author deals in it with the basic principles of Indian culture, the forms in which they have manifested themselves in the past, and the way in which reforms should be worked in the present.....

This book is an attempt in helping in this direction. It discusses India, its people, cultural unity, religious social aesthetic, educational, and intellectual life. The treatment of the subject is marked by fair mindedness and a sense of proportion, and the book will serve the usefull purpose of presenting the various phases of Indian activity in the past, which might be well utilized as a guide in formulating reforms for the future. The book is an excellent reportory of sound and useful information about the cultural heritage of India and its great value to Indian reformers.

Professor Upendra Nath Ball's *Ancient India* has established its popularity by appearing in a second edition within the first decade of its publication. The new edition is welcome as a compact compendium of the results of the researches carried on during the present century in the various departments of Indian historical studies. It is an accurate and sound text-book.

(2) HISTORICAL LITERATURE OF MUSLIM-MAHRATTA INDIA.

Jehangir and the Jesuits with an account of the Travels of Benedict Goes and the Mission to Pegu from the relatives of Father Fernao Guerreiro, S. J. translated by C. H. Payne, M.A. (George Routledge and Sons Ltd., Broadway House, 68—74 Carter Lane, London, E.C.4)

Aurengzeb. By U. N. Ball. (Apra Ram & Sons, Lahore) 1929.

The Escape of Shivaji from Agra. By Baba Saheb Deshpande (The Vijaya Press, 570 Shanwar Peth, Poona 2) 1929.

A History of the Moghul Rule in India. By K.H. Kamdar and R.M. Shah (Khadia Pole, Baroda) 1929.

We have noticed in terms of appreciation previous volumes in Messrs Routledge's series "The Broadway Travellers", the name of the series of volumes of old travel, in excellent format, printed in Old Face type, with a preliminary page in two colours; cream

antique-laid paper, a crimson binding with specially-designed lettering and device. The editing is scholarly and the translations retain that atmosphere of the past that one expects in old memoirs. The work under review is highly interesting and forms a valuable complement to a previous volume in the same series *Akbar and the Jesuits*. The volume is an account of the activities of a Portuguese Father of the Society of Jesus at the Mogul Court in the early seventeenth century, as well as an account of the Portuguese occupation of Pegu at the same period, as seen through the eyes of a fervent and patriotic Christian Portuguese priest. The book is very well produced and the editorial notes and maps of Mr. Payne are very useful and illuminating. As a contemporary account of life in the East in the early seventeenth century it is valuable and enjoyable both to the specialist and to the general reader.

Aurangzeb by Professor Upendra Nath Ball does not set up any pretensions to compete with Professor Jadu Nath Sarkar's famous and classical work dealing with the last great Moghul. But his handy volume gives a very readable account of the reign of Aurangzeb. It embodies in itself the results of the latest researches and attempts to do for school-children what Prof. Sarkar's volumes have done for the scholars. We hope for the addition in the revised edition of some illustrations of prominent personages of the time and scenes of historical interest, and the disappearances of the numerous typographical errors which disfigure the book.

Baba Saheb Deshpande's *Escape of Shivaji from Agra* gives us an interesting account of Shivaji's going to Agra and his escape from it. The Moghul Emperor devised ways and means to bring him to subjection but without avail. Finally he sent Mirza Raja Jaising, the Hindu General in the Empire, to induce Shivaji to visit the Emperor at Agra. Jaising successfully prevailed upon him to accept the invitation. On reaching Agra Shivaji felt that he was caught in a trap, but he managed to outwit

his enemy and escape to his own native home. This story is very graphically given by Deshpande, and the book merits the careful attention of all students of the Muslim-Maharatta period of Indian history.

Messrs Kamdar and Shah's *History of the of Moghul Rule in India (1526—1761)* is a student's text-book and does not claim to be judged by a higher standard. But it is accurate, sound, and interesting; and should form a suitable text-book for students of the period of Moghul rule in this country.

(3) HISTORICAL LITERATURE OF BRITISH INDIA.

Warren Hastings and Philip Francis. By S. Weitzman (University Press, Manchester, England) 1929.

India Under Wellesly. By P.E. Roberts. (George Bell and Sons Ltd., York House, Portugal Street, London, W. C. 2) 1929.

The White Mutiny. By Sir Alexander Cardew. (Constable and Co., Ltd., 10 and 12 Orange Street, London, W. C. 2) 1929.

History of the Assam Rifles. By L.W. Shakespeare. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London) 1929.

The controversy between Warren Hastings and Philip Francis had far reaching consequences both on contemporary events at home and in India, and on the later policy of Britain in India. Dr. Sophia Weitzman's book, while retelling the story of the conflict, places facts, many known, some new, in a fresh light: and disentangles from the maze of personalities the principles involved. Incidentally it touches on the drama of the Hastings impeachment and the attempted impeachment of Sir Elijah Impey. Thus Dr. Weitzman's volume is a valuable contribution to the history of Warren Hastings. Of all the aspects of his career demanding careful and detailed consideration, his relations with Francis form undoubtedly the most

important. Dr. Weitzman has boldly investigated its sources. With the aid of the Francis papers, since 1915 deposited in the India Office library, she has been able to trace the development closely, and to exhibit the personal conflict between the two men growing into a struggle of principles. And while her narrative is well supported by references, she adds a considerable series of well-chosen and hitherto unpublished documents, which greatly increase the value of her work, as a first-rate contribution to Indian history of the period of Warren Hastings.

Mr. P. E. Roberts is an acknowledged expert on the British period of Indian history. His latest work dealing with the Indian administration of Wellesly comes with particular appropriateness at the present time, for the problems of modern India cannot really be understood without reference to the past. *India Under Wellesley* will, we think, be found an adequate rendering of perhaps the most significant of the early chapters in the epic of the Indian Empire, and not the least fascinating side of the book is the portrait drawn of the central character. The governor-generalship of Lord Wellesley was the most convincing instance of a government autocratic and imperial in the best sense of the words. It was also in respect of territorial additions and military renown, and in its lasting effects upon the whole conception of Empire in the East, the greatest of all British administrations in India. In the words of Sir John Malcolm, his colleague: "His great mind pervaded the whole (Empire), and a portion of his spirit was infused into every agent whom he employed: his authority was as fully recognised in the remotest parts of British India as in Fort William: all sought his praise: all dreaded his censure." The record of such a man's career and administration deserves careful study and Mr. Robert's book is the best guide to it.

Sir Alexander Cardew's *The White Mutiny* rescues from oblivion the surprising story of the mutiny of some hundreds of

British Officers, an event extraordinary, if not unique, in British military history. It also does tardy justice to the man by whose courage and vision the dangers of the crisis were met and averted—Sir George Barlow—and thus furnishes a lesson and an example which are as valuable to-day as they were a hundred and twenty years ago. Sir Alexander Cardew tells for the first time the detailed history of the mutiny. Besides published sources, he has had access to the India Office records not hitherto printed and to papers belonging to the Barlow family, not before examined. An admirable piece of historical research, this work is also an interesting reminder of an exciting episode in the military history of the Indian Empire.

Col. L. W. Shakespear's *History of the Assam Rifles* is an interesting addition to the literature of India's North-East Frontier—of which we all know so little as compared with the North-West. A perusal of Col. Shakespear's *History of the Assam Rifles* should now dispel this ignorance. Colonel Shakespear's well written and interesting work is in striking contrast to the military histories which usually fall to the reviewer's lot. This handsome volume, copiously illustrated, and equipped with numerous maps and plans, detailed appendices, and an admirable index, is a notable addition to the literature of North-East Indian Frontier and it richly merits appreciation.

RECENT BOOKS ON INDIAN AFFAIRS.

Revolution In India. By John Dellbridge (Morley and Mitchell Kennerley London.)

This book is an extraordinary mixture of good and bad prejudices. The author makes many statements which no Indian is likely to believe; reiterates a number of worn-out British prejudices which have no foundation in fact. He feels himself frankly superior to Indians and yet respects Mr. Gandhi as a great man.

One of his statements, which it is difficult to believe, is that tables have been turned against the British. Twenty years ago when he came to India he saw a British subaltern eject by force a high-class Indian from a first-class railway compartment; but a little before he left the country two years ago, he saw an Indian judge prevent a British colonel from entering the first-class compartment in which he was travelling. The case must have been very exceptional; and exceptional cases prove nothing as everyone knows.

Mr. Dellbridge is certain—he does not tell us why—that if the British were to leave India, the first thing that the Mohammedans would do is to kill Mr. Gandhi. His ignorance of Indian languages is patent from the fact that he calls "Bande Mataram! "Bande Matheran" He repeats *ad nauseam* the British idea that India is not a country but a continent—which is sheer nonsense. Referring to the variety of languages spoken in India, he says that the Pathan cannot make himself intelligible to a Bengali; he forgets that both of them can speak Hindustani. Then again he gives no reason for thinking that there are no high-spirited youths in Mr. Gandhi's faction. His sense of proportion is feeble, because he writes about Akbar and Lord Curzon as if they were on the same level. He defends Sir Michel O'Dwyer and General Dyer for the Amritsar massacre. He admits frankly however that the British hold India because it pays them to do so. "It is nonsense", he writes, "to say that we entered India in order to hold it in trust for the Indians." His advice to British people is. "If we are to give self-government to India, let us give it gladly with both hands; otherwise let us say frankly that we are not going to give it". He thinks that the Indian masses will not in their own interests want entire severance of connection with Great Britain. He does not think that Indians will unite to eject the British from India. But then, he admits, one cannot be quite certain. "So

let us give them Dominion status in good time to prevent the catastrophe. There is a certain frankness about the book which appeals to one.

The Indian Ferment. By H. G. Alexander. (Williams and Norgate, Ltd., 38 Great Ormond Street, London, W. C. I.) 1929.

Mr. H. G. Alexander's *The Indian Ferment*, though described in the sub-title as "a traveller's tale" is an accurate and penetrating study of conditions in the India of today and as such merits careful consideration at the hands of all interested in this country. The book is a collection of letters written by an Englishman travelling in India, who had then no intention of publishing them, but was later induced to do so by friends who thought his "freshness of observation" remarkable. And remarkable it indeed is; for Mr. Alexander can, unlike many of his countrymen, look upon the people of India as civilised human beings who are naturally anxious that their motherland should take an honourable place in the world. He sought out many of the principal Indian leaders to acquaint himself with their views at first hand; he visited the schools where a genuinely national education is given; he attended the National Congress and the Legislative Assembly; and of this and other experiences he has set down his impressions with moderation and sympathy. It is not with every remark of his that we agree; but we are most emphatically in accord with his conclusion—if a "travellers' sketchbook" may be regarded as having a conclusion at all—that the first and immediate duty of Britain towards India is "to hand over complete responsibility for the government of the country. The second duty is infinitely more difficult and more painful; to learn to treat them (Indians) as equals". It would thus be seen that Mr. Alexander's *India in Ferment* is a fresh and first-hand study of Indian problems marked by a deep sympathy and a keen insight. It is a notable addition to books on modern India and her problems.

Imprisonment, by Col. F. A. Barker Inspector General of Prisons, Punjab. (Christian Literature Society for India, Madras) 1930.

This book is, as the author says in his preface, "an attempt to present a non-technical account of Indian Jails and of prevailing practice in regard to imprisonment". The writer has succeeded in his attempt, it is a clear and succinct account of the Indian prison system written in popular terminology, at the same time the book deals with the growth in our ideas about crimes and criminals, and the development in the method of dealing with them in the different countries of Europe. He recognises, the now patent fact, that society owes a duty towards its criminals, that deterrence and reformation is the purpose of 'punishment' and not revenge. He suggests and discusses various schemes for reforming the criminal and deterring crime both inside and outside the prisons. But he admits that "limitations of finance handicap the work of penal reform in India, we hope that the authorities in this country will take note of the considered judgment of their highly placed and experienced officer, and that his word will carry weight. Funds can be easily diverted, for this very useful and necessary purpose, from many less beneficial purposes to which public money is being devoted at present. It is time that Indian penal system was brought more into line with those prevailing in other civilized countries. This book should be of very acute interest to all those who recognise the responsibility of society towards its criminals, to social reformers and in fact to everyone in India at a time when public conscience has been so much aroused with regard to prison life; and the treatment of political prisoners.

RECENT BOOKS OF TRAVEL

Palestine: To-day and Tomorrow. By John Holmes. (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 40 Museum Street, London W. C.) 1930.

Mr. John Holmes's *Palestine: Today and Tomorrow* is the result of a visit the author made to Palestine last year; his vivid impressions of the land and the people serve as a back-ground against which to set his study of the Zionist Movement. After a brief statement of the facts and forces in Jewish history which culminated in Zionism, Mr. Holmes makes a careful study of what has been done by the Jews in Palestine during the last fifty years, of the dangers and difficulties which beset Zionism, and of its ideas and ideals. In view of the tragic riots in August of last year, this book has a very special interest, particularly the chapters dealing with the Arab-Jewish situation and the question of the English mandate. The author is an enthusiast. He sees the rocks ahead—the opposition of the Arabs, the tendency for the Jewish community in Palestine to become merely another troublesome political state—but he is confident that if wise counsels prevail, Zion may be developed as a "people and not a state, a culture and not a government, a commonwealth and not a power". The success of the movement, in Mr. Holmes's view, means three great things for the world—the preservation of the Jews, the setting up of mediating influence between East and West, and the establishment of an experimental laboratory for the study of social evils. Whatever view one may take of the author's conclusions, his work makes interesting and suggestive reading.

The Last Paradise. By Hickman Powell. illustrated with drawings by Alexander King and Abdre Roosevelt. (Jonathan Cape, Ltd., 30 Bedford Square, London W. C. 1.)

The Last Paradise by Mr. Hickman Powell depicts in gorgeous colours the island of Bali, which until recently has remained among the least known islands of the Dutch East Indies; yet it is certainly one of the loveliest and the most interesting, having preserved its ancient religion, Hinduism, to the present day,

and centuries after its neighbours surrendered to Islam. A book on Bali in English was overdue, and since even the Balinese are changing, we are thankful to Mr. Hickman Powell, an American journalist, for having written it. A perusal of the book will satisfy the reader that the author is an enthusiast about the land he depicts, which is one full day's sail from Java. The author, the illustrators, and the publishers have all combined to produce a fascinating work about a charming island and an interesting people. It contains, vivid impressions of the author and gives us glimpses of the life of the Balinese, shows us how happy they are, and how simple they are—even in the wearing of clothes! Mr. Powell graphically portrays these islanders, who through the centuries, have preserved their ancient culture. He depicts them as dignified, simple-living, leisured—for Bali gives its people an easy abundance, which is well distributed among its inhabitants. Mr. Powell's *The Last Paradise* is one of the most enthralling books of travel.

Travels in the Congo. By Andre Gide. (Alfred A. Knopf Ltd., 37 Bedford Square, London, W. C. 1.)

Andre Gide, the author of *Travels in the Congo*, was born in Paris, of Huguenot ancestry, in 1869. He is to-day regarded as one of the masters of prose in France. Bruno Frank, one of the foremost writers of post-war Germany, has said that any young writer in the Old World sends his first book to John Galsworthy in London, to Thomas Mann in Munich, and to Andre Gide in Paris; and among living French men of letters Gide seems to be the only one whose name it is natural to couple with that of Marcel Proust. In the circumstances, it is not surprising that his *Travels in the Congo* is one of those rare travel records which tell the simple truth about the particular place visited without prejudice and without any romantic distortion of fact. What it gives is a concise, day-to-day record of things seen and felt and experienced—the climate, the

living conditions, the French and Belgian colonial administration, the life of the people in the interior, their customs, rituals, dances, and morality. Written by any competent observer, such a record would be valuable. When that observer is the author of that masterpiece, the *Counterfeiters*, the result is a unique book of the greatest interest.

Korea of the Japanese. By H. B. Drake (John Lane The Bodley Head Ltd., London) 1930.

Mr. H. B. Drake's *Korea of the Japanese* is a record of the observations made by the author during a prolonged stay in Korea. Mr. Drake, who has hitherto been known as a novelist, has a thorough knowledge and understanding of the Korean people, their ways and modes of thought and he also has a real gift for rendering atmosphere and scenes for the ordinary reader. The result is a work that is not only interesting but instructive, and which is more than an ordinary 'travel-book'. It is a vivid picture of the customs and people of a little-known part of the East, by an experienced and acute observer. His subjects are inns and shops and sports rather than scenery, and he has a chapter on the failure of missions in Korea. There is also a thrilling chapter on the Diamond Mountains and the Nine Dragon Falls. The scope of the work is comprehensive the descriptions delightful and the 24 illustrations, embellishing the text, are well reproduced and bring out the beauty of temples, mountains. Altogether Mr. Drake's book is the best description of modern Korea.

Afghan and Pathan: A Sketch. By George B. Scott. (The Mitre Press, Mitre Chambers, Mitre Street, London, E. C.) 1930.

Mr. G. B. Scott—the author of *Afghan and Pathan*—is justly regarded as a great authority on Afghanistan. In his book he gives a very accurate description of all parts of that country, furnishes interesting details of tribal customs, and offers an

excellent sketch of physical geography. The chapter about the condition of the Pathan tribes after 1893 is particularly interesting, and brings out the fact that tribesmen settle down much quicker when they realise that an occupation is likely to be permanent. The volume begins with a short history of British relations with Afghanistan, and of the circumstances which have resulted in the formation of the North-West Frontier Province. Then follows an interesting account of the social history of the wild tribes, their activities and achievements. The volume presents a genuine sketch of all that is known about them, and is an authoritative work.

My Sojourn in England. By (the late) Major B. D. Basu. (R. Chatterjee, 91 Upper Circular Road, Calcutta) 1929.

Major Basu was a well-known author. In his work called *My Sojourn in England* he describes the impressions of a cultured Indian on what he saw during his stay in that country, when he visited it as a student in the eighties of the last century. In this small book, he gives an account of this voyage to England, and sketches of the various cities he visited, as also the difficulties he had to experience as an Indian student. He applied himself to study English social life, and gives his impressions of the fair sex and their marital relations, as also the morality of the people. The chapter on the English views of India is deeply interesting. Altogether as a record of the travels and impressions of a highly educated Indian, his book—though dealing with the England of the eighties of the last century—is interesting and instructive.

Cashmirs Cameos. By T. W. H. (H. W. Cave and Co., Colombo, Ceylon) 1930.

Cashmirs Cameos is a collection of papers on the Happy Valley, which had originally appeared in journals and newspapers. They fully deserved republication in a permanent form. They deal with various aspects of life in Kashmir—springtime, summer, gardens, lakes, temples fishing &c—and are glowing word-pictures of the

scenes and sights in *The Playground of Asia*. *Cashmere Cameos* make delightful reading.

NEWEST LITERATURE OF ZOROASTRIANISM.

Zoroastrian Religion and Customs. By E. S. D. Bharucha. (D. B. Taraporevala Sons and Co., Hornby Road) 1929.

We welcome the third, revised and enlarged edition of the late Ervad Sheriarji Dadabhai Bharucha's well-known book *Zoroastrian Religion and Customs* which has been thoroughly revised and enlarged, and contains an introduction by Dr. Jivanji J. Modi. The author, a profound scholar of Avesta, Pahlavi, Persian and Sanskrit, had secured several prizes by his erudite works on the Zoroastrian religion and scriptures. The present work gives a brief but comprehensive sketch of Zoroastrian religion and customs, and contains a number of appendices, which have made the book extremely valuable, for all who wish to have a true insight into the teachings of the Prophet of Iran, whose followers now mainly reside in India. The author gives a short history of the predecessors of Zoroaster, his life and an account of the age in which he lived. He clearly explains the essence of the Zoroastrian scriptures, the worship of Ahura Mazda, the psychology and beliefs of the Ancient Iranians, the doctrine of duality, the conception of future life, virtues and vices, and the sacerdotal order as described in the Mazdayasnian ethics. He describes accurately the Navzot or the thread-ceremony of the Parsis, the marriage and funereal ceremonies, the purificatory laws and some of the most important rituals, the significance of the Parsi fire temples; and refutes the common, but mistaken, notion that the Parsis are Fire 'Worshippers'. He, in short, gives a succinct and lucid account of the essential elements of Zoroastrianism. The book is an excellent compendium of Zoroastrian theology and ethics.

Our Perfecting World. (By Maneckji Nusserwanji Dhalla) (Oxford University Press, New York) 1930.

We are glad to have this thoughtful book from the author of "Zoroastrian Civilization" and other works dealing with Zoroastrianism. He deals in this book with the world at large—with religion in evolution, mind in evolution, social life in evolution, economic life in evolution, physical life in evolution, and other kindred subjects, and comes to the hopeful conclusion that mankind will unite, see the fundamental unity underlying all religions, abolish war,—and shall we say like the old novelists "live happily ever after?" But how can one come to this pleasant conclusion passes one's comprehension—especially when one sees signs of misery, international rivalry and new wars? Some three thousand years ago the Spirit of the aching world went and complained to Ormuzd of malice, envy, hatred, etc., which make human being miserable: and Ormuzd replied:—"Be hopeful: for Zoroaster is coming as a regenerator and healer of the world." The Iranian prophet came and went, but the world has remained the same. Other prophets—Buddha, Confucius, Christ and Mohammed—came and tried to improve mankind. But they too have not succeeded as we must acknowledge. We all want the world to be better, but how to make it so we do not know. The book is full of beautiful optimism and therefore, in spite of one's doubts about the possibility of improving mankind, it should be read.

The Iranian National Epic. (D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Hornby Road, Bombay) 1929.

Avestan Gathas. (Calcutta University Press) 1930.

Divan-e-Poure Davoud, and The Gathas of Zarathushtra by Poure Davoud. (D. J. Irani, Jahangir Wadia Building 49 Esplanade Road, Fort) 1929.

The first two books enumerated above are translations into English of Professor Theodor Noldeke's German treatise called

the *Iranian National Epic*—dealing mainly with the *Shahnama* of Firdausi, and of Professor Meillet's French work on the *Avestan Gathas*. Both of them are valuable contributions to the study of ancient Persian religion and literature. Aga Pouré Davoud's two books are most welcome. His volume on the *Gathas* contains the treatise in original Persian with an English translation. The Aga is a Persian Muslim but has written of Zoroastrianism with keen insight and deepest sympathy. His *Divan* or collection of poems also is of great merit and originality and is an excellent sample of modern Persian poetry. The Persian text is well edited and is accompanied by a good English rendering, which will be useful to students.

The Zoroastrian Doctrine of a Future Life. By J. D. C. Pavry. (Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York, U. S. A.) 1929.

Dr. Jal Pavry is a distinguished scholar of Zoroastrian studies and his *Zoroastrian Doctrine of a Future Life* betrays the hands of a master of the subject. The work finds a fitting place as a volume in the Columbia University Indo-Iranian series edited by that eminent *Savant*, Dr. A. V. Williams-Jackson, Professor of Indo-Iranian languages in that university. Dr. Pavry's book is fairly exhaustive in its scope and treatment. It presents a luminous exposition of the Zoroastrian doctrines of the journey of the soul from the moment of death to the individual judgment. Based upon original sources, verified by references to the latest European and American works on the subject it deals with, Dr. Pavry's book is marked by scholarship, learning and a scientific spirit of research. It is a notable addition to the English literature of Zoroastrianism.

Parsis: A People of the Book. By S. M. Taher Rezwi. (Presidency College, Calcutta) 1929.

Professor Taher Rezwi is, we believe, a Beharee, but is on the staff of the Presidency College, Calcutta. In his *Parsis: A People of the Book*, he has broken new ground

and produced a scholarly work. It offers an interesting sketch of Zoroaster, of the sacred literature of Zoroastrianism, of the teachings of the Iranian Prophet, of his claims to be accepted as a Prophet of God, and of the relations between Islam and Zoroastrianism. Though the book is small, the ground covered in it is fairly extensive, the standpoint of the writer is fresh and original and he brings to the study of the subject an unprejudiced mind. The book may safely be commended to students of the subject.

The Hymns of Zoroaster. By Dr. K. S. L. Guthrie (D. B. Taraporevala Sons and Co., Hornby Road, Bombay) 1929.

Dr. Kenneth Guthrie's *Hymns of Zoroaster* is the special Indian edition of a well-known work. *Zoroaster's Hymns* beautiful and inspiring as they are, are but little known, hence this cheap and popular edition of Dr. Guthrie's book with all necessary helps. This edition is not intended for scholars; it has been planned and written in simple style and easy language for the average intelligent and educated persons. In keeping with this, every unnecessary difficulty and hopeless critical problems have been cleared away. The book will thus be found extremely interesting by men and women of all castes and creeds, who may be desirous of learning something about the teachings of Zoroaster.

CURRENT LITERARY STUDIES.

Practical Criticism. By I. A. Richards (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co, Broadway House, 68—74 Carter Lane, London, E.C.) 1929.

Mr. I. A. Richards has followed up his *Principles of Literary Criticism* by a study of literary judgment called *Practical Criticism*. This book is a guide to the formation of taste in literature based upon a new plan. The author first prints the astonishing opinions of a number of highly educated readers upon poems which were put before them unsigned. He then discusses these

opinions systematically, and the reasons advanced for liking and disliking the poems. The result is a survey of the real state of current culture, which is both disconcerting and stimulating. After this interesting study, the book goes on to analyse our current notions of Sentimentality, Sincerity, Meaning, Belief, Rhythm, and Understanding, in a way which throws new light upon many questions vital to our appreciation of life as well as of literature, and concludes with suggestions towards a fresh orientation of literary education, both in the narrower and the wider sense. The book attempts, with new resources, to bridge the gap between clear ideas and discerning personal taste. From this brief reference to its contents, it is clear that *Practical Criticism* is a masterly survey on the subject it deals with, and a highly valuable contribution to the literature of criticism.

Manimekhalai in its Historical Setting. By Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar (Luzac & Co, 46 Great Russell Street London, W. C. 1.) 1929.

Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's *Manimekhalai in its Historical Setting* is a critical study of one of the five great classics of Tamil literature. The work is studied from the point of view of literary and historical criticism with a view to fixing its place among works of Tamil literature in relation on the one side to the so-called Sangam classics and on the other, to other classics of literature. Inter alia the work contains valuable chapters bearing on the philosophical and religious conditions of the times to which it relates. These are examined in sufficient elaboration with a view to the conclusions to which they may incidentally lead as marking particular stages of development of the systems that come for advertance in the work. With a view to make the study really more effective to those who may not be familiar with Tamil, a comparatively free and somewhat abridged translation of 27 out of the 30 books is given along with a literal and full translation of the other three books bearing upon the religious and philosophical systems. The work is

likely to throw a flood of light upon the condition of the Tamil land at an important period of its literary development. It is a scholarly work.

The Art of Study. By T. H. Pear (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co, Broadway House, 68-74 Carter Lane, London, E. C.) 1930.

Mr. T. H. Pear's *Art of Study* is addressed to all who are old enough and young enough to regard the winning of knowledge as a fine art. Like other arts, it can be helped by science. Expounding different kinds of learning—remembering, understanding, behaving, feeling appropriately, and discovering relationships—the book discusses reasons for the success and failure of different individuals, not omitting intelligence, stupidity, and laziness. It asks whether the memory can be trained, and in what way learning may have general transferred effects. It contrasts the art-forms of the lesson, the lecture, and talk, and examines some modern objections to lectures. It gives suggestions for increasing the student's concentration upon work, for taking notes, and for using them afterwards. While urging the importance of patience and hard work, it helps the student to discover parts of his tasks in which such effort will be effective. If thoroughly mastered, it will prove a very helpful book.

The English Novel. By Ford Madox Ford. (Constable & Co. 10, 12 Orange St. London W. C. 2).

The English Novel, from the earliest days to the death of Joseph Conrad, by Ford was first published in America a year or two ago. The edition under review was published to meet the demand of students in the English Universities. That in itself speaks for the merit of the book. The writer has given a critical account of prose fiction of the last two centuries and a half; discussed the innovation of the modern manner in contemporary letters, contrasting the old with the new. This study of the English Novel, by a well-known nove-

list, writing about his own art, needs no recommendation from us. It is a most straight-forward book, despite literary prejudices, and written with refreshing boldness. We may not agree with Mr. Ford's opinions and criticisms, or his prejudices and partialities, but we have no hesitation in recommending his book, as one of the best for the study of the technique on which he rightly lays some stress—and the development of the English Novel. It is a most thought-provoking book.

History of English Literature. By Legouis and Cazamian (J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., Aldine House, Bedford Street London W. C. 2)

Seldom has a book so quickly gained its position as Messrs Legouis and Cazamian's *History of English Literature*. Published in English version in two separate volumes, in 1927 respectively, it was immediately recognized as a book of first importance, and the issue was exhausted. The publishers have now revised and issued it in a single volume, in larger print with illustrations at the low price of eighteen shillings for its 1,424 pages. Its merit is well recognised and no student of English literature and its history can afford to neglect it. Clear, concise, sensible, accurate and based on extensive research and learning, it gives a comprehensive survey of English literature from the Middle Ages upto 1914. For thoroughness and grace of style, among other qualities, it surpasses every other book of its kind, and is the best survey of the history of English literature, written by Frenchmen.

Scandinavian Literature from Brandes to Our Day. By H. G. Topsoe-Jensen (George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 40 Museum Street, London, W. C.) 1929.

The English translation of Mr. H. G. Topsoe-Jensen's *Scandinavian Literature from Brandes to Our Day* is a publication of the American-Scandinavian Foundation, and is an excellent short sketch of a great subject. Following on three volumes of short stories from Norway, Sweden, and

Denmark respectively, and a selection from Modern Swedish Poetry, the Foundation have now issued this general survey of Scandinavian literature. The years reviewed—from Brandes, whose epoch-making lectures in 1890 may be said to have inaugurated modern literature in Scandinavia, to Sigrid Undset and contemporary writers—are the most active literary years of all the three countries, and the book is a revelation of the amazing wealth and variety of Scandinavian literature. It deserves careful attention at the hands of students of Scandinavian literature.

LATEST WORKS OF REFERENCE.

Official Year-Book of the Union of South Africa, 1928-29. (Director of Census, Pretoria, South Africa) 1930.

The *Official Year-Book of the Union of South Africa*, is a most valuable compendium of statistical data and facts and figures relating to the South African Commonwealth and adjoining British Protectorates, and is a model book of reference. The new issue supplies information—mostly of a statistical character—on history and description of the various states and colonies, constitution and government, laws, population, vital statistics, public health and hospitals, education, labour and industrial development, prices and cost of living, social condition, administration of justice, police and protection, electorate, "native affairs", land survey, tenure and occupation, irrigation and water conservation, agriculture and fisheries, mines, manufactures, commerce, harbours and shipping, railways and land transportation, posts, telegraphs and telephones, finance and local government. Thus the *Official Year-Book* is a monument of industry and is distinguished from its predecessors by various changes, necessitated mainly by the increased scope of the valuable information condensed and rendered accessible. Separate sections are assigned to the treatment of new subjects now prominent, and several have been rewritten and rearranged

and various other features of interest and utility have been introduced. Altogether *The Official Year-Book of the Union of South Africa*—which includes in its cope also Basutoland, Bechuanaland Protectorate and Swaziland—is a work of reference of which the Government of that Dominion may well be proud. It reflects the highest credit on the editor, on the organization of the statistical department, as also on the resources of the Government Press at Pretoria.

Soviet Union Year-Book 1930. Compiled and edited by A. A. Santalow and Louis Segal, Ph.D., M. A. (George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 40, Museum Street, W. C. 1) 1930.

We welcome the sixth annual publication of the *Soviet Union Year-Book* for 1930. Of the books of reference dealing with particular countries or states, it is beyond doubt one of the most useful. Its scope is co-extensive with the group of republics in alliance with that which has its capital at Moscow, and it offers a comprehensive account of the activities in various spheres of the several states constituting the Soviet Union. In effect it is a Russian Whitaker, both as a work of reference and of trustworthy information of Soviet republics. The compilers are entitled to great credit for the care and industry with which they have brought together their material, which covers the whole range of the Soviet Unions' political, economic and industrial organization, financial condition, natural resources, commercial activities, trade development, educational progress, and foreign relations. The book is thus a huge accumulation of accurate and sound information, carefully sifted and sedulously verified and it also embodies an invaluable repository of statistical data, not accessible to the average student. We have, therefore, much pleasure in commending this exceedingly valuable year-book to all businessmen, publicists, politicians and students of the Soviet affairs in general. It is a remarkably successful attempt to present a compendious sketch—unbiased and reliable—

and no serious student of Bolshevism can afford to neglect it. The present edition has been carefully revised and judiciously overhauled.

Guide to Current Official Statistics of the United Kingdom. Eighth Issue. 1929 (H. M. Stationery Office, Adastral House, Kingsway, London, W. C. 2), 1929.

The number of British official publications issued during each year is so large that the average seeker after information is apt to get bewildered at their range and immensity. A guide to them—such as is now rendered available in the book under notice—was badly needed. A reference to its pages shows at a glance the publications issued in 1929 and the various subjects they deal with. It will be found to be of considerable help to those seeking after official data and statistics. This extremely compact publication, a fresh volume of which is issued every year, not only gives a list, arranged under departments, of the volumes containing statistical information, but also provides a detailed index of subjects, in which are indicated the exact characteristics, as regards date and place, of the statistics to which reference is made. Special devices are employed to facilitate the use of this index by even the most casual inquirer, and to enable the appropriate reference to published official statistics on any subject to be readily traced. We have noticed in terms of appreciation the first issue of 1923 and the subsequent volumes of the *Guide to Current Official Statistics of the United Kingdom*. As a systematic survey of official statistics published in the year before, it will be found highly useful in looking for authoritative and accurate data and figures which are available in official publications alone. It were much to be wished that the Government of India issued annually such a survey of and guide to Indian blue books. It is priced cheaply at one shilling.

Cook's Traveller's Handbook to London, with 11 maps and plans, (Thos. Cook & Son, Ltd., Berkeley Street, Piccadilly, London, W.) 1930.

We welcome *Cook's handbook to London*, first issued in 1877, which has once again been issued thoroughly revised and brought up to date by Mr. Roy Elston, the experienced editor of Cook's guidebooks. In the process of revision it has increased in size to close on 300 pages, and a new feature which will, we think, be particularly appreciated by visitors to and residents in the metropolis is the addition of three sectional plans, in colours—one showing not only theatres and music halls but the principal cinemas clearly marked and named, another showing in similar detail the various Government offices in and around Whitehall, and the third showing places of literary and antiquarian celebrity, in particular a guide to the London of Dickens's novels. Besides these the *Handbook* contains the usual plan giving a bird's-eye view of London (and marking Cook's Offices) and also the plans of famous buildings; and a series of photographic illustrations of famous London views. The letter-press preserves all the old features designed for the convenience of tourists, prominent among them being descriptive itineraries of tours through the principal public buildings and collections of art. Thus it is a capital guide to London.

The Madras States Directory, 1930. (The Pearl Press, Cochin). 1928.

We welcome the *Madras States Directory, 1930* which is a pictorial reference book of statistical, historical and commercial information regarding the five Madras States of Travancore, Cochin, Pudukottai, Saundur and Bargarapalle. In these days when the future of the Indian States is engaging considerable attention, the usefulness of a publication of this kind giving fairly exhaustive information regarding the Madras States, some of which are in the fore-front in point of their high level of culture and progressive administration, can hardly be exaggerated. The *Directory* reflects great credit on the publishers that they have been able to compile such a comprehensive work, devoting a separate section to each State. It is well-illustrated. There is a "Who's

Who" section wherein biographical sketches of prominent men and women are given, interspersed with fine half-tone reproductions. Much valuable information is given relating to the trade and commerce of these States. The get-up and the illustrations leave nothing to be desired and the publication deserves the patronage of the public in the States. *The Madras States Directory* is a notable Indian enterprise and deserves encouragement, and the fourth annual edition, under notice, is a great improvement on its previous issues.

Trekking in Kashmir. By Barbara Earl. (Civil and Military Gazette Press, Lahore.) 1930.

The excellent little volume by Barbara Earl, called *Trekking in Kashmir*, should interest visitors to and residents in the "playground of Asia". The author has, in her book, embodied much useful information about tramping and camping in Kashmir, which will be welcomed by those who are about to set out on their first expedition. The cost of getting together a camp, what particular articles are required for it, how to manage servants, coolies, ponies and what stores to get together, these and all other informations are given in detail. As a practical guide containing definite suggestions and information for such a holiday this little book is exceedingly helpful. It contains chapters on outfits, transport, costs, food supplies, medical kit, camp sites, and servants, and is provided with a sketch map illustrating the routes. Useful and interesting appendices on waterproofing tents, camp recipes, etc., are included at the end and in addition to a map reference index, there is also a general index. Thus *Trekking in Kashmir* is an almost ideal guide to the camping tourist in the Happy Valley.

The Austrian Year-Book of 1930. Edited by E. Ludwig. (Austrian Federal Press Department, Vienna I, Ballhausplatz 2, Austria) 1930.

Following the example of the governments of the Scandinavian countries of

Denmark, Norway and Sweden and more recently of that of Czechoslovakia, the Austrian Government also have got the chief of their Federal Press Department to prepare an excellent compendium of general information about their country, in the English language. To give it wide publicity that institution (the address of which is noted above) has been authorized to supply free copies of the book to public institutions which may apply for it. The *Austrian Year-Book*—which is exceedingly well put together—covers a large ground and deals with Austrian constitution and politics, foreign relations, art and landscape, finance and economics, and lastly with the cultivation of English in Austria. It thus provides English-knowing students of Austrian public affairs with an almost encyclopaedia work of reference, the data of which are derived from authentic, official sources, and it is thus an indispensable, handy manual of facts and figures.

Sweden : a Guide for Tourists. Edited by Axel Palmgren (Albert Bonniers Forlag, Stockholm, Sweden) 1930.

Sweden is, in a sense, the tourists' paradise, where he can witness each summer that unique spectacle of nature, popularly known as "the midnight sun". Apart from that, it is a charming country, both in its landscapes and seascapes. We are not surprised, therefore, to find a Swedish publisher trying to interest the vast English-speaking world by producing in English, a guide for the tourists in Sweden. The result is Mr. Axel Palmgren's excellent book called *Sweden : a Guide for Tourists*.

It is clear, compact and comprehensive, and it is embellished with 161 illustrations, 8 plans and 10 maps—all which materially add to the value and usefulness of the letter-press. It gives highly useful practical information and describes in detail all the principal sea, land and air routes to and in the country. We have much pleasure in commending this Swedish enterprise to all tourists to and residents in Sweden, as a work which they will find both practical and informative.

Mysore City. By Constance E. Parsons. (Oxford University Press, Bombay.) 1930.

Miss Constance Parsons' *Mysore City* represents our ideal of perfect guidebook—not only descriptive, informative and practical, but producing on the reader's mind, so to say, the very atmosphere of the place and the impress of its individuality. In all these respects *Mysore City* stands absolutely unique among guidebooks. Embellished with 32 full-page illustrations, the book attempts to lead the visitor to points of interest readily reached in and from the city. It also endeavours to convey something of the glamour that Mysore has for her residents and to open a few doors into her past. The important institutions of the city, its striking features and characteristics, its history and legend, the social and economic life of its people, their feasts, fasts, festivals and shrines are all graphically delineated and vividly painted, while practical information (such as the tourist requires) is amply supplied in appendices. It is for these reasons that we have described it as a perfect guidebook.

ON THE EDITOR'S TABLE MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE

The Life of Chinghiz Khan by Professor B. Y. Vladmirtsov. (George Routledge and Sons. London) 1930, has been translated from the Russian into English by Prince D. S. Mirsky. Mr. Harold Lamb's *Life of the Great Mongol conqueror* was lively as one expects most American books to be—but it was not deep. This book is deep. It is a very good study of the character and achievements of Chinghiz Khan. The author does not paint his hero as a super-man, but as a man, who, on account of certain gifts of nature, became a great conqueror. Chinghiz was not brave or adventurous, but a shrewd and steady man with marvellous self-control and an iron will. He was practical: he did not care for glory but for victory and its fruits. He was physically strong, but his brothers were stronger than him. He was not very cruel, considering the times and the people among whom he lived. Chinghiz was not merely a great general, a general who conquered a greater part of the world than any other conqueror. He was a statesman as well. His Institutions prove this; and these Institutions helped his sons and grandsons to rule their empires. There was law and order in Chinghiz Khan's vast empire. The conqueror had also great respect for learned men. In the midst of his Central Asian campaign he found time and pleasure in talking to a Taoist philosopher from China. This is not a "romanced biography", but the sober work of a scholar who is probably the greatest living authority on the Mongolian Language and Mongol History. The book gives a comprehensive picture of Mongol Society in the twelfth century, and shows the life of the great conqueror against the background of the social conditions that produced him. The student of history will find this book useful to him.

This is an important year in the history of that now famous collection of oriental

literature, (issued by Mr. John Murray, 50 Albemarle Street, London, W. 1.), the *Wisdom of the East Series*, which for years has been carrying on the ideals of the League of Nations, for it is now celebrating its twenty-fifth year of publication. Starting in 1905, in a modest way but with a great purpose—that of binding West and East by means of the wisdom, philosophy and ideals of the Orient—the Series has succeeded and continuously grown until it now comprises fifty-five volumes. India, China, Japan, Persia, Egypt all have here contributed to it their profoundest wisdom and their truest literature in poetry and prose. Many of the volumes have since become recognized classics. This series has the definite object of bringing together West and East in a spirit of mutual sympathy, goodwill, and understanding. The latest addition is Mr. Charles King's English rendering from the original Sanskrit of Kalidasa of the *Meghaduta* or the *Cloud Messenger*, the story of a cloud drifting across India from the Vindhyas Mountains to the Himalayas, charged with the message of a young lover to his beloved, from whom he has been parted for a year. In it the panorama of vanished cities, legendary lands and fairy palaces, the changing aspect of the cloud from dawn to sunset, the burden of sorrow and remembrance and the thrill of coming reunion are woven into a single lyric of unsurpassed beauty. Mr. King's translation is very well done.

Miss Edith Craske's *Sister India* (The Religious Tract Society London), is the latest arrival in the heterogeneous series of India's recently found relatives and is a description of the missionary activities in India among the women. It takes for granted the truth of Miss Mayo's statements in *Mother India*, adds to them the charge

against the non-christian religions prevailing in India that they not only encourage but sanction the demoralization of their women, nay, that even their priests in some instances participate in furthering it. Miss Craske has well described in the book under review the great work done by Dr. Edith M. Brown and others in disseminating medical knowledge and help to the women of India, and were the sores as ghastly as Miss Mayo relates the admirable work done by the christians, as delineated by Miss Craske, would soon heal them, and sooter still if our Indian sisters would take a lesson from our Christian sisters and work along similar lines. The endeavour and achievement of the Christian societies—Roman Catholics and Protestants both—among the sex-victims and sex-culprits of the sex-obsessed, sex-perverted classes in Europe is heroic. We give them all credit and admiration for their work there as well as here in India. Miss Craske's work should be very helpful and suggestive, but we would beg of her christian charity to clear her vision of the traditional prejudices that obscure it.

Dorothea Chaplin was induced to write *Some Aspects of Hindu Medical treatment* (Luzac & Co., 46, Gt. Russell Street London W. C.) by the success attained by an Indian doctor in London—Dr. Mitra—in the curing of diseases given up as incurable by the European doctors, in the case of the authoress as well as others, by Ayurvedic medicines. The authoress draws attention to the works of standard writers on Indian medicine, like Charaka and Susrata, to the science of the pulse as developed by the Hindus, and to the superior virtues and potency of the drugs obtained in India, specially in the Himalayas. It will be a great boon to suffering humanity if to the Ayurvedic system of medicine and to the knowledge of its practitioners—which is at present almost entirely empirical—were added the discoveries, the experience, and the system of practical diagnosis of the European art of healing. The book under review can help to serve this end. It is to

be hoped that Hindu scholars would undertake the translation into English of the many standard treatises on Hindu medicine that are to be found, up to the present, only in Sanskrit or the vernaculars. The wide circulation of Dorothea Chaplin's book will, we are sure, lead to a better appreciation of Hindu Medical Science.

Mr. Hemendra Prasad Ghose is a distinguished Indian journalist, who possesses large experience of the press in this country. His *Press and Press Laws in India* (D. K. Mitra, 20 Strand Road, Calcutta) is, therefore, an excellent piece of work. Mr. Ghose shows that from 1780, when the first Indian newspaper appeared, up to the present day, the press in India has been subjected to severe repression and rigours to which all public-spirited citizens and several British statesmen themselves have taken exception. In a small compass Mr. Ghose makes a remarkably good survey of the measures adopted by the British Government in India to circumscribe the liberty of the press. The appendices included in the book enhance its usefulness, as they bring together much data not generally accessible. Those desirous of learning the history of the press in India can turn to Mr. Ghose's excellent little book with advantage, as it is an accurate, sound and compendious sketch of the subject.

In his *Worshipful Masters* (Angus and Robertson Limited, 39 Castlereagh Street, Sydney, Australia), Mr. Justice A. B. Piddington has given us a pot-pourri of delightful and highly diverting anecdotes illustrating the character sketches of eminent personalities in New South Wales as well as in other lands. The author has not compiled heavy biographies of past potentates, but invites us to meet over the walnuts and the wine, and elsewhere, "certain exemplars, some of life, some of mirth, some of learning, but all of human friendliness and service in their day." These brief swift studies of leading legal, political, and social lights are very interesting and entertaining. Those who sit down with Mr. Justice Piddington and his witty

and wise company will have rare enjoyment. The author is a rare raconteur with a great sense of humour.

Love Courtship and Marriage. By Rev. J. H. Bodgener should appeal to the people for whom it is intended. But we wonder if the book is not a little too late. The Rev. author took his courage in both hands and embarked upon a series of sermons on this subject. It was an unorthodox thing to do. But he was surprised to find that "up and down the country (England) the pulpit had spoken on this subject". We are afraid he would be even more surprised to learn that the youth of the world today has indulged in the study of this subject more scientifically and thoroughly than it has been done in the book under review. The knowledge of the average youth in the countries to which these sermons can apply, goes far beyond the scope of this book; there the relationship between the sexes is no longer kept in the Purdah. Still the book would be useful as an introduction to the subject for the very young.

Islam, the Religion of Humanity. By Maulvi Mahammad Ali, (General Secretary G. M. T. S. Muslim Brotherhood, Bellary) is an exposition of the teachings of Islam in the light of modern thought. It tries to explain the tenets of Mohamedanism from a rationalistic point of view and gives in concise and clear form all the essentials of that religion. Those who desire to know something about the doctrines of this religion, which is followed by a very large section of humanity—every intelligent citizen of the world ought to so desire—but who have not much time at their disposal, will find this book as good an epitome as any yet published. Maulvi Muhammad Ali is a scholar and has deep understanding of his subject: thus *Islam* is presented to us with precision and faithfulness.

Amongst new editions of standard works we welcome *Translations of Ancient Arabian Poetry*—with an Introduction and Notes—by (the late) Sir Charles James Lyall who is recognized as the leading British

authority on the Arabian literature and language especially pre-Islamic. The version of the poems here given is admitted to be the most faithful that has ever been made from the Arabic, and one which, moreover, loses nothing of the beauty contained in the original verse. Sir Charles provides also an introductory chapter which gives a most enlightening epitome of Arab philosophy and life, and a historic survey of Arab Literature. The volume is issued in handsome format by Messrs Williams and Norgate Ltd., (38 Great Ormond Street, London, W. C. I).

Each of the books, in Pitman's Craft for All series (Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons Ltd. Parker Street, Kingsway, London) has been written by an expert. Most of the useful crafts have now been included in this series. *Printing* by E. G. Porter, the latest addition to it, is written so that it can be of extreme help in the learning of printing as a hobby and can serve, at the same time, as an introduction to a more serious pursuit of this craft. Useful hints and information are included in it and the book is embellished with a wealth of diagrammatic and photographic illustrations which render the text particularly clear and easy to follow. The book should be of great help to those engaged in printing and the employees of the presses.

We have received two volumes of the Travellers Literary series *Madam Bovary of Flaubert* and *The Travel Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu* edited by A. W. Lawrence (Jonathan Cape, 30 Bedford Square, London). The Travellers Library, as we had occasion to mention before, is the best-value-for-money series that we know. The binding is blue and gold, the type neat, and they slip easily into the pocket, thus answering admirably the purpose after which they are named. As will be seen from the list, the choice of books selected for publication is excellent: take for example the books under review, the novel of novels by Flaubert and the letters of Lady Mary Montagu over which Tobias Smollet went into ecstasies in the eighteenth

century. These two are notable additions to an excellent series.

The Oxford University Press series of reprints of standard works in the "World's Classics" is foregoing ahead. The latest additions are several excellent verse anthologies, *A Book of Narrative Verse* compiled by Mr. V. H. Collins, which is about the best of its kind; the *Golden Treasury of the Best Songs and Lyrical Poems in the English Language*, selected and compiled by F. T. Palgrave, which was first published in 1861 and is well-known to the reading public; additional poems have been added to it in the "World's Classics" edition from time to time right upto 1928. Another reprint in this series just issued is its famous *Selected English Stories* of the XIX and XX Centuries, Third Series. The "World's Classics" is one of the very best collections of masterpieces of classical literature.

Mr. G. Lowes Dickinson's *A Modern Symposium* (George Allen & Unwin, Museum Street, London) which was first issued in 1911, is very welcome in a new reprint. It is a capital book, highly thought-provoking. In it, in the course of conversation a Tory Peer, a Liberal Prime Minister, an Anarchist, a Poet, a Gentleman of Leisure and others each make confession of some part of their philosophy of life. The book thus contains an unique representation of the points of view held by very diverse men who, though they stand out clearly as individuals, are yet, in their attitude, symbolic of various types of mentality.

We welcome the second edition of *Indian Ideals* under which title the Kamala Lectures of Dr. Annie Besant are published (Theosophical publishing House Adyar, Madras). At this juncture of the political crisis in the country it is not only meet but necessary that all the best literature on the subject be kept well before the public. This neat and handy volume, containing the utterances of that venerable veteran who has grown aged, trumpeting forth with her

resonant voice India's ideals, and in battling for her wrongs, has come at a very opportune moment. We have need of all our arsenal.

Indian Neighbours, by M.L. Christlieb (Student Christian Movement Press, 32 Russell Square, London, W.C.) is an account in narrative form of the actual work, hopes, and achievement of a young English missionary among the Indian Christian colonies in the Nilgiris. The book describes how young enthusiasm can overcome seemingly unsurmountable difficulties and instil new life into waning ideals. It is a sincere and faithful record of Christian endeavour in Southern India. The book should be of interest to Christian missionaries in India.

Dream Hours and Dynamic Health. Part I, by Harishchandra P. Kaku (Shah & Co., Krishna Bhavan, Khetwadi Main Road, Bombay) is a book for young men and young women who have had no proper sex-education and are thus liable to consequent ill-health. The importance of regulating diet, and of regular physical exercise is emphasised; directions for both of which are given in the book at length. Some knowledge of sex is essential for the youth and we recommend this book to them.

Another new edition of a standard work containing valuable information on the mechanism and training of the human voice, pronunciation for singers, with chapters on English verse and metre, hints to reciters and a list of recitations is R. I. Party's *Practical Handbook on Elocution* (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd, Museum Street, London). It is now in its sixth revised edition and will continue to be found highly useful.

The Hindustani Academy, U. P., Allahabad, is to be congratulated on their having brought out a Urdu translation of Lessing's famous drama *Nathan* by Munshi Fazil Muhammad Naim Uddin of the Allahabad University. The translation is finely rendered and the book well got up, the only fault we find with it is the

long errata at the end which we would have hardly associated with the publications of the distinguished Academy. Syed Talib Ali has done good service to Urdu literature by compiling *Akbar Allahabadi* (Anwar Ahmadi Press, Allahabad), in which he gives a life of Akbar, and a collection of his poetic and prose writings. Akbar is well-known to the readers of Urdu literature as one of the greatest poets in that language in recent times. He was distinguished for his satirical and humorous attack on our denationalised habits. He was essentially a national poet. We welcome most cordially this critical study of his life and works.

"Everyman's Library" keeps steadily on the increase. Lately seven new volumes were added, making 857 volumes in all—a stupendous achievement. The new volumes are *Goethe's Conversations with Eckermann*, edited by J. K. Moorhead, with an introduction by Havelock Ellis. This is an important volume, necessary for the understanding of Germany's great period. Fielding's eighteenth-centuries *Amelia*, in two volumes, with an introduction by George Saintsbury; George Eliot's nineteenth-century *Middlemarch*, with an introductory note by the late Sir Leslie Stephen, also in two volumes; *Shorter Novels of the Eight-*

eenth Century, containing William Beckford's *Vathek*, Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto*, and Dr. Johnson's *Rasselas*—are all very welcome volumes. Finally, there is the famous adventure book, now printed unabridged, *Rattlin the Reefer*, which was supposed to be a novel by Marryat but was actually the true story of Edward Howard who was a midshipman in the Navy. These books are all two shillings a volume. The library binding of "Everyman's Library" is not so well known as it should be. A strong linen faced cloth is used that will stand any amount of wear, the back is flexible and the pages lie flat when open, and it costs only a shilling more than the ordinary cloth edition. One of the great attractions of Everyman's Library are the introductions. Each one of them is written by an acknowledged authority who can be trusted to say exactly what the reader ought to know about the book, and taken altogether they form a remarkable contribution to constructive literary criticism. Altogether the "Everyman's Library" deserves well of the reading public. The ideal of the publishers (J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., Bedford Street, London W. C. 2) is to bring together reprints, in the series, of one thousand volumes. We wish their enterprise great success which this splendid collection so richly merits.

THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE.

By Mr. B. NATESAN.

AS I write, the Round Table Conference is at work, hammering out, we hope, a Dominion Constitution for India. The plenary session, which has just closed, has achieved two notable results :—It has demonstrated unmistakably the unity and strength which lies behind India's demand for Dominion Status ; and it has called forth from the Princes an unequivocal statement of their desire to identify themselves with the aspirations of United India. Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Mahomed Ali are not prepared to jeopardise the settlement by a discordant emphasis on the rights of minorities ; the Gaikwad and the Princes are willing, like the feudal barons of old Japan, to subordinate their interests to the exigencies of the Commonwealth ; Dr. Sapru and the Rt. Hon'ble Sastri made no secret of the fact that they are equally zealous, and though less defiant, are yet one with the Congressmen alike in their demand and in their determination. Thus the Indian Delegation has at the outset justified itself and given an impressive display of solidarity which cannot be lost on the British public.

That is by no means a small gain, judging from the fears entertained in many quarters that we would spoil our case by our dissensions and afford a handle to the authorities to say with cynical satisfaction : "Gentlemen, first compose your differences and then come for a settlement with us" ; meaning thereby, that our differences would never be composed and consequently settlement on the vital issue of

Dominion Status, is impossible for "as long a time as imagination can conceive".

The situation has now completely altered. Liberals and Conservatives can no more plead ignorance of India's real intentions and the British public can no more ignore the united demand for justice and fairplay. Whatever else may not have been achieved, the Round Table Conference and the magnificent setting that has been given to it have irresistibly brought the Indian problem to the forefront of public discussion in the heart of the Empire. After all, we have to settle by negotiation. It is therefore impossible to underestimate "the effect of this feat on the British delegates, on Parliament and on the British public who are thereby brought face to face with the realities of the present day situation in India. The plenary session has proved to Great Britain that the two countries from now onwards stand on a different footing : *there can be no going back to the old order of things or regarding the Indian problem from the old angle of vision*"

That is rightly said. For there could be no longer any question of fitness or unfitness of India to bear the burden of responsibility. "Whether Indians are fit for it or not," wrote Mr. George Slocombe, "it is too late to argue the matter now. They have already decided that they are fit to rule themselves, and they have begun to make foreign rule impossible in India." Without intending any threat or bluff, India is well on the

road to Responsible Government with Britain's help if possible, without it if necessary. That correctly interpreted, is the attitude of most Nationalists which it is useless to ignore.

Britain may delay it for a while or throw impediments on the way—it is easy to do it in the circumstances in which the country finds itself—but India will win it all the same. It is therefore the part of wisdom and statesmanship to settle the matter with grace on the one hand and gratitude on the other. It will be creditable to both countries therefore if the Conference sets itself to the task with patience and candour. The question is not how much of responsibility could be safely conceded to India, but how little could, with propriety, be withheld from her. The goal being defined and established the only problem before the Conference is to see what safeguards and reservation are absolutely necessary for the period of transition. On this basis, settlement of outstanding issues is at once possible and pregnant.

Doubtless among such reservations will be the problem of defence and foreign relations. But any scheme that contemplates reservations till the end of time will be regarded as a mockery. And now that the Princes have consented to join a federation with a strong Central Government exercising a vigilant control over the autonomous states and Provinces, a working constitution satisfactory to all parties, is within the limits of practicability. The logic of the Unitarians, if we may so call the advocates of Unitary Government, is irresistible. But the federal idea, since the days when Lord Hardinge visualised a federation of autonomous Provinces and the Montford Reforms

sought to build a structure on that basis, has caught hold of the imagination of princes and peoples. But let there be no mistake about it; there can be no real or enduring partnership between a progressive democracy and an effete autocracy. The princes will ere long realise this incompatibility and will certainly endeavour to bring their states in line with British India. For what we want is not a more picturesque India of old fossils and antiquated exhibits for the delectation of foreign tourists and ethnologists but a purposeful India inspired by the vision of a great future worthy of her part.

If Swaraj could be won by eloquence and dialectic skill, it is hardly possible to improve on the result foreshadowed of the work of the present Indian delegation. But then if speeches could bring us Swaraj we should have obtained it long ago when Surendranath and Lal Mohan were with us. Something more is needed and it is the earnest hope of all concerned that by mutual goodwill and a policy of give and take we would so adjust our relations that Swaraj will be won not by storming nor yet by stealth, but by deliberate shouldering of responsibilities in a spirit of courage and comradeship. And so we come to the practical work of the Conference which has begun after the spectacular and impressive presentation of Indian demands. And it is at this juncture that the Prime Minister's friendly advice should prove most valuable. There are grave and delicate problems to be faced and decided in the Committee, problems which have only bred suspicion and defied settlement in the past. First comes the age-long communal ques-

tion which by a tragic irony of things is held out as an unpassable bar to progress on constitutional lines. Even if a final settlement of the problem is not possible at present surely some arrangement could be made tentatively in view of the magnitude of interests involved. Like practical men, the Indian delegation could certainly agree upon a "*modus vivendi* which will serve until something more stable is evolved." That way lies practical statesmanship.

We are told that already the federal committee has set about its business under the able guidance of Lord Sankey. Much of the real work of the Conference will devolve upon it and many a knotty problem will have to be tackled by it in a spirit of broadminded statesmanship. Here again, the personality of the Prime Minister, which has played no inconsiderable part in the early stages of the Conference will be an invaluable asset. The nature of the task awaiting the Committee was succinctly explained by the Prime Minister when he asked :

"What would be the nature of the component units which are to be fitted in the scheme of federation; the nature of the central co-ordinating structure, its relation to the Provinces and the Indian States and its powers, and what provision will be necessary to secure the willing co-operation of minorities and special interests. It

is quite clear that the central structure must be federal. But are residuary powers to rest with the Centre or with the component States? How are the minorities to be induced to co-operate whole-heartedly in a scheme of Indian Self-Government?" On a satisfactory solution of these will depend the success of the Conference. But one thing is clear. Whatever may be the London decisions the practical working of the scheme will depend on the willing co-operation of the people of this country. And the country is in no mood to listen to soft words and platitudes when thousands are still rotting in jail and the men who count most in the scheme of reconstruction have no voice in the deliberations of the Conference. The great handicap, we need not disguise it, of the Congress abstention could not perhaps be avoided under the peculiar circumstances of the situation. But surely an imaginative Government could have transformed the atmosphere with a magnificent gesture of confidence and good will. It is a pity that Mr. Ramsay Mac Donald did not rise to the height of the occasion by releasing the civil resisters from prison. Then indeed could the work of pacification have begun under more auspicious circumstances and the spirit of goodwill and earnestness would have touched the heart of a Nation in anguish, ready to respond to a generous gesture.

PEOPLE PROMINENT IN THE PUBLIC EYE.

Sir C. V. Raman—Sir Dinshah Mulla—Dr. Kokatnur—Sir Isaac
Alfred Isaacs—rs. J. P. Srivastava.

IN awarding the Nobel Prize in Physics for 1929 to Sir Chandrasekhara Venkata Raman, Kt.; F.R.S., the Swedish Academy has focussed the attention of the scientific world on a very interesting personality. The first scientist of Asia to receive the honour, his name now ranks with such celebrities as Rontgen, Rayleigh, Professor and Madame Currie, Marconi, and Einstein. It is not degrees but the inner self that makes the man, and the spirit of self-sacrifice, that has animated many a savant in the world, beacons also to Professor Raman at an early age of his life. An M. A., at the age of eighteen with a First Class First, scientific research was certainly not the first line he chose, for in 1907, at the age of nineteen he was appointed Assistant Accountant General. But even when provided with a lucrative post and assured of a settled life, he could not resist the fascination of scientific work. A chance coincidence brought him into touch with the newly started Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science founded in Calcutta by the late Dr. Mahendra Lal Sarkar of hallowed memory. Thenceforward, the young official of the Finance Department was to be found after his office hours quietly working in the laboratory of the Indian Association where he was "discovered" by that intellectual expert, the late Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee. Professor Raman made the final choice of his life in 1917 when he

resigned his high office of Deputy Accountant General, Bengal, to take up appointment as Palit Professor of Physics in the University College of Science, a position from which he has earned his world-wide repute and which he still adorns. This has also enabled him to continue his intimate association with the Indian Association of which he is now the Secretary and the life-force. Professor Raman's contribution to science lies in his researches in Acoustics, particularly in the theory of Indian musical instruments, and in his studies of the molecular scattering of light. He is considered such a great authority on Acoustics that he was asked to contribute a volume on the subject in the famous series known as the Handbuch der Physik, published from Germany in 1927. But his greatest achievement lies in the carrying forward of the researches of the late Lord Rayleigh in the theory of the scattering of light by molecules, by means of which Lord Rayleigh had explained the blue of the sky. Professor Raman by a series of intensive laboratory work on various purified organic and inorganic liquids, solids and gases, established the thesis that the scattering of light by the molecules was confined not simply to the atmosphere as Rayleigh's conclusions implied, but was a universal phenomenon. These patient studies culminated in the discovery of what is commonly known as the "Raman Effect", named after him. It was shown that the spectrum

of the incident light on any transparent medium is different in character from that of the light scattered by the molecules of that substance, the new lines in the spectrum of the diffused light being known as "Raman Lines." When it is recognised that each substance has its own characteristic Raman line, the discovery of this new type of secondary radiation, becomes one of fundamental importance in Physics and Physical Chemistry, and is indeed regarded by Professor R. W. Wood as "one of the most convincing proofs of the Quantum Theory." He describes the discovery as "beautiful." Those who have had the privilege of knowing Professor Raman can testify to the high ideals that inspire him. "I will collect degrees like postage stamps but I will remain plain C. V. Raman," was a remark characteristic of a true devotee in the cause of science. Honours have been heaped quickly upon him recently. An F. R. S., at the age of thirty-six, a knighthood in 1928 at the age of forty-one, the same year that he was awarded the Matteucci Medal by the Italian Society of Science at Rome. Only a few weeks ago he was awarded the Hughes Medal of the Royal Society of London. And now comes the Nobel Prize, the world's blue ribbon for the highest work in Arts, Science and Humanitarianism. Professor Raman's achievements are a standing monument of purely Indian scholarship for all his education and work was accomplished in India. He does not believe in the theory that education and training in a foreign land is necessary to bring out the genius of the Indian people even in the sphere of science. The Indian offers him today his hearty felicitations as one of the world's greatest living scientists.

II

Sir Dinshah Fardunji Mulla who Sir Dinshah Mulla has recently been appointed a Member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, was born in April 1868. He received education at the Elphinstone College, Bombay, from where he passed his M. A. examination in the year 1888. Ten years later he passed his solicitor's examination and in 1908 the advocate's examination. During the interval he was a partner in the firm of Messrs Mulla and Mulla, solicitors. Between 1919 and 1921 he was President of the Tribunal of Appeal, which was created for the trial of land acquisition cases in connection with the Bombay Improvement Trust. In 1922 he was appointed to act as Advocate-General of the Bombay High Court, but within ten days of his appointment he was given a higher appointment of acting Judgeship of the High Court. Later on he was twice appointed to act as Advocate General. In 1923 he was temporarily appointed Law Member of H. E. the Viceroy's Executive Council. There he was responsible for the enactments of the Transfer of Property Bill and the Sale of Goods Bill. His elevation to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council is in consequence of the vacancy caused by the death of Sir Binode Mitter. The two other Indians who were appointed to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council were the late Mr. Ameer Ali and Lord Sinha. Sir Dinshah is the author of several publications on law which are justly regarded as standard authorities. Sir Dinshah's appointment to the Judicial Committee of Privy Council will meet with the approval of all sections of his countrymen. For years he has been the outstanding figure in the legal

sphere of Western India. He owes his success not only to a great charm of manner and an ingratiating personality, but to sheer hard work and to a complete study of the details in the case before him. His appointment, therefore, to the membership of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council will be received with general satisfaction all over India and particularly in Bombay. It is the crowning achievement of a singularly brilliant and varied legal career such as is without parallel on the Western side of India. Sir Dinshah has now captured almost all the prizes that are within the reach of an Indian lawyer. He has been successively a solicitor, advocate, President of the Tribunal of Appeal, Judge of the High Court, Advocate-General and Law Member of the Viceroy's Council. But he has been much more than a merely successful lawyer. He has been—both as an advocate and a commentator—a lucid, brilliant and versatile expositor of the law in British India. In the course of his legal career he has made the entire domain of Anglo-Indian law his own. Not the least significant of the honours achieved by Sir Dinshah was his being invited to give the Tagore Law Lectures at the Calcutta University. His elevation to a seat on the highest tribunal in the Empire is a fitting culmination to a career so strenuous, so varied and so distinguished.

III

Among the visitors to India this cold season is a distinguished Indian, now an American citizen, Dr. V. R. Kokatnur, who has returned home after twenty year's stay in his adopted country. He

had just taken his degree in Science from a Poona College, when in 1912 he was attracted by an announcement of a number of scholarship by a Sikh farmer in California, who gave his potato-farms to finance the scheme. Mr. Kokatnur was one of the recipients and with a hope of gaining science and fortune he went to New-York and tramped to California, only to find that the potato-crop had failed and the scheme had evaporated. But Mr. Kokatnur finding himself stranded for a while picked up a living by doing odd manual jobs, till at last he secured an introduction to the President of the California Fruit Cannery's Association, and through him was allowed to learn the canning processes and do research work in the preservation of food stuffs. Here he not only mastered his work, but studied it scientifically and in six months he had prepared his original thesis based on research, which was published in the *Journal of the American Chemical Society*, on the basis of which he was elected to 'Sigma XI' which is a national scientific society. He got also the only fellowship they had in Chemistry. The following year he was given a research assistantship when he could both teach the undergraduates and do independent research. In a year he became Ph. D., and his dissertation was published in the American Chemical Society's journal, which evoked much interest. Since then Dr. Kokatnur has made a name in America as one of the leading chemists in that country. He has about a dozen important inventions to his credit, and carries a number of international patents including 'master patents'. Among these he has developed a process by which the solvent known as 'Aeroplane Dope'

which was highly explosive, has been tamed and made commercially profitable. This material is used to bring toughness to aeroplane-wings, so that air does not penetrate it. Besides, it is made water-proof and fire-proof. He has also invented a process of Turkey-red dye which is used in cotton and woollen goods in India, and can be made even cheaper than in Germany. This dye is at present imported to India exclusively from Germany to the extent of two to three crore rupees a year. Then in the line of soap, at present only some of the largest factories can recover glycerine which is a valuable by-product of soap-manufacture. It was a Frenchman who first invented soap some hundred years ago and during the last twentyfive years glycerine is being recovered. But according to Mr. Kokatnur's method, you can gather commercially glycerine even from a pound of soap. On this process Dr. Kokatnur has got 'master patent' in Germany. Such is the great Indian chemist who has now come home. It is understood that this visit to his mother country includes investigation into possibilities of industrial and trade contracts between India and the States.

IV

So Sir Isaac Alfred Issacs succeeds Lord Stonehaven as Governor-General of Australia. A Jew by birth and religion, the rt. hon. Sir Issac has been on the bench of the Australian High Court, from 1906, of which he was appointed Chief Justice at the beginning of this year. He was born on August 6, 1855, at Melbourne.

Graduating as a scholar in law with first class honours, at the Melbourne University, he entered the Victorian Bar in 1880 and became a Q. C. in 1899. He was a member of the Victorian Legislative Assembly, from 1892 to 1901, and retired as a member of the Federal Parliament. He was Solicitor-General of Victoria, in 1893; Attorney-General, in 1894, and again in 1900. He was a member of the Australian Federal Convention, in 1897, which framed the Commonwealth constitution; of Royal Commission on Parliamentary Procedure, in 1894; a member of House Representatives of Australian Commonwealth Parliament, from 1901 to 1916; Attorney-General of Australia in 1905-6; and Acting Chief Justice from 1927 to 1929. He became a P. C. in 1921, and a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in 1924. Sir Isaac Isaacs' appointment marks an important constitutional change in the relations between Britain and the Dominions. It is the first practical result of the decision of the Imperial Conference of 1926 (following the historic declaration of equality of status) that the Governors-General should be appointed by the King on the advice of the Dominion and not on that of the Home Government. Sir Isaac Isaacs, who is a septuagenarian, is the first Australian to occupy the post of Governor-General of his own country. His recommendation by the Australian premier, Mr. Scullin, last year, raised a stormy controversy in regard to whether the Government were entitled to alter the traditional procedure regarding the Viceregal appointments without reference to the people. But the announcement now made clearly establishes a precedent which, we feel sure, will be adhered to in future.

V.

We doubt if any legislature in the world can offer an example of a husband and his wife being members at the same time, such as is now witnessed by the election of Mr. Jwala Prasad Srivastava, and the nomination of his wife by the Governor to the United Provinces Legislative Council. It creates an interesting

record, for there is no other case in India of a husband and his wife serving together on a legislative body, and it has never happened anywhere else before. This interesting event is evidently unique in the history of legislatures, though there are a number of instances of fathers and sons or daughters being members of the House of Commons: apart from Mrs. Ahmad Shah, who also

was a nominated member for a few months of the local legislature. Those who have the privilege of knowing Mrs. Srivastava confidently expect that she will take a prominent part in the work of the Council. Her husband—a sketch of whose brilliant career we published last March—is well known as a prominent member of

Cawnpore business community. Mrs. Srivastava, who spent a number of years in England while her husband was there, has also taken a considerable share in public activities, having occupied a leading place in social, and educational work. When the Whitley Labour Commission came to the United Provinces last year, she was appointed a lady assessor and effectively helped in the examination of witnesses,



Mrs. J.P. Srivastava.

including her husband. She takes a keen interest in the welfare of the labourers of Cawnpore, and is a doughty champion of the cause of women. She is highly proficient in English and is immensely popular in society both at Cawnpore and at Naini Tal, where she spends the summer. She is not only a great and charming social figure, but one who sheds the light of her unbounded en-

thusiasm on the movement for women's progress in this country. Highly educated and deeply interested in public welfare, this talented and cultured lady is sure to justify her nomination to the legislative council of these provinces, and we congratulate his Excellency the Governor on the excellent selection he has made.

THE NECROLOGY OF THE MONTHS

Sir Moti Sagar—Mr. R.D. Mehta—Sir P. Ramanathan—Mr. H.L. Nandkeolyar.

SIR Moti Sagar was born in November, 1873 and was thus nearly fifty-seven years of age at the time of his death. He was the son of the late Rai Bahadur Sagar Chand, Inspector of Schools in the Punjab and one of the foremost educationalists of his time. Sir Moti Sagar took the Law degree in 1896 and practised as a Pleader for some time in Lahore. He moved to Delhi, where the steadily built up leading practice, and then returned to Lahore in 1914, where he rose to the highest honours in the profession, and became an acting Additional Judge of the High Court. Though he was great in many spheres, it is as a warm friend and a sincere colleague that his loss is mourned in Upper India. There is hardly a man in the profession in Upper India who did not profit by his ripe experience and sound advice. He was at sometime or other a friend to the junior and the senior alike and was modest and unassuming in his ways. He combined high intellectual attainment with industry and he maintained the highest traditions of the Bar and gave his life to the service of his profession. The legal profession has lost in his premature death one of its foremost men and the Punjab and Delhi have been deprived of the services of one of their foremost citizens. It was in recognition of his forensic success and sound knowledge of law that he was elevated, in the summer of 1921, to a seat on the Bench of the High Court. But he preferred the prizes of

the legal profession to the calm and dignified life of a Judge and so reverted to the Bar in 1924. Sir Moti Sagar's activities were not confined to his work within the precincts of the Courts. Outside the sphere of his professional duties he took a leading part in several educational institutions. He maintained a school at Delhi for the education of girls, and devoted considerable time to the onerous duties which devolved upon him as the Vice-Chancellor of Delhi University. Endowed, as he was, with a sweet temper and lovable disposition he enjoyed the unique privilege of making many friends, but losing none. It is therefore only natural that he should leave many pleasant memories behind.

Mr. R. D. Mehta was one of the Mr. R.D. most prominent residents of Mehta. Calcutta. He had been a leader of the Parsi community for a long time, and was a great favourite with all communities, because to his sound common sense and business acumen he added a very unusual charm of manner. In the old days he put in some good work in the Calcutta Municipality. He was always to the fore where charity was concerned, and was a very keen and enthusiastic mason. His death is a great blow to a legion of friends. Calcutta loses a notable personality in his death at the ripe old age of eighty-one. Born in Bombay in July 1849, he was educated at Bombay, but in 1860 he came to Calcutta and joined the Bengal Academy upon leaving which he was

apprenticed to the firm of Messrs. Apar and Co. In 1870 Mr. Mehta went to Hong Kong to inaugurate a branch of his father's business, and seven years later he went to England to purchase the machinery with which he founded the Empress Cotton Mill in Calcutta. From that time he became closely identified with many other commercial and public enterprises which benefitted a large contingent of the poorer classes of Bengal. He paid several visits to England. Mr. Mehta was nominated Sheriff of Calcutta in 1893. In various capacities he continued to make his influence and philanthropy felt, and with his remarkable success in business and perfect urbanity of manners he combined qualities that placed him in the front rank of Bengal's public men of the day. Even a brief list of Mr. Mehta's activities is sufficient to demonstrate the usefulness of his many-sided activities.

III.

In the death of Sir P. Ramanathan, Sir P. Ceylon has lost her distinguished Indian leader at the age of seventy-nine. Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan held very distinguished offices and rendered conspicuous service to his country. He was a member of the board of education for long years and acted three times as Attorney-General of Ceylon. He was an active member of the Ceylon University Council. He was admitted *honoris causa* as a member of the English bar in 1886 and was made a K. C. in 1903. His interests were by no means confined to the profession of law; literature, religion and education equally claimed his attention. His esoteric expositions of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. John won for

him great respect in Christian lands. He had travelled widely and was the recipient of enthusiastic receptions in several states of America. His treatises on Indian philosophy, religion and ethnology have been eagerly read and appreciated wherever English is spoken. He commanded a style which was at once pithy and elegant. As a politician, he was an advocate of liberalism and was head and shoulders above the rest of his compatriots, and strove strenuously for the advancement of Ceylon. During the Donoughmore Commission's enquiry his services were in great demand. For the advancement of culture and learning he devoted almost the whole of the latter portion of his life. He founded in 1913 the Ramanathan College for girls, a residential institution with provision for two hundred girls, in his original home,—at Jaffna. In 1921 he added another College, for men, at the same place. His death at the ripe age of eighty removes from Ceylon the most outstanding figure of that land. The Indian community, in particular, have lost a leader difficult to be replaced, and the people of Ceylon, in general, are the poorer by his death at the present time.

IV

A brilliant career has been cut short, by the cruel hand of death, in the sad and premature passing away of Mr. Harnandan Lall Nandkeolyar, Bar-at-Law, of Patna—brilliant as an advocate and brilliant as a publicist. Born in 1892—the eldest son of the late Mr. Parmeshwar Lall, a well-known Beharee public man—he has been cut off in the prime of life. After taking his degree of Master of Arts at the Edinburgh University, he was called

to the Bar, by the Middle Temple, in 1913. As soon as he settled down to practise, at Patna, he established it beyond all doubt that he would soon make his mark as a skilful advocate. On the establishment of the Patna High Court, in 1916, he soon acquired a steady and expanding practice, and by 1921 he had become so prominent amongst the Junior Bar that he was appointed, for a term of five years, the Assistant Government Advocate. In this capacity he established a record as an almost ideal Crown prosecutor, and his ability, integrity and fairness were acknowledged not only by his adversaries, but also in more than one judgment of the High Court. At the expiration of his term of office, at the end of 1926, he soon came to enjoy a most lucrative practice. As a private practitioner, he undoubtedly enhanced the great reputation he had already acquired in his career as a lawyer for the Crown. The testimony that was borne to his success at the Bar, and to the many

great qualities which are conducive to it, by the Chief Justice of the Patna High Court and the leaders of the Patna Bar—on the occasion of the reference in the court—was but a just tribute to his memory. But his career was crowned with success not only in the great and honourable profession to which he belonged. He achieved a notable success as a well-informed and well-read publicist. He was a man of scholarly tastes and had a distinctly literary flair about his writings. He was a most valued contributor to the *Hindustan Review* and his writings to this periodical—the last of which appeared in our October issue—were appreciated by a large circle of cultured readers. In politics, he was a staunch nationalist, and for years he had been one of the directors of the *Searchlight* of Patna. Above all, his was a charming personality—intensely sociable and remarkably attractive, and his untimely death has left a distinct void alike in the public and the social life of Behar.

OM MANE PADME OM !

By Mr. H. W. B. MORENO.

Om Mane Padme Om !

In all Creation lies but One,
That was and is and e'er shall be,
Brooding upon the silent sea.

Om Mane Padme Om !

For all dissolves to nought, save One,
All doubts are flown all shadows flee,
When thou but comprehendest Me.

Om Mane Padme Om !

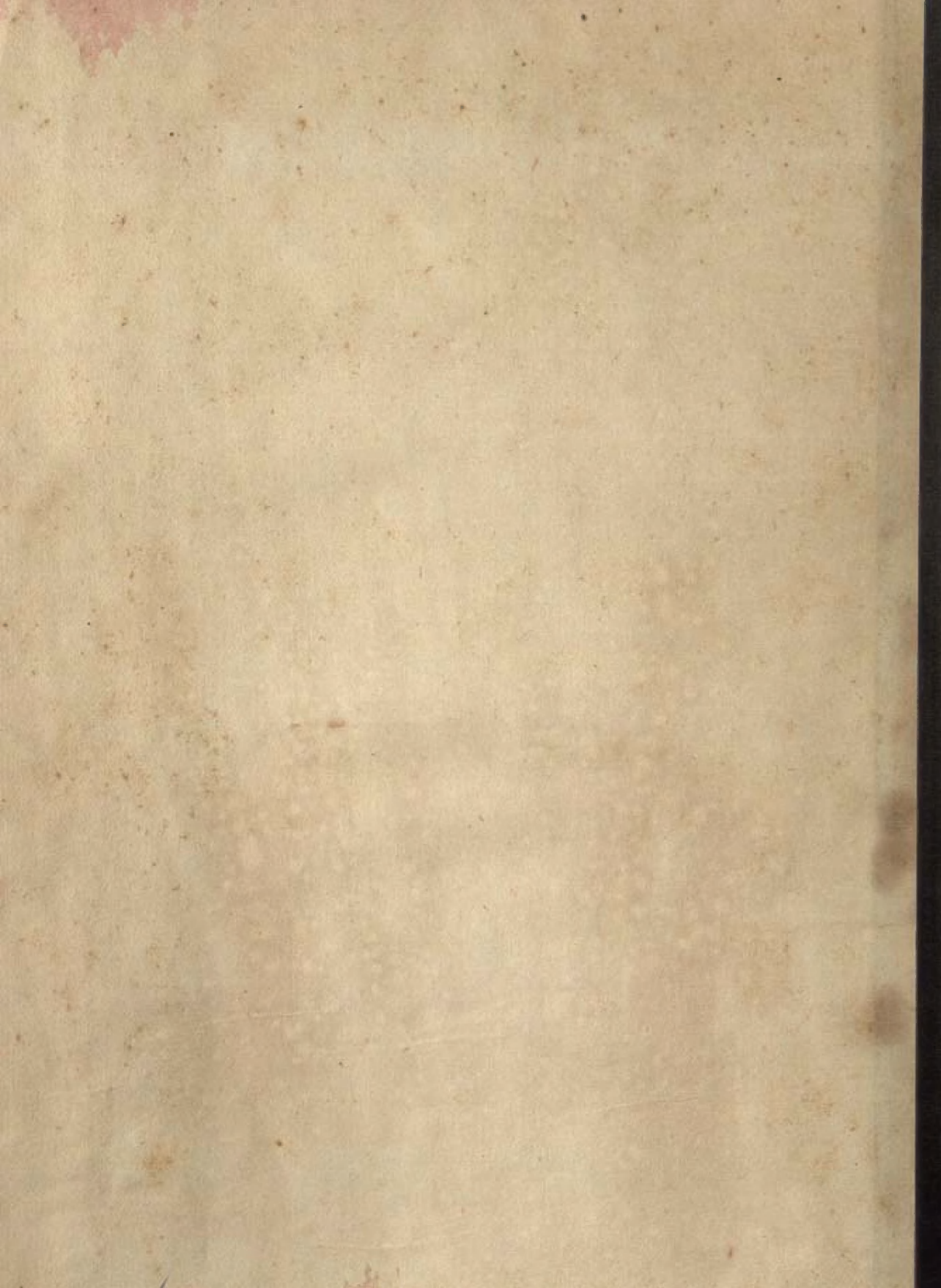
I spring like as the lotus, One;
The dew drops gather round in glee,
My leaf is wet, but soon is free.

Om Mene Padme Om !

The Mighty, Moving, Mystic One,
That casts a scent o'er land and sea
In Universal Harmony.







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